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THE

# WORKS

OF

# FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

## THREE DISSERTATIONS,

CONCERNING

JESUS CHRIST, JOHN THE BAPTIST, JAMES THE JUST, GOD'S COMMAND TO ABRAHAM, ETC.

WITH

## AN INDEX TO THE WHOLE.

THE

# WORKS

OF

# FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

THE LEARNED AND AUTHENTIC JEWISH HISTORIAN, AND CELEBRATED WARRIOR

CONTAINING

TWENTY BOOKS OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,
SEVEN BOOKS OF THE JEWISH WAR,

AND

## THE LIFE OF JOSEPHUS,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK, ACCORDING TO HAVERCAMP'S ACCURATE EDITION.

TOGETHER WITH

**Explanatory Notes and Observations.**

*Embellished with Elegant Engravings.*

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BY THE LATE

WILLIAM WHISTON, A. M.

PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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# ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

## BOOK XVII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOURTEEN YEARS.

*FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER AND ARISTOBULUS TO THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS.*

### CHAP. I.

*How Antipater was hated by all the Nation [of the Jews] for the Slaughter of his Brethren; and how, for that Reason, he got into peculiar Favour with his Friends at Rome, by giving them many Presents; as he did also with Saturninus, the President of Syria, and the Governors who were under him; and concerning Herod's Wives and Children.*

§ 1. WHEN Antipater had thus taken off his brethren, and had brought his father into the highest degree of impiety, till he was haunted with furies for what he had done, his hopes did not succeed to his mind, as to the rest of his life; for although he was delivered from the fear of his brethren being his rivals as to the government, yet did he find it a very hard thing, and almost impracticable, to come at the kingdom, because the hatred of the nation against him on that account was become very great: and, besides this very disagreeable circumstance, the affair of the soldiery grieved him still more, who were alienated from him, from which yet these kings derived all the safety which they had, whenever they found the nation desirous of innovation: and all this danger was drawn upon him by his destruction of his brethren. However, he governed the nation jointly with his father, being indeed no other than a king already: and he was for that very reason trusted, and the more firmly depended on, for the which he ought himself to have been put to death, as appearing to have betrayed his brethren out of his concern for the preservation of Herod, and not rather out of his ill will to them, and, before them, to his father himself; and this was the accursed state he was in. Now, all Antipater's contrivances tended to make his way to take off Herod, that he might have nobody to accuse him in the vile practices he was devising; and that Herod might have no refuge, nor any to afford him their assistance, since they must thereby have Antipater for their open enemy: insomuch that the very plots he had laid against his brethren were occasioned by the hatred he bore his father. But at this time he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod, because if he were once dead, the government would now be firmly secured to him; but if he were suffered to live any longer, he should be in danger upon a discovery of that wickedness of which he had been the contriver, and his father would of necessity then become his enemy. And on this account it was that he became very bountiful to his father's friends, and bestowed great sums on several of them, in order to surprise men with his good deeds, and take off their hatred against him. And he sent great presents to his friends at Rome particularly to gain their good will; and above all the rest to Saturninus, the president of Syria. He also hoped to gain the favour of Saturninus's brother

with the large presents he bestowed on him: as also he used the same art to [Salome] the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends. And, when he counterfeited friendship to those with whom he conversed, he was very subtle in gaining their belief, and very cunning to hide his hatred against any that he really did hate. But he could not impose upon his aunt, who understood him of a long time, and was a woman not easily to be deluded, especially while she had already used all possible caution in preventing his pernicious designs. Although Antipater's uncle, by the mother's side, were married to her daughter, and this by his own connivance and management, while she had before been married to Aristobulus, and while Salome's other daughter by that husband was married to the son of Calleas. But that marriage was no obstacle to her, who knew how wicked he was, in her discovering his designs, as her former kindred to him could not prevent her hatred of him. Now Herod had compelled Salome, while she was in love with Sylleus the Arabian, and had taken a fondness for him, to marry Alexas; which match was by her submitted to at the instance of Julia, who persuaded Salome not to refuse it, lest she should herself be their open enemy, since Herod had sworn that he would never be friends with Salome, if she would not accept of Alexas for her husband; so she submitted to Julia as being Cæsar's wife; and, besides that, as she advised her to nothing but what was very much for her own advantage. At this time also it was that Herod sent back king Archelaus's daughter, who had been Alexander's wife, to her father, returning the portion he had with her out of his own estate, that there might be no dispute between them about it.

2. Now Herod brought up his son's children with great care: for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra; and Aristobulus had three sons by Bernice, Salome's daughter, and two daughters: and, as his friends were once with him, he presented the children before them; and, deploring the hard fortune of his own sons, he prayed that no such ill fortune might befall those who were their children, but that they might improve in virtue and obtain what they justly deserved, and might make him amends for his care of their education. He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage; the elder of Alexander's sons to Pheroras's daughter, and Antipater's daughter to Aristobus's eldest son. He also allotted one of Aristobulus's daughters to Antipater's son, and Aristobulus's other daughter to Herod, a son of his own, who was born to him by the high priest's daughter; for it is the ancient practice among us to have many wives at the same time. Now the king made these espousals for the children, out of commiseration of them now they were fatherless, as endeavouring to render Antipater kind to them by these intermarriages. But Antipater did not fail to bear the same temper of mind to his brother's children, which he had borne to his brothers themselves; and his father's concern about them provoked his indignation against them upon this supposal, that they would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son. What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him [for making them fatherless,] that all would come out, since they were no strangers to his vile disposition towards his brethren. He contrived therefore to overturn his father's settlements, as thinking it a terrible thing that they should be so related to him, and be so powerful withal. So Herod yielded to him, and changed his resolution at his entreaty; and the determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation.

3. Now Herod,* the king, had at this time nine wives: one of them Antipater's

* Those who have a mind to know all the family and descendants of Antipater, the Idumean, and of Herod, the Great, his son, and have a memory to preserve them all distinctly, may consult Josephus

mother, and another the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name. He had also one who was his brother's daughter, and another his sister's daughter, which two had no children. One of his wives also was of the Samaritan nation, whose sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and whose daughter was Olympias; which daughter was afterward married to Joseph, the king's brother's son; but Archelaus and Antipas were brought up with a certain private man at Rome. Herod had also to wife Cleopatra of Jerusalem, and by her he had his sons Herod and Philip; which last was also brought up at Rome: Pallas also was one of his wives, which bare him his son Phasaelus. And besides these, he had for his wives Phædra and Elpis, by whom he had his daughter Roxana and Salome. As for his elder daughters by the same mother with Alexander and Aristobulus, and whom Pheroras neglected to marry, he gave the one in marriage to Antipater, the king's sister's son, and the other to Phasaelus, his brother's son And this was the posterity of Herod.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning Zamaris, the Babylonian Jew. Concerning the Plots laid by Antipater against his Father; and somewhat about the Pharisees.*

§ 1. And now it was that Herod, being desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites, resolved to build a village, as large as a city, for the Jews, in the middle of that country, which might make his own country difficult to be assaulted, and whence he might be at hand to make sallies upon them, and to do them a mischief. Accordingly, when he understood that there was a man that was a Jew come out of Babylon, with five hundred horsemen, all of whom could shoot their arrows as they rode on horseback, and with a hundred of his relations had passed over Euphrates, and now abode at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation, called *Valatha;* he sent for this man, with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called *Batanea*, which country is bounded with Trachonites, as desirous to make that his habitation a guard to himself. He also engaged to let him hold the country free from tribute, and that they should dwell entirely without paying such customs as used to be paid, and gave it him tax free.

2. The Babylonian was induced by these offers to come, hither; so he took possession of the land, and built in it fortresses and a village, and named it *Bathyra.* Whereby this man became the safeguard to the inhabitants against the Trachonites, and preserved those Jews who came out of Babylon to offer their sacrifices at Jerusalem, from being hurt by the Trachonite robberies; so that a great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod; but when Philip, who was [tetrarch] after him, took the government, he made them pay some small taxes, and that for a little while only; and Agrippa the Great, and his son of the same name, although they harassed them greatly, yet would not take their liberty away. From whom, when the Romans have now taken the government into their own hands, they still give them the privilege of their freedom, but oppress them entirely with the imposition of taxes. Of which matter I shall treat more accurately in the progress of this history.*

3. At length Zamaris, the Babylonian, to whom Herod had given that country for a possession, died; having lived virtuously, and left children of a good character behind him: one of whom was Jacim, who was famous for his valour, and

Antiq. B. xviii. ch. 5. sect. 4. and Of the War, B. i. ch. xxviii. sect. 4, and Noldius in Havercamp's edition, p. 336, and Spanheim, *ib.* p. 402—405, and Reland, Palestin, part i. p. 175, 176.

* This is now wanting

taught his Babylonians how to ride their horses; and a troop of them were guards to the forementioned kings. And when Jacim was dead in his old age, he left a son whose name was Philip, one of great strength in his hands, and in other respects also more eminent for his valour than any of his contemporaries, on which account there was a confidence and firm friendship between him and king Agrippa. He had also an army, which he maintained as great as that of a king; which he exercised and led wheresoever he had occasion to march.

4. When the affairs of Herod were in the condition I have described, all the public affairs depended upon Antipater; and his power was such that he could do good turns to as many as he pleased, and this by his father's concession, in hopes of his good will and fidelity to him; and this till he ventured to use his power still farther, because his wicked designs were concealed from his father, and he made him believe every thing he said. He was also formidable to all, not so much on account of the power and authority he had, as for the shrewdness of his vile attempts beforehand: but he who principally cultivated a friendship with him was Pheroras, who received the like marks of his friendship; while Antipater had cunningly encompassed him about by a company of women whom he placed as guards about him: for Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister; and this notwithstanding the hatred he bare them, for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters. Yet did he bear them, and nothing was to be done without the women, who had got this man into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things, insomuch that Antipater was entirely addicted to them, both by himself and by his mother; for these four women* said all one and the same thing; but the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different, in some points of no consequence. But the king's sister [Salome] was their antagonist, who for a good while had looked about all their affairs, and was apprized that this their friendship was made in order to do to Herod some mischief, and was disposed to inform the king of it. And since these people knew that their friendship was very disagreeable to Herod, as tending to do him a mischief, they contrived that their meetings should not be discovered; so they pretended to hate one another, and to abuse one another when time served, and especially when Herod was present, or when any one was there that would tell him; but still their intimacy was firmer than ever when they were private. And this was the course they took; but they could not conceal from Salome neither their first contrivance, when they set about these their intentions, nor when they had made some progress in them: but she searched out every thing; and, aggravating the relations to her brother, declared to him, "As well their secret assemblies and compotations, as their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which, if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public. But, to appearance, they are at variance, and speak about one another as if they intended one another a mischief, but agree so well together when they are out of the sight of the multitude; for when they are alone by themselves they act in concert, and profess that they will never leave off their friendship, but will fight against those from whom they conceal their designs. And thus did she search out these things, and get a perfect knowledge of them, and then told her brother of them; who understood also of himself a great deal of what she said, but still durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of his sister's calumnies. For there was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God, by whom this set of women was inveigled. These are those that are called the sect of the *Pharisees*, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting, and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their

* Pherora's wife and her mother and sister and Doris, Antipater's mother

good will to Cæsar, and to the king's government, these very men did not swear, being above six thousand; and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pherora's wife paid their fine for them. In order to requite which kindness of hers, since they were believed to have the foreknowledge of things to come by divine inspiration, they foretold how God had decreed, that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children. These predictions were not concealed from Salome, but were told the king; as also how they had perverted some persons about the palace itself: so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his catamite. He slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold: and for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.

## CHAP. III.

*Concerning the Enmity between Herod and Pheroras: how Herod sent Antipater to Cæsar; and of the Death of Pheroras.*

§ 1. When Herod had punished those Pharisees who had been convicted of the foregoing crimes, he gathered an assembly together of his friends, and accused Pheroras's wife; and, ascribing the abuses of the virgins to the imprudence of that woman, brought an accusation against her for the dishonour she had brought upon them: That "she had studiously introduced a quarrel between him and his brother, and, by her ill temper, had brought them into a state of war, both by her words and actions; that the fines which he had laid had not been paid, and the offenders had escaped punishment by her means; and that nothing which had of late been done had been done without her; for which reason Pheroras would do well, if he would, of his own accord, and by his own command, and not at my entreaty, or as following my opinion, put this his wife away, as one that will still be the occasion of war between thee and me. And now Pheroras, if thou valuest thy relation to me, put this wife of thine away: for by this means thou wilt continue to be a brother to me, and wilt abide in thy love to me." Then said Pheroras (although he were pressed hard by the former words,) that "As he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation to him, so would he not leave off his affection for his wife: that he would rather choose to die than to live and be deprived of a wife that was so dear unto him." Hereupon Herod put off his anger against Pheroras on these accounts, although he himself thereby underwent a very uneasy punishment. However, he forbade Antipater and his mother to have any conversation with Pheroras, and bid them to take care to avoid the assemblies of the women: which they promised to do; but still got together when occasion served, and both Pheroras and Antipater had their own merry meetings. The report went also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Pheroras's wife; and that they were brought together by Antipater's mother.

2. But Antipater had now a suspicion of his father, and was afraid that the effects of his hatred to him might increase; so he wrote to his friends at Rome, and bid them send to Herod, that he would immediately send Antipater to Cæsar; which when it was done, Herod sent Antipater thither, and sent most noble presents along with him; as also his testament, wherein Antipater was appointed to be his successor; and that if Antipater should die first, his [Herod Philip] son by the high priest's daughter should succeed. And, together with Antipater, there went to Rome, Sylleus the Arabian, although he had done nothing of all that

Cæsar had enjoined him. Antipater also accused him of the same crimes of which he had been formerly accused by Herod. Sylleus was also accused by Aretas, that without his consent he had slain many of the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Soamus, a man that deserved to be honoured by all men: and that he had slain Fabatus, a servant of Cæsar's. These were the things of which Sylleus was accused, and that on the occasion following: There was one Corinthus belonging to Herod, of the guards of the king's body, and one who was greatly trusted by him. Sylleus had persuaded this man, with the offer of a great sum of money, to kill Herod: and he had promised to do it. When Fabatus had been made acquainted with this, for Sylleus had himself told him of it, he informed the king of it; who caught Corinthus, and put him to the torture, and thereby got out of him the whole conspiracy. He also caught two other Arabians, who were discovered by Corinthus; the one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus, who were both by the king brought to the torture, and confessed that they were coming to encourage Corinthus not to fail of doing what he had undertaken to do; and to assist him with their own hands in the murder, if need should require their assistance. So Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome.

3. At this time Herod commanded Pheroras, that since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy; which he did very willingly, and sware many oaths that he would not come again, till he heard that Herod was dead. And indeed, when, upon a sickness of the king's, he was desired to come to him before he died, that he might intrust him with some of his injunctions, he had such a regard to his oath, that he would not come to him: yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras, but remitted of his purpose (not to see him,) which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned: but as soon as he began to be ill, he came to him, and this without being sent for; and when he was dead, he took care of his funeral, and had his body brought to Jerusalem and buried there, and appointed a solemn mourning for him. This [death of Pheroras] became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes, although he were already sailed for Rome, God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren. I will explain the history of this matter very distinctly, that it may be for a warning to mankind, that they take care of conducting their whole lives by the rules of virtue.

## CHAP. IV.

*Pherora's Wife is accused by his Freedmen as guilty of poisoning him; and how Herod, upon Examination of the Matter by Torture, found the Poison; but so that it had been prepared for himself by his Son Antipater; and upon an Inquiry by Torture, he discovered the dangerous Designs of Antipater.*

1. As soon as Pheroras was dead, and his funeral was over, two of Pherora's freedmen, who were much esteemed by him, came to Herod, and entreated him not to leave the murder of his brother without avenging it, but to examine into such an unreasonable and unhappy death. When he was moved with these words, for they seemed to him to be true, they said, that "Pheroras supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten he died of it: that this potion was brought out of Arabia by a woman, under pretence indeed as a love potion, for that was its name, but in reality to kill Pheroras; for that the Arabian women are skilful in making such poisons: and the woman to whom they ascribe this was confessedly a most intimate friend of one of Sylleus's mistresses; and that both the mother and the sister of Pherora's wife had been

at the places where she lived, and had persuaded her to sell them this potion; and had come back and brought it with them the day before that of his supper." Hereupon the king was provoked, and put the women slaves to the torture, and some that were free with them; and as the fact did not yet appear, because none of them would confess it: at length one of them, under her utmost agonies, said no more than this, that "she prayed that God would send the like agonies upon Antipater's mother, who had been the occasion of these miseries to all of them." This prayer induced Herod to increase the women's tortures, till thereby all was discovered: "Their merry meetings, their secret assemblies, and the disclosing of what he had said to his son alone, unto Pheroras's women."* (Now what Herod had charged Antipater to conceal was the gift of a hundred talents to him not to have any conversation with Pheroras.) "And what hatred he bore to his father; and that he complained to his mother how very long his father lived; and that he was himself almost an old man, insomuch that if the kingdom should come to him, it would not afford him any great pleasure: and that there were a great many of his brothers, or brother's children, bringing up, that might have hopes of the kingdom as well as himself, all which made his own hopes of it uncertain; for that even now, if he should himself not live, Herod had ordained that the government should be conferred, not on his son, but rather on a brother. He also had accused the king of great barbarity, and of the slaughter of his sons; and that it was out of the fear he was under, lest he should do the like to him, that made him contrive this his journey to Rome, and Pheroras contrive to go to his own tetrarchy."

2. These confessions agreed with what his sister had told him, and tended greatly to corroborate her testimony, and to free her from the suspicion of her unfaithfulness to him. So the king having satisfied himself of the spite which Doris, Antipater's mother, as well as himself, bore to him, took away from her all her fine ornaments, which were worth many talents, and then sent her away, and entered into friendship with Pheroras's women. But he who most of all irritated the king against his son, was one Antipater, the procurator of Antipater the king's son, who, when he was tortured, among other things, said that Antipater had prepared a deadly potion, and given it to Pheroras, with his desire that he would give it to his father during his absence, and when he was too remote to have the least suspicion cast upon him thereto relating; that Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, brought that potion out of Egypt; and that it was sent to Pheroras by Theudion, the brother of the mother of Antipater, the king's son, and by that means came to Pheroras's wife, her husband having given it her to keep. And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the housetop; yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet: by which means when the king had comforted her, and had promised her and her domestics pardon, upon condition of their concealing nothing of the truth from him; but had threatened her with the utmost miseries if she proved ungrateful [and concealed any thing:] so she promised and swore that she would speak out every thing, and tell after what manner every thing was done; and said what many took to be entirely true, that "the potion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilus: and that his brother who was a physician, had procured it; and that when Theudion brought it us, she kept it, upon Pheroras's committing it to her: and that it was prepared by Antipater for thee. When, therefore, Pheroras was fallen sick, and thou camedst to him, and tookedst care of him, and when he saw the kindness thou hadst for him, his

* His wife, her mother, and sister.—It seems to me, by this whole story put together, that Pheroras was not himself poisoned, as is commonly supposed; for Antipater had persuaded him to poison Herod, ch. v. sect. 1, which would fall to the ground, if he were himself poisoned: nor could the poisoning of Pheroras serve any design that appears now going forward. It was only the suppcsal of two of his freedmen, that this love potion, or poison, which they knew was brought to Pheroras's wife, was made use of for poisoning him; whereas it appears to have been brought for her husband to poison Herod withal, as the future examinations demonstrate.

mind was overborne thereby. So he called me to him, and said to me, "O woman! Antipater hath circumvented me in this affair of his father and my brother by persuading me to have a murderous intention to him, and procuring a potion to be subservient thereto: do thou, therefore, go and fetch my potion (since my brother appears to have still the same virtuous disposition towards me which he had formerly, and I do not expect to live long myself, and that I may not defile my forefathers by the murder of a brother,) and burn it before my face:" that accordingly she immediately brought it, and did as her husband bade her; and that she burnt the greatest part of the potion; but that a little of it was left, that if the king, after Pheroras's death, should treat her ill, she might poison herself, and thereby get clear of her miseries." Upon her saying thus, she brought out the potion, and the box in which it was, before them all. Nay, there was another brother of Antiphilus's, and his mother also, who, by the extremity of pain and torture, confessed the same things, and owned the box [to be that which had been brought out of Egypt.] The high priest's daughter also, who was the king's wife, was accused to have been conscious of all this, and had resolved to conceal it: for which reason Herod divorced her; and blotted her son out of his testament, wherein he had been mentioned as one that was to reign after him; and he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon, the son of Boethus, and appointed Mattathias, son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.

3. While this was doing, Bathyllus, also Antipater's freedman, came from Rome, and, upon the torture, was found to have brought another potion, to give it into the hands of Antipater's mother, and of Pheroras, that if the former potion did not operate upon the king, this at least might carry him off. There came also letters from Herod's friends at Rome, by the approbation and at the suggestion of Antipater, to accuse Archelaus and Philip, as if they calumniated their father on account of the slaughter of Alexander and Aristobulus, and as if they commiserated their deaths; and as if, because they were sent for home (for their father had already recalled them,) they concluded they were themselves also to be destroyed. These letters had been procured by great rewards, by Antipater's friends; but Antipater himself wrote to his father about them, and laid the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said, they were but young men, and so imputed their words to their youth. But he said, that he had himself been very busy in the affair relating to Sylleus, and in getting interest among the great men; and on that account had bought splendid ornaments to present them withal, which cost him two hundred talents. Now, one may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them. The causes of which were, that the roads were exactly guarded, and that men hated Antipater; for there was nobody who would run any hazard himself, to gain him any advantages.

## CHAP. V.

*Antipater's Navigation from Rome to his Father; and how he was accused by Nicolaus of Damascus, and condemned to die by his Father, and by Quintilius Varus, who was then President of Syria; and how he was then bound till Cæsar should be informed of his Cause.*

§ 1. Now Herod, upon Antipater's writing to him, that having done all that he was to do, and in this manner he was to do it, he would suddenly come to him, concealed his anger against him, and wrote back to him, and bid him not to delay his journey; lest any harm should befall him in his absence. At the same time

also he made some little complaint about his mother; but promised, that he should lay those complaints aside when he should return. He withal expressed his entire affection for him, as fearing lest he should have some suspicion of him, and defer his journey to him; and lest, while he lived at Rome, he should lay plots for the kingdom, and, moreover, do somewhat against himself. This letter Antipater met with in Cilicia; but had received an account of Pheroras's death before at Tarentum. This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father, which he had promised him to do. And when he was at Celendris, in Cilicia, he began to deliberate with himself about his sailing home, as being much grieved with the ejection of his mother. Now some of his friends advised him, that he should tarry awhile somewhere, in expectation of farther information. But others advised him to sail home without delay; for that if he were once come thither, he would soon put an end to all accusations, and that nothing afforded any weight to his accusers at present but his absence. He was persuaded by these last, and sailed on, and landed at the haven called Sebastus; which Herod had built at vast expenses in honour of Cæsar, and called Sebastus. And now was Antipater evidently in a miserable condition, while nobody came to him or saluted him, as they did at his going away, with good wishes or joyful acclamations; nor was there now any thing to hinder them from entertaining him, on the contrary, with bitter curses, while they supposed he was come to receive his punishment for the murder of his brethren.

Now Quintilius Varus was at this time at Jerusalem, being sent to succeed Saturninus, as president of Syria, and was come as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs; and as they were sitting together, Antipater came upon them, without knowing any thing of the matter; so he came into the palace clothed in purple. The porters indeed received him in, but excluded his friends. And now he was in great disorder, and presently understood the condition he was in; while upon his going to salute his father he was repulsed by him, who called him a murderer of his brethren, and a plotter of destruction against himself, and told him that Varus should be his auditor and his judge the very next day; so he found, that what misfortune he now heard of was already upon him, with the greatness of which he went away in confusion: upon which his mother and his wife met him (which wife was the daughter of Antigonus, who was king of the Jews before Herod,) from whom he learned all circumstances which concerned him, and then prepared himself for his trial.

3. On the next day Varus and the king sat together in judgment; and both their friends were also called in, as also the king's relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these some slaves of Antipater's mother, who were taken up a little before Antipater's coming, and brought with them a written letter, the sum of which was this: that "he should not come back, because all was come to his father's knowledge; and that Cæsar was the only refuge he had left to prevent both his and her delivery into his father's hands." Then did Antipater fall down at his father's feet, and besought him "not to prejudge his cause, but that he might be first heard by his father, and that his father would keep himself unprejudiced." So Herod ordered him to be brought into the midst, and then "lamented himself about his children, from whom he had suffered such great misfortunes; and because Antipater fell upon him in his old age. He also reckoned up what maintenance and what education he had given them; and what seasonable supplies of wealth he had afforded them, according to their own desires: none of which favours had hindered them from contriving plots against him, and from bringing his very life into danger, in order to gain his kingdom, after an impious manner, by taking away his life before the course of nature, their father's wishes, or justice, required that that kingdom should come to them; and that he wondered what hopes could elevate Antipater to such a pass, as to be hardy enough to attempt such

things; that he had by his testament in writing declared him his successor in the government; and while he was alive he was in no respect inferior to him, either in his illustrious dignity, or in power and authority, he having no less than fifty talents for his yearly income, and had received for his journey to Rome no fewer than thirty talents. He also objected to him the case of his brethren, whom he had accused; and if they were guilty, he had imitated their example; and if not, he had brought him groundless accusations against his near relations; for that he had been acquainted with all those things by him, and by nobody else, and had done what was done by his approbation, and whom he now absolved from all that was criminal, by becoming the inheritor of the guilt of such their parricide."

4. When Herod had thus spoken, he fell a weeping, and was not able to say any more; but at his desire Nicolaus of Damascus, being the king's friend, and always conversant with him, and acquainted with whatsoever he did, and with the circumstances of his affairs, proceeded to what remained, and explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts. Upon which Antipater, in order to make his legal defence, turned himself to his father, and "enlarged upon the many indications he had given of his good will to him; and instanced in the honours that had been done him, which yet had not been done, had he not deserved them by his virtuous concern about him; for that he had made provision for every thing that was fit to be foreseen beforehand, as to giving him his wisest advice; and whenever there was occasion for the labour of his own hands, he had not grudged any such pains for him. And that it was almost impossible that he, who had delivered his father from so many treacherous contrivances laid against him, should be himself in a plot against him, and so lose all the reputation he had gained for his virtue, by his wickedness which succeeded it; and this while he had nothing to prohibit him, who was already appointed his successor, to enjoy the royal honour with his father also at present, and that there was no likelihood that a person who had the one half of that authority without any danger, and with a good character, should hunt after the whole infamy and danger, and this when it was doubtful whether he could obtain it or not; and when he saw the sad example of his brethren before him, and was both the informer and the accuser against them, at a time when they might not otherwise have been discovered; nay, was the author of the punishment inflicted on them, when it appeared evidently that they were guilty of a wicked attempt against their father; and that even the contentions there were in the king's family were indications that he had ever managed affairs out of the sincerest affection to his father. And as to what he had done at Rome, Cæsar was a witness thereto; who yet was no more to be imposed upon than God himself: of whose opinions his letters sent hither are sufficient evidence; and that it was not reasonable to prefer the calumnies of such as proposed to raise disturbances, before those letters; the greatest part of which calumnies had been raised during his absence, which gave scope to his enemies to forge them, which they had not been able to do if he had been there." Moreover he showed the weakness of the evidence obtained by torture, which was commonly false; because the distress men are in under such tortures naturally obliges them to say many things in order to please those that govern them. He also offered himself to the torture.

5. Hereupon there was a change observed in the assembly, while they greatly pitied Antipater, who by weeping and putting on a countenance suitable to his sad case, made them commiserate the same; insomuch that his very enemies were moved to compassion: and it appeared plainly that Herod himself was affected in his own mind, although he was not willing it should be taken notice of. Then did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun, and that with great bitterness; and summed up all the evidence which arose from the tortures or from the testimonies. "He principally and largely cried up the king's virtues, which he had exhibited in the maintenance and education of his sons: while he could never gain any advantage thereby, but still fell from one misfortune to another.

Although he owned, that he was not so much surprised with that thoughtless behaviour of his former sons, who were but young, and were besides corrupted by wicked counsellors, who were the occasions of their wiping out of their minds the righteous dictates of nature, and this out of a desire of coming to the government sooner than they ought to do; yet that he could not but justly stand amazed at the horrid wickedness of Antipater, who, although he had not only had great benefits bestowed on him by his father, enough to tame his reason, yet could not be more tamed than the most envenomed serpents; whereas even those creatures admit of some mitigation, and will not bite their benefactors; while Antipater hath not let the misfortunes of his brethren be any hinderance to him, but he hath gone on to imitate their barbarity notwithstanding. Yet wast thou, O Antipater! (as thou hast thyself confessed) the informer as to what wicked actions they had done, and the searcher out of the evidence against them, and the author of the punishment they underwent upon their detection. Nor do we say this as accusing thee for being so zealous in thy anger against them, but are astonished at thy endeavours to imitate their profligate behaviour; and we discover thereby, that thou didst not act thus for the safety of thy father, but for the destruction of thy brethren, that by such outside hatred of their impiety, thou mightest be believed a lover of thy father, and mightest thereby get thee power enough to do mischief with the greatest impunity; which design thy actions indeed demonstrate. It is true, thou tookest thy brethren off because thou didst convict them of their wicked designs: but thou didst not yield up to justice those who were their partners; and thereby didst make it evident to all men, that thou madest a covenant with them against thy father, when thou chosest to be the accuser of thy brethren, as desirous to gain to thyself alone this advantage of laying plots to kill thy father, and so to enjoy double pleasures; which is truly worthy of thy evil disposition, which thou hast openly showed against thy brethren; on which account thou didst rejoice, as having done a most famous exploit; nor was that behaviour unworthy of thee. But if thy intentions were otherwise, thou art worse than they; while thou didst contrive to hide thy treachery against thy father, thou didst hate them, not as plotters against thy father, for in that case thou hadst not thyself fallen upon the like crime, but as successors of his dominions, and more worthy of that succession than thyself. Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brethren, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected; and lest thou shouldest suffer what punishment thou hadst deserved, thou hadst a mind to exact that punishment of thy unhappy father, and didst devise such a sort of uncommon parricide as the world never yet saw. For thou, who art his son, didst not only lay a treacherous design against thy father, and didst it while he loved thee and had been thy benefactor, had made thee in reality his partner in the kingdom, and had openly declared thee his successor, while thou wast not forbidden to taste the sweetness of authority already, and hadst the firm hope of what was future by thy father's determination, and the security of a written testament. But, for certain, thou didst not measure these things according to thy father's various dispositions, but according to thy own thoughts and inclinations; and wast desirous to take the part that remained away from thy too indulgent father, and soughtest to destroy him with thy deeds, whom thou in words pretendest to preserve. Nor wast thou content to be wicked thyself, but thou filledst thy mother's head with thy devices, and raised disturbances among thy brethren, and hadst the boldness to call thy father a wild beast; while thou hadst thyself a mind more cruel than any serpent, whence thou sendest out that poison amongst thy nearest kindred and greatest benefactors, and invitedst them to assist thee and guard thee, and didst hedge thyself in on all sides by the artifices of both men and women, against an old man; as though that mind of thine was not sufficient of itself to support so great a hatred as thou bearest to him. And here thou appearest after the tortures of freemen, of domestics, of men and women, which have been examined on thy account, and after the informations of thy fellow-

conspirators, as making haste to contradict the truth, and hast thought on ways not only how to take thy father out of the world, but to disannul that written law which is against thee, and the virtue of Varus, and the nature of justice; nay, such is that impudence of thine on which thou confidest, that thou desirest to be put to the torture thyself, while thou allegest, that the tortures of those already examined thereby have made them tell lies; that those that have been the deliverers of thy father may not be allowed to have spoken the truth; but that thy tortures may be esteemed the discoverers of truth. Wilt not thou, O Varus, deliver the king from the injuries of his kindred? Wilt not thou destroy this wicked wild beast, which hath pretended kindness to his father in order to destroy his brethren; while yet he is himself alone ready to carry off the kingdom immediately, and appears to be the most bloody butcher to him of them all? For thou art sensible, that parricide is a general injury both to nature and to common life; and that the intention of parricide is not inferior to its preparation; and he who does not punish it, is injurious to nature itself."

6. Nicolaus added farther what belonged to Antipater's mother, and whatsoever she had prattled like a woman; as also about the predictions and the sacrifices relating to the king; and whatsoever Antipater had done lasciviously in his cups and his amours among Pheroras's women; the examination upon torture; and whatsoever concerned the testimonies of the witnesses, which were many, and of various kinds; some prepared beforehand, and others were sudden answers, which farther declared and confirmed the foregoing evidence. For those men who were acquainted with Antipater's practices, but had concealed them out of fear, when they saw that he was exposed to the accusations of the former witnesses, and that his great good fortune, which had supported him hitherto, had now evidently betrayed him into the hands of his enemies, who were now insatiable in their hatred to him, told all they knew of him. And his ruin was now hastened, not so much by the enmity of those that were his accusers, as by his gross, and impudent, and wicked contrivances, and by his ill will to his father and his brethren; while he had filled their house with disturbance, and caused them to murder one another; and was neither fair in his hatred, nor kind in his friendship; but just so far as served his own turn. Now, there were a great number who for a long time beforehand had seen all this; and especially such as were naturally disposed to judge of matters by the rules of virtue; because they were used to determine about affairs without passion, but had been restrained from making any open complaints before; these, upon the leave now given them, produced all that they knew before the public. The demonstrations also of these wicked facts could no way be disproved; because the many witnesses there were did neither speak out of favour to Herod, nor were they obliged to keep what they had to say silent, out of suspicion of any danger they were in; but they spake what they knew, because they thought such actions very wicked; and that Antipater deserved the greatest punishment; and indeed not so much for Herod's safety, as on account of the man's own wickedness. Many things were also said, and those by a great number of persons who were no way obliged to say them; insomuch that Antipater, who used generally to be very shrewd in his lies and impudence, was not able to say one word to the contrary. When Nicolaus had left off speaking, and had produced the evidence, Varus bid Antipater to betake himself to making his defence, if he had prepared any thing whereby it might appear that he was not guilty of the crimes he was accused of; for that, as he was himself desirous, so did he know that his father was in like manner desirous also to have him found entirely innocent. But Antipater fell down on his face, and appealed to God, and to all men, for testimonials of his innocency; desiring that God would declare by some evident signals, that he had not laid any plot against his father. This being the usual method of all men destitute of virtue, that when they set about any wicked undertakings, they fall to work according to their own inclinations, as if they believed that God was unconcerned

in human affairs; but when once they are found out, and are in danger of undergoing the punishment due to their crimes, they endeavour to overthrow all the evidence against them, by appealing to God; which was the very thing which Antipater now did; for whereas he had done every thing as if there were no God in the world; when he was on all sides distressed by justice, and when he had no other advantage to expect from any legal proofs, by which he might disprove the accusations laid against him, he impudently abused the majesty of God, and ascribed it to his power, that he had been preserved hitherto; and produced before them all what difficulties he had ever undergone in his bold acting for his father's preservation.

7. So when Varus, upon asking Antipater what he had to say for himself, found that he had nothing to say besides his appeal to God, and saw that there was no end of that, he bid them bring the potion before the court, that he might see what virtue still remained in it; and when it was brought, and one that was condemned to die had drank it by Varus's command, he died presently. Then Varus got up, and departed out of the court, and went away the day following to Antioch, where his usual residence was, because that was the palace of the Syrians; upon which Herod laid his son in bonds. But what were Varus's discourses to Herod was not known to the generality, and upon what words it was that he went away; though it was also generally supposed that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son, was done with his approbation. But when Herod had bound his son, he sent letters to Rome to Cæsar about him, and such messengers withal as should, by word of mouth, inform Cæsar of Antipater's wickedness. Now at this very time there was seized a letter of Antiphilus, written to Antipater out of Egypt (for he lived there;) and when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain what follows: "I have sent thee Acme's letter, and hazarded my own life; for thou knowest that I am in danger from two families, if I be discovered. I wish thee good success in thy affair." These were the contents of this letter; but the king made inquiry about the other letter also; for it did not appear: and Antiphilus's slave, who brought that letter which had been read, denied that he had received the other. But while the king was in doubt about it, one of Herod's friends seeing a seam upon the inner coat of the slave, and a doubling of the cloth (for he had two coats on,) he guessed that the letter might be within that doubling, which accordingly proved to be true. So they took out the letter, and its contents were these: "Acme to Antipater. I have written such a letter to thy father as thou desirest me. I have also taken a copy, and sent it, as if it came from Salome to my lady [Livia;] which, when thou readest, I know that Herod will punish Salome, as plotting against him." Now this pretended letter of Salome's to her lady was composed by Antipater, in the name of Salome, as to its real meaning, but in the words of Acme. The letter was this: "Acme to king Herod. I have done my endeavour that nothing that is done against thee should be concealed from thee. So, upon my finding a letter of Salome written to my lady against thee, I have written out a copy, and sent it to thee; with hazard to myself, but for thy advantage. The reason why she wrote it was this; that she had a mind to be married to Sylleus. Do thou therefore tear this letter in pieces, that I may not come into danger of my life." Now Acme had written to Antipater himself; and informed him that, in compliance with his command, she had both herself written to Herod, as if Salome had laid a sudden plot entirely against him, and had herself sent a copy of an epistle, as coming from Salome to her lady. Now Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant to Julia, Cæsar's wife; and did this out of her friendship for Antipater, as having been corrupted by him with a large present of money, to assist in his pernicious designs against his father and his aunt.

8. Hereupon Herod was so amazed at the prodigious wickedness of Antipater, that he was ready to have ordered him to be slain immediately, as a turbulent person in the most important concerns, and as one that had laid a plot not only against himself, but against his sister also; and even corrupted Cæsar's own do-

mestics. Salome also provoked him to it; beating her breast, and bidding him to kill her, if he could produce any credible testimony that she had acted in that manner. Herod also sent for his son, and asked him about this matter; and bid him contradict it if he could, and not suppress any thing he had to say for himself; and when he had not one word to say, he asked him, since he was every way caught in his villany, that he would make no farther delay, but discover his associates in these his wicked designs. So he laid all upon Antiphilus; but discovered nobody else. Hereupon Herod was in such great grief, that he was ready to send his son to Rome to Cæsar; there to give an account of these his wicked contrivances. But he soon became afraid, lest he might there, by the assistance of his friends, escape the danger he was in: so he kept him bound as before: and sent more ambassadors and letters [to Rome] to accuse his son; and on account of what assistance Acme had given him in his wicked designs, with copies of the epistles beforementioned.

## CHAP. VI

*Concerning the Disease that Herod fell into, and the Sedition which the Jews raised thereupon; with the Punishment of the Seditious.*

§ 1. Now Herod's ambassadors made haste to Rome: but went as instructed beforehand, what answers they were to make to the questions put to them. They also carried the epistles with them. But Herod now fell into a distemper; and made his will, and bequeathed his kingdom to [Antipas] his youngest son; and this out of that hatred to Archelaus and Philip, which the calumnies of Antipater had raised against them. He also bequeathed a thousand talents to Cæsar, and five hundred to Julia, Cæsar's wife, to Cæsar's children, and friends, and freed men. He also distributed among his sons and their sons his money, his revenues and his lands. He also made Salome his sister very rich; because she had continued faithful to him in all his circumstances, and was never so rash as to do him any harm: and as he despaired of recovering, for he was about the seventieth year of his age, he grew fierce, and indulged the bitterest anger upon all occasions; the cause whereof was this: that he thought himself despised, and that the nation was pleased with his misfortunes; besides which, he resented a sedition which some of the lower sort of men excited against him; the occasion of which was as follows:

2. There was one Judas, the son of Saripheus, and Matthias, the son of Margalothus, two of the most eloquent men among the Jews, and the most celebrated interpreters of the Jewish laws; and men well beloved by the people, because of their education of their youth: for all that were studious of virtue frequented their lectures every day. These men, when they found that the king's distemper was incurable, excited the young men that they would pull down all those works which the king had erected contrary to the law of their fathers; and thereby obtain the rewards which the law will confer on them for such actions of piety; for that it was truly on account of Herod's rashness in making such things as the law had forbidden, that his other misfortunes, and this distemper also, which was so unusual among mankind, and with which he was now afflicted, came upon him: for Herod had caused such things to be made which were contrary to the law, of which he was accused by Judas and Matthias; for the king had erected over the great gate of the temple a large golden eagle of great value, and had dedicated it to the temple. Now the law forbids those that propose to live according to it, to erect images* or representations of any living creature. So these wise men persuaded [their scholars] to pull down the golden eagle; alleging, that "although

* That the making of images, without an intention to worship them, was not unlawful to the Jews, see the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. vii. sect. 5.

they should incur any danger, which might bring them to their deaths, the virtue of the action now proposed to them would appear much more advantageous to them than the pleasures of life; since they would die for the preservation and observation of the law of their fathers; since they would also acquire an everlasting fame and commendation; since they would be both commended by the present generation, and leave an example of life that would never be forgotten to posterity; since that common calamity of dying cannot be avoided by our living so as to escape any such dangers; that therefore it is a right thing for those who are in love with a virtuous conduct, to wait for that fatal hour by such a behaviour as may carry them out of the world with praise and honour: and that this will alleviate death to a great degree, thus to come at it by the performance of brave actions, which bring us into danger of it; and at the same time, to leave that reputation behind them to their children, and to all their relations, whether they be men or women; which will be of great advantage to them afterward."

3. And with such discourses as this did these men excite the young men to this action; and a report being come to them that the king was dead, this was an addition to the wise men's persuasions; so, in the very middle of the day, they got upon the place, they pulled down the eagle, and cut it into pieces with axes, while a great number of the people were in the temple. And now the king's captain, upon hearing what the undertaking was, and supposing it was a thing of a higher nature than it proved to be, came up thither, having a great band of soldiers with him: such as was sufficient to put a stop to the multitude of those who pulled down what was dedicated to God; so he fell upon them unexpectedly, and as they were upon this bold attempt, in a foolish presumption rather than a cautious circumspection, as is usual with the multitude: and while they were in disorder and incautious of what was for their advantage; so he caught no fewer than forty of the young men, who had the courage to stay behind when the rest ran away· together with the authors of this bold attempt, Judas and Matthias, who thought it an ignominious thing to retire upon his approach, and led them to the king. And when they were come to the king, and he had asked them if they had been so bold as to pull down what he had dedicated to God? "Yes (said they,) what was contrived we contrived; and what hath been performed, we performed it; and that with such a virtuous courage as becomes men: for we have given our assistance to those things which were dedicated to the majesty of God; and we have provided for what we have learned by hearing the law; and it ought not to be wondered at if we esteem those laws which Moses had suggested to him, and were taught him by God, and which he wrote and left behind him, more worthy of observation than thy commands. Accordingly we will undergo death, and all sorts of punishment which thou canst inflict upon us with pleasure, since we are conscious to ourselves that we shall die, not for any unrighteous actions, but for our love to religion." And thus they all said; and their courage was still equal to their profession, and equal to that with which they readily set about this undertaking. And when the king had ordered them to be bound, he sent them to Jericho, and called together the principal men among the Jews; and when they were come, he made them assemble in the theatre; and because he could not himself stand, he lay upon a couch, and "enumerated the many labours that he had long endured on their account; and his building of the temple, and what a vast charge that was to him; while the Asamoneans, during the hundred and twenty-five years of their government, had not been able to perform any so great a work for the honour of God as that was: that he had also adorned it with very valuable donations; on which account he hoped that he had left himself a memorial, and procured himself a reputation after his death. He then cried out, that these men had not abstained from affronting him, even in his life-time; but that in the very day-time, and in the sight of the multitude, they had abused him to that degree as to fall upon what he had dedicated; and in that way of abuse had pulled it down to the ground. They pretended, indeed, that they did it to

affront him; but if any one consider the thing truly, they will find that they were guilty of sacrilege towards God therein."

4. But the people, on account of Herod's barbarous temper, and for fear he should be so cruel as to inflict punishment on them, said, "What was done, was done without their approbation; and that it seemed to them that the actors might well be punished for what they had done." But as for Herod, he dealt more mildly with others [of the assembly;] but he deprived Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part on occasion of this action, and made Joazar, who was Matthias's wife's brother, high priest in his stead. Now it happened that during the time of the high priesthood of this Matthias, there was another person made high priest for a single day: that very day which the Jews observed as a fast. The occasion was this: this Matthias the high priest, on the night before that day when the fast was to be celebrated, seemed in a dream to have conversation with his wife; and because he could not officiate himself on that account, Joseph, the son of Ellemus, his kinsman, assisted him in that sacred office.* But Herod deprived this Matthias of the high priesthood; and burnt the other Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive. And that very night there was an eclipse of the moon.†

5. But now Herod's distemper greatly increased upon him after a severe manner, and this by God's judgment upon him for his sins; for a fire glowed in him slowly, which did not so much appear to the touch outwardly, as it augmented his pains inwardly; for it brought upon him a vehement appetite to eating, which he could not avoid to supply with one sort of food or other. His entrails were also exulcerated, and thechief violence of his pain lay on his colon: an aqueous and transparent liquor also had settled itself about his feet, and a like matter afflicted him at the bottom of his belly. Nay, farther his privy-member was putrified, and produced worms: and when he sat upright he had a difficulty of breathing, which was very loathsome, on account of the stench of his breath, and the quickness of its returns: he had also convulsions in all parts of his body, which increased his stench to an insufferable degree. It was said by those who pretended to divine, and who were endued with wisdom to foretell such things, that God inflicted this punishment on the king on account of his great impiety: yet was he still in hopes of recovering, though his afflictions seemed greater than any one could bear. He also sent for physicians, and did not refuse to follow what they prescribed for his assistance: and went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoe, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink; which water runs into the lake called *Asphaltitis*. And when the physicians once thought fit to have him bathed in a vessel full of oil, it was supposed that he was just dying; but upon the lamentable cries of his domestics, he revived: and having no longer the least hopes of recovering, he gave order that every soldier should be paid fifty drachmæ; and he also gave a great deal to their commanders, and to his friends, and came again to Jericho, where he grew so choleric that it brought him to do all things like a mad man; and though he were near his death, he contrived the following designs:—He commanded that all the principal men of the entire Jewish nation, wheresoever they lived, should be called

* This fact, that one Joseph was made high priest for a single day, on occasion of the action here specified, that befell Matthias, the real high priest, in his sleep, the night before the great day of expiation, is attested to both in the Mishna and Talmud, as Dr. Hudson here informs us. And indeed, from this fact, thus fully attested, we may confute that pretended rule in the Talmud here mentioned, and endeavoured to be excused by Reland, that the high priest was not suffered to sleep the night before that great day of expiation; which watching would surely rather unfit him for the many important duties he was to perform on that solemn day, than dispose him duly to perform them. Nor do such Talmudical rules, when unsupported by better evidence, much less when contradicted thereby, seem to me of weight enough to deserve that so great a man as Reland should spend his time in endeavours at their vindication.

† This eclipse of the moon (which is the only eclipse of either of the luminaries mentioned by our Josephus in any of his writings) is of the greatest consequence for the determination of the time for the death of Herod and Antipater, and for the birth and entire chronology of Jesus Christ. It happened March 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4710, and the 4th year before the Christian æra. See its calculation by the rules of astronomy, at the end of the Astronomical Lectures, edit. Lat page 451, 452.

to him. Accordingly, there were a great number that came, because the whole nation was called, and all men heard of this call, and death was the penalty of such as should despise the epistles that were sent to call them. And now the king was in a wild rage against them all, the innocent as well as those that had afforded him ground for accusations; and when they were come, he ordered them to be all shut up in the hippodrome,* and sent for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexis, and spake thus to them: "I shall die in a little time, so great are my pains; which death ought to be cheerfully borne, and to be welcomed by all men, but what principally troubles me is this, that I shall die without being lamented; and without such mourning as men usually expect at a king's death. For that he was not unacquainted with the temper of the Jews, that his death would be a thing very desirable, and exceedingly acceptable to them; because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him, and to abuse the donations he had dedicated to God: that it therefore was their business to resolve to afford him some alleviation of his great sorrows on this occasion; for that, if they do not refuse him their consent in what he desires, he shall have a great mourning at his funeral, and such as never any king had before him; for then the whole nation would mourn from their very soul, which otherwise would be done in sport and mockery only. He desired, therefore, that as soon as they see he hath given up the ghost, they shall place soldiers round the hippodrome, while they do not know that he is dead; and that they shall not declare his death to the multitude till this is done, but that they shall give orders to have those that are in custody shot with their darts: and that this slaughter of them all will cause that he shall not miss to rejoice on a double account. That as he is dying, they will make him secure that his will shall be executed in what he charges them to do: and that he shall have the honour of a memorable mourning at his funeral. So he deplored his condition with tears in his eyes, and obtested them by the kindness due from them, as of his kindred, and by the faith they owed to God; and begged of them that they would not hinder him of this honourable mourning at his funeral." So they promised him not to transgress his commands.

6. Now any one may easily discover the temper of this man's mind, which not only took pleasure in doing what he had done formerly against his relations, out of the love of life, but by those commands of his which savoured of no humanity: since he took care, when he was departing out of this life, that the whole nation should be put into mourning; and indeed made desolate of their dearest kindred, when he gave order that one out of every family should be slain, although they had done nothing that was unjust, or that was against him, nor were they accused of any other crimes; while as is usual for those who have any regard to virtue, to lay aside their hatred at such a time, even with respect to those they justly esteemed their enemies.

## CHAP. VII.

*Herod had Thoughts of killing Himself with his own Hand: and a little afterwards he orders Antipater to be slain.*

§ 1. As he was giving these commands to his relations, there came letters from his ambassadors, who had been sent to Rome unto Cæsar, which, when they were read, their purport was this: that "Acme was slain by Cæsar, out of his indignation at what hand she had in Antipater's wicked practices: and that as to Antipater himself, Cæsar left it to Herod to act as became a father and a king, and either to banish him or take away his life, which he pleased." When Herod heard this he was somewhat better, out of the pleasure he had from the contents of the letters; and was elevated at the death of Acme, and at the power that was given

* A place for the horse-races.

him over his son; but as his pains were become very great, he was now ready to faint for want of somewhat to eat: so he called for an apple, and a knife; for it was his custom formerly to pare the apple himself, and soon afterwards to cut it and eat it. When he had got the knife he looked about, and had a mind to stab himself with it; and he had done it, had not his first-cousin Archiabus prevented him, and held his hand, and cried out loudly. Whereupon a woful lamentation echoed through the palace, and a great tumult was made, as if the king were dead. Upon which Antipater, who verily believed his father was deceased, grew bold in his discourse, as hoping to be immediately and entirely released from his bonds, and to take the kingdom into his hands, without any more ado; so he discoursed with the jailor about letting him go, and in that case promised him great things, both now and hereafter, as if that were the only thing now in question. But the jailor did not only refuse to do what Antipater would have him, but informed the king of his intentions, and how many solicitations he had from him [of that nature.] Hereupon Herod, who had formerly no affection or good will towards his son to restrain him, when he heard what the jailor said, he cried out, and beat his head, although he was at death's door, and raised himself upon his elbow, and sent for some of his guards, and commanded them to kill Antipater without any farther delay, and to do it presently, and to bury him in an ignoble manner at Hyrcania.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Concerning Herod's Death, and Testament, and Burial.*

§ 1. And now Herod altered his testament upon the alteration of his mind; for he appointed Antipas, to whom he had before left the kingdom, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and granted the kingdom to Archelaus. He also gave Gaulonitis, and Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip, who was his son, but own brother to Archelaus,* by the name of tetrarchy; and bequeathed Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, to Salome his sister, with five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver that was coined. He also made provision for all the rest of his kindred, by giving them sums of money and annual revenues, and so left them all in a wealthy condition. He bequeathed also to Cæsar ten millions [of drachmæ] of coined money, besides both vessels of gold and silver, and garments exceeding costly; to Julia, Cæsar's wife, and to certain others, five millions. When he had done these things, he died, the fifth day after he had caused Antipater to be slain; having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years;† but since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven. A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right; yet was he favoured by fortune as much as any man ever was; for, from a private man he became a king: and though he were encompassed with ten thousand dangers, he got clear of them all, and continued his life till a very old age. But then, as to the affairs of his family and children, in which indeed, according to his own opinion, he was also very fortunate because he was able to conquer his enemies; yet, in my opinion, he was herein very unfortunate.

2. But then Salome and Alexis, before the king's death was made known, dis-

* When it is here said, that Philip the tetrarch, and Archelaus the king or ethnarch, were ἀδελφοὶ γνήσιοι or *genuine brothers*; if these words mean *own brothers*, or born of the same father and mother, there must be here some mistake; because they had indeed the same father, Herod, but different mothers, the former Cleopatra, and Archelaus Malthace. They were indeed brought up altogether privately at Rome like own brothers; and Philip was Archelaus's deputy when he went to have his kingdom confirmed to him at Rome; ch. ix. sect. 3. and Of the War, B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 1, which intimacy is perhaps all that Josephus intended by the words before us.

† These number of years for Herod's reign, 34, and 37, are the very same with those of the War, B. i. ch. xxxiii. sect. 8, and are among the principal chronological characters belonging to the reign or death of Herod. See Harm. of the Evang. p. 150–155.

missed those that were shut up in the Hippodrome, and told them that the king ordered them to go away to their own lands, and take care of their own affairs, which was esteemed by the nation a great benefit. And now the king's death was made public, when Salome and Alexis gathered the soldiery together in the amphitheatre at Jericho; and the first thing they did was, they read Herod's letter written to the soldiery thanking them for their fidelity and good will to him, and exhorting them to afford his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed for their king, like fidelity and good will. After which Ptolemy, who had the king's seal intrusted to him, read the king's testament which was to be of force no otherwise than as it should stand when Cæsar had inspected it; so there was presently an acclamation made to Archelaus, as king; and the soldiers came by bands, and their commanders with them, and promised the same good will to him, and readiness to serve him, which they had exhibited to Herod; and they prayed God to be assistant to him.

3. After this was over they prepared for his funeral, it being Archelaus's care that the procession to his father's sepulchre should be very sumptuous. Accordingly, he brought out all his ornaments to adorn the pomp of the funeral. The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as well as the body itself: he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold: he also had a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these was the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations: and they were put into the following order: first of all went his guards; then the band of Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices. So they went eight furlongs,* to Herodium; for there, by his own command, he was to be buried. And thus did Herod end his life.

4. Now Archelaus paid him so much respect as to continue his mourning till the seventh day; for so many days are appointed for it by the law of our fathers. And when he had given a treat to the multitude, and left off his mourning, he went up into the temple. He had also acclamations and praises given him, which way soever he went, every one striving with the rest who should appear to use the loudest acclamations. So he ascended a high elevation made for him, and took his seat in a throne made of gold, and spake kindly to the multitude, and declared, "with what joy he received their acclamations, and the marks of the good will they showed to him; and returned them thanks that they did not remember the injuries his father had done them, to his disadvantage; and promised them, he would endeavour not to be behindhand with them in rewarding their alacrity in his service, after a suitable manner: but that he should abstain at present from the name of king, and that he should have the honour of that dignity, if Cæsar should confirm and settle that testament which his father had made; and that it was on this account, that when the army would have put the diadem on him at Jericho, he would not accept of that honour, which is usually so much desired, because it was not yet evident that he who was to be principally concerned in bestowing it, would give it him; although by his acceptance of the government, he should not want the ability of rewarding their kindness to him, and that it should be his endeavour, as to all things wherein they were concerned, to prove, in every respect, better than his father." Whereupon the multitude, as it is usual with them, supposed, that the first days of those that enter upon such governments declare the intentions of those that accept them; and so by how much Archelaus

* At eight *stadia* or furlongs a day, as here, Herod's funeral, conducted to Herodium (which lay at the distance from Jericho, where he died, of 200 *stadia* or furlongs; Of the War, B. i. ch. xxxii. sect. 9.) must have taken up no less than twenty-five days.

spake the more gently and civilly to them, by so much did they more highly praise him, and made application to him for the grant of what they desired. Some made a clamour that he would ease them of some of their annual payments; but others desired him to release those that were put into prison by Herod, who were many, and had been put there at several times; others of them required that he would take away those taxes which had been severely laid upon what was publicly sold and bought. So Archelaus contradicted them in nothing, since he pretended to do all things so as to get the good will of the multitude to him, as looking upon that good will to be a great step towards his preservation of the government. Hereupon he went and offered sacrifice to God, and then betook himself to feast with his friends.

## CHAP. IX.

*How the People raised a Sedition against Archelaus, and how he sailed to Rome.*

§ 1. At this time also it was that some of the Jews got together, out of a desire of innovation. They lamented Matthias, and those that were slain with him by Herod, who had not any respect paid them by a funeral mourning out of the fear men were in of that man; they were those who had been condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. The people made a great clamour and lamentation hereupon, and cast some reproaches against the king also, as if that tended to alleviate the miseries of the deceased. These people assembled together, and desired of Archelaus, that, in way of revenge on their account, he would inflict punishment on those who had been honoured by Herod; and that, in the first and principal place, he would deprive that high priest whom Herod had made, and would choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus, although he was mightily offended at their importunity, because he proposed to himself to go to Rome immediately, to look after Cæsar's determination about him. However, he sent the general of his forces to use persuasions, and to tell them that the death which was inflicted on their friends was according to the law; and to represent to them, that their petitions about these things were carried to a great height of injury to him; that the time was not now proper for such petitions, but required their unanimity until such time as he should be established in the government by the consent of Cæsar, and should then be come back to them; for that he would then consult with them in common concerning the purport of their petitions, but that they ought at present to be quiet, lest they should seem seditous persons.

2. So when the king had suggested these things, and instructed his general in what he was to say, he sent him away to the people; but they made a clamour, and would not give him leave to speak, and put him in danger of his life, and as many more as were desirous to venture upon saying openly any thing which might reduce them to a sober mind, and prevent their going on in their present courses; because they had more concern to have all their own wills performed than to yield obedience to their governors; thinking it to be a thing insufferable, that, while Herod was alive, they should lose those that were the most dear to them, and that when he was dead, they could not get the actors to be punished. So they went on with their designs after a violent manner, and thought all to be lawful and right which tended to please them, and being unskilful in foreseeing what dangers they incurred; and when they had suspicion of such a thing, yet did the present pleasure they took in the punishment of those they deemed their enemies overweigh all such considerations; and although Archelaus sent many to speak to them, yet they treated them not as messengers sent by him, but as persons that came of their own accord to mitigate their anger, and would not let one of them speak. The sedition also was made by such as were in a great pas

sion; and it was evident that they were proceeding farther in seditious practices, by the multitude's running so fast upon them.

3. Now upon the approach of that feast of unleavened bread, which the law of their fathers had appointed for the Jews at this time, which is called the passover,* and is a memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt (when they offer sacrifices with great alacrity, and when they are required to slay more sacrifices in number than at any other festival; and when an innumerable multitude came thither out of the country, nay, from beyond its limits also, in order to worship God;) the seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, those teachers of the laws, and kept together in the temple, and had plenty of food, because these seditious persons were not ashamed to beg it. And as Archelaus was afraid lest some terrible thing should spring up by means of these men's madness, he sent a regiment of armed men, and with them a captain of a thousand, to suppress the violent efforts of the seditious, before the whole multitude should be infected with the like madness; and gave them this charge, that if they found any much more openly seditious than others, and more busy in tumultuous practices, they should bring them to him. But those that were seditious on account of those teachers of the law, irritated the people by the noise and clamour they used to encourage the people in their designs; so they made an assault upon the soldiers, and came up to them, and stoned the greatest part of them, although some of them ran away wounded, and their captain among them: and when they had thus done, they returned to the sacrifices which were already in their hands. Now Archelaus thought there was no way to preserve the entire government, but by cutting off those who made this attempt upon it; so he sent out the whole army upon them, and sent the horsemen to prevent those that had their tents without the temple, from assisting those that were within the temple, and to kill such as ran away from the footmen, when they thought themselves out of danger, which horsemen slew three thousand men, while the rest went to the neighbouring mountains. Then did Archelaus order proclamation to be made to them all, that they should retire to their own homes; so they went away, and left the festival out of fear of somewhat worse which would follow, although they had been so bold, by reason of their want of instruction. So Archelaus went down to the sea with his mother, and took with him Nicolaus and Ptolemy, and many others of his friends, and left Philip, his brother, as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public. There went out also with him Salome, Herod's sister, who took with her her children, and many of her kindred were with her; which kindred of hers went, as they pretended, to assist Archelaus in gaining the kingdom, but in reality to oppose him, and chiefly to make loud complaints of what he had done in the temple. But Sabinus, Cæsar's steward for Syrian affairs, as he was making haste into Judea, to preserve Herod's effects, met with Archelaus at Cæsarea; but Varus (president of Syria) came at that time, and restrained him from meddling with them, for he was there as sent for by Archelaus, by the means of Ptolemy. And Sabinus, out of regard to Varus, did neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor did he seal up the treasures in them, but permitted Archelaus to have them until Cæsar should declare his resolution about them; so that upon his promise, he tarried still at Cæsarea. But after Archelaus was sailed for Rome, and Varus was removed to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, and seized on the king's palace. He also sent for the keepers of the garrisons, and for all those that had the charge of Herod's effects, and declared publicly, that he should require them to give an account of what they had; and he disposed of the castles in the manner he pleased; but those who kept them did not neglect what Archelaus had given them in command, but continued to keep all things in the manner that had been enjoined them; and their pretence was, that they kept them all for Cæsar.

* This passover, when the sedition here mentioned was moved against Archelaus, was not one, but thirteen months after the eclipse of the moon already mentioned.

4. At the same time also did Antipas, another of Herod's sons, sail to Rome, in order to gain the government; being buoyed up by Salome with promises, that he should take that government; and that he was a much honester and fitter man than Archelaus for that authority; since Herod had, in his former testament, deemed him the worthiest to be made king, which ought to be esteemed more valid than his latter testament. Antipas also brought with him his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus, one that had been Herod's most honoured friend, and was now zealous for Antipas; but it was Ireneus the orator, and one who, on account of his reputation for sagacity, was intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom, who most of all encouraged him to attempt to gain the kingdom: by whose means it was that, when some advised him to yield to Archelaus, as to his elder brother, and who had been declared king by their father's last will, he would not submit so to do. And when he was come to Rome, all his relations revolted to him; not out of their good will to him, but out of their hatred to Archelaus; though indeed they were most of all desirous of gaining their liberty, and to be put under a Roman governor; but if there were too great an opposition made to that, they thought Antipas preferable to Archelaus, and so joined with him in order to procure the kingdom for him. Sabinus also by letters accused Archelaus to Cæsar.

5. Now when Archelaus had sent in his papers to Cæsar, wherein he pleaded his right to the kingdom, and his father's testament, with the accounts of Herod's money, and with Ptolemy, who brought Herod's seal, he so expected the event; but when Cæsar had read these papers, and Varus's and Sabinus's letters, with the accounts of the money, and what were the annual incomes of the kingdom, and understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom, he summoned his friends together, to know their opinions, and with them Caius, the son of Agrippa, and of Julia his daughter, whom he had adopted, and took him, and made him sit first of all, and desired such as pleased to speak their minds about the affairs now before them. Now Antipater, Salome's son, a very subtle orator, and a bitter enemy to Archelaus, spake first to this purpose: That "it was ridiculous in Archelaus to plead now to have the kingdom given him, since he had, in reality, taken already the power over it to himself before Cæsar had granted it to him; and appealed to those bold actions of his, in destroying so many at the Jewish festival; and, if the men had acted unjustly, it was but fit the punishing them should have been reserved to those that were out of the country, but had the power to punish them; and not been executed by a man that, if he pretended to be a king, he did an injury to Cæsar, by usurping that authority before it was determined for him by Cæsar; but, if he owned himself to be a private person, his case was much worse, since he, who was putting in for the kingdom, could by no means expect to have that power granted him, of which he had already deprived Cæsar [by taking it to himself.] He also touched sharply upon him, and appealed to his changing the commanders in the army, and his sitting in the royal throne beforehand, and his determination of lawsuits; all done as if he were no other than a king. He appealed also to his concessions to those that petitioned him on a public account, and indeed doing such things, than which he could devise no greater if he had been already settled in the kingdom by Cæsar. He also ascribed to him the releasing of the prisoners that were in the Hippodrome, and many other things, that either had been certainly done by him, or were believed to be done, and easily might be believed to have been done, because they were of such a nature, as to be usually done by young men, and by such as, out of a desire of ruling, seize upon the government too soon. He also charged him with his neglect of the funeral mourning for his father, and with having merry meetings the very night in which he died; and that it was thence the multitude took the handle of raising a tumult, and if Archelaus could thus requite his dead father, who had bestowed such benefits upon him, and bequeathed such great things to him, by pretending to shed tears for him in the day time, like an actor on the stage, but every night making

mirth for having gotten the government, he would appear to be the same Archelaus with regard to Cæsar, if he granted him the kingdom, which he had been to his father; since he had then dancing and singing, as though an enemy of his were fallen, and not as though a man was carried to his funeral, that was so nearly related, and had been so great a benefactor to him. But he said that the greatest crime of all was this, that he came now before Cæsar to obtain the kingdom by his grant, while he had before acted in all things as he could have acted if Cæsar himself, who ruled all, had fixed him firmly in the government And what he most aggravated in his pleading was the slaughter of those about the temple, and the impiety of it, as done at the festival; and how they were slain like sacrifices themselves, some of whom were foreigners, and others of their own country, till the temple was full of dead bodies; and all this was done, not by an alien, but by one who pretended to the lawful title of a king, that he might complete the wicked tyranny which his nature prompted him to, and which is hated by all men. On which account his father never so much as dreamed of making him his successor in the kingdom, when he was of a sound mind, because he knew his disposition; and, in his former and more authentic testament, he appointed his antagonist Antipas to succeed; but that Archelaus was called by his father to that dignity, when he was in a dying condition, both of body and mind, while Antipas was called when he was ripest in his judgment, and of such strength of body as made him capable of managing his own affairs; and if his father had the like notion of him formerly that he hath now showed, yet hath he given a sufficient specimen what a king he is likely to be, when he hath [in effect] deprived Cæsar of that power of disposing of the kingdom, which he justly hath, and hath not abstained from making a terrible slaughter of his fellow citizens in the temple, while he was but a private person."

6. So when Antipater had made this speech, and had confirmed what he had said by producing many witnesses from among Archelaus's own relations, he made an end of his pleadings. Upon which Nicolaus arose up to plead for Archelaus, and said, "That what had been done at the temple was rather to be attributed to the mind of those that had been killed, than to the authority of Archelaus; for that those who are the authors of such things, are not only wicked in the injuries they do of themselves, but in forcing sober persons to avenge themselves upon them. Now, it is evident that what these did in way of opposition was done under pretence indeed against Archelaus, but in reality against Cæsar himself; for they, after an injurious manner, attacked and slew those who were sent by Archelaus, and who came only to put a stop to their doings. They had no regard, either to God or to the festival, whom Antipater yet is not ashamed to patronise, whether it be out of his indulgence of an enmity to Archelaus, or out of his hatred of virtue and justice. For as to those who begin such tumults, and first set about such unrighteous actions, they are the men who force those that punish them to betake themselves to arms even against their wills. So that Antipater in effect ascribes the rest of what was done to all those who were of counsel to the accusers, for nothing which is here accused of injustice has been done, but what was derived from them as its authors; nor are those things evil in themselves, but so represented only in order to do harm to Archelaus. Such is these men's inclination to do an injury to a man that is of their kindred, their father's benefactor, and familiarly acquainted with them, and that hath ever lived in friendship with them; for that, as to this testament, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind, and so ought to be of more authority than his former testament: and that for this reason, because Cæsar is therein left to be the judge and disposer of all therein contained: and for Cæsar, he will not, to be sure, at all imitate the unjust proceedings of those men, who, during Herod's whole life, had on all occasions been joint partakers of power with him, and yet do zealously endeavour to injure his determination, while they have not themselves had the same regard to their kinsman [which Archelaus had.] Cæsar will not

therefore disannul the testament of a man whom he had entirely supported, of his friend and confederate, and that which is committed to him in trust to ratify: nor will Cæsar's virtuous and upright disposition, which are known and uncontested through all the habitable world, imitate the wickedness of these men in condemning a king as a madman, and as having lost his reason, while he hath bequeathed the succession to a good son of his, and to one who flies to Cæsar's upright determination for refuge. Nor can Herod at any time have been mistaken in his judgment about a successor, while he showed so much prudence as to submit all to Cæsar's determination.

7. Now when Nicolaus had laid these things before Cæsar, he ended his plea; whereupon Cæsar was so obliging to Archelaus, that he raised him up when he had cast himself down at his feet, and said, that "he well deserved the kingdom;" and he soon let them know, that he was so far moved in his favour, that he would not act otherwise than his father's testament directed, and that was for the advantage of Archelaus. However, while he gave this encouragement to Archelaus to depend on him securely, he made no full determination about him; and, when the assembly was broken up, he considered by himself, whether he should confirm the kingdom to Archelaus, or whether he should part it among all Herod's posterity; and this because they all stood in need of much assistance to support them.

## CHAP. X.

*A Sedition of the Jews against Sabinus; and how Varus brought the Authors of it to Punishment.*

§ 1. But before these things could be brought to a settlement, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a distemper, and died of it; and letters came from Varus, the president of Syria, which informed Cæsar of the revolt of the Jews; for, after Archelaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult. So Varus, since he was there himself, brought the authors of the disturbance to punishment: and when he had restrained them for the most part from this sedition, which was a great one, he took his journey to Antioch, leaving one legion of his army at Jerusalem to keep the Jews quiet, who were now very fond of innovation. Yet did not this at all avail to put an end to that their sedition; for, after Varus was gone away, Sabinus, Cæsar's procurator, staid behind, and greatly distressed the Jews, relying on the forces that were left there, that they would by their multitude protect him; for he made use of them, and armed them as his guards, thereby so oppressing the Jews, and giving them so great disturbance, that at length they rebelled; for he used force in seizing the citadels, and zealously pressed on the search after the king's money, in order to seize upon it by force, on account of his love of gain, and his extraordinary covetousness.

2. But on the approach of Pentecost, which is a festival of ours so called from the days of our forefathers, a great many ten thousands of men got together; nor did they come only to celebrate the festival, but out of their indignation at the madness of Sabinus, and at the injuries he offered them. A great number there was of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan, and inhabited those parts. This whole multitude joined themselves to all the rest, and were more zealous than the others in making an assault on Sabinus, in order to be avenged of him: so they parted themselves into three bands, and encamped themselves in the places following: some of them seized on the Hippodrome; and of the other two bands, one pitched themselves from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter; but the third band held the western part of the city, where the king's palace was. Their work tended entirely to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all

sides. Now Sabinus was afraid of these men's number, and of their resolution, who had little regard to their lives, but were very desirous not to be overcome, while they thought it a point of puissance to overcome their enemies. So he sent immediately a letter to Varus; and, as he used to do, was very pressing with him, and entreated him to come quickly to his assistance, because the forces he had left were in imminent danger, and would probably, in no long time, be seized upon and cut to pieces: while he did himself get up to the highest tower of the fortress Phasaelus, which had been built in honour of Phasaelus, king Herod's brother, and called so when the Parthians* had brought him to his death. So Sabinus gave thence a signal to the Romans to fall upon the Jews, although he did not himself venture so much as to come down to his friends, and thought he might expect that the others should expose themselves first to die on account of his avarice. However, the Romans ventured to make a sally out of the place, and a terrible battle ensued; wherein, though it is true the Romans beat their adversaries, yet were not the Jews daunted in their resolutions, even when they had the sight of that terrible slaughter that was made of them; but they went round about, and got upon those cloisters which encompassed the outer court of the temple, where a great fight was still continued, and they cast stones at the Romans, partly with their hands, and partly with slings, as being much used to those exercises. All the archers also in array did the Romans a great deal of mischief; because they used their hands dexterously from a place superior to the others, and because the others were at an utter loss what to do; for when they tried to shoot their arrows against the Jews upwards, these arrows could not reach them, insomuch that the Jews were easily too hard for their enemies. And this sort of fight lasted a great while, till at last the Romans, who were greatly distressed by what was done, set fire to the cloisters so privately, that those who were gotten upon them did not perceive it. This fire,† being fed by a great deal of combustible matter, caught hold immediately on the roof of the cloisters; so the wood, which was full of pitch and wax, and whose gold was laid on it with wax, yielded to the flame presently, and those vast works, which were of the highest value and esteem, were destroyed utterly; while those that were on the roof unexpectedly perished at the same time; for as the roof tumbled down, some of these men tumbled down with it, and others of them were killed by their enemies who encompassed them. There was a great number more, who, out of despair of saving their lives, and out of astonishment at the misery that surrounded them, did either cast themselves into the fire, or threw themselves upon their own swords and so got out of their misery. But as to those that retired behind the same way by which they ascended, and thereby escaped, they were all killed by the Romans, as being unarmed men, and their courage failing them; their wild fury being now not able to help them, because they were destitute of armour, insomuch, that, of those that went up to the top of the roof, not one escaped. The Romans also rushed through the fire, where it gave them room so to do, and seized on that treasure where the sacred money was reposited; a great part of which was stolen by the soldiers, and Sabinus got openly four hundred talents.

3. But this calamity of the Jews' friends, who fell in this battle, grieved them, as did also this plundering of the money dedicated to God in the temple. Accordingly that body of them which continued best together, and was the most warlike, encompassed the palace, and threatened to set fire to it, and to kill all that were in it. Yet still they commanded them to go out presently, and promised that, if they would do so, they would not hurt them, nor Sabinus neither; at which time the greatest part of the king's troops deserted to them, while Rufus and Gratus, who had three thousand of the most warlike of Herod's army with

* See Antiq. B. xiv. ch. xiii. sect. 10, and Of the War, B. i. ch. xxi. sect. 9.

† These great devastations made about the temple here, and Of the War, B. ii. ch. iii. sect. 3, seem not to have been fully reedified in the days of Nero; till whose time there were 18000 workmen continually employed in rebuilding and repairing that temple, as Josephus informs us, Antiq. B. xx. ch. ix. sect. 7. See the note on that place.

them, who were men of active bodies, went over to the Romans. There was also a band of horsemen under the command of Rufus, which itself went over to the Romans also. However, the Jews went on with the siege, and dug mines under the palace walls, and besought those that were gone over to the other side not to be their hinderance, now they had such a proper opportunity for the recovery of their country's ancient liberty; and for Sabinus, truly, he was desirous of going away with his soldiers, but was not able to trust himself with the enemy, on account of what mischief he had already done them; and he took this great [pretended] lenity of theirs for an argument why he should not comply with them, and so, because he expected that Varus was coming, he still bore this siege.

4. Now at this time there were ten thousand other disorders in Judea, which were like tumults; because a great number put themselves into a warlike posture, either out of hopes of gain to themselves, or out of enmity to the Jews. In particular, two thousand of Herod's old soldiers, who had been already disbanded, got together in Judea itself, and fought against the king's troops; although Achiabus, Herod's first cousin, opposed them; but as he was driven out of the plains into the mountainous parts by the military skill of those men, he kept himself in the fastnesses that were there, and saved what he could.

5. There was also Judas,* the son of that Ezekias who had been head of the robbers; which Ezekias was a very strong man, and had with great difficulty been caught by Herod. This Judas, having gotten together a multitude of men of a profligate character about Sepphoris in Galilee, made an assault upon the palace [there,] and seized upon all the weapons that were laid up in it, and with them armed every one of those that were with him, and carried away what money was left there; and he became terrible to all men, by tearing and rending those that came near him; and all this in order to raise himself, and out of an ambitious desire of the royal dignity; and he hoped to obtain that as the reward, not of his virtuous skill in war, but of his extravagance in doing injuries.

6. There was also Simon, who had been a slave of Herod the king, but in other respects a comely person, of a tall and robust body; he was one that was much superior to others of his order, and had had great things committed to his care. This man was elevated at the disorderly state of things, and was so bold as to put a diadem on his head, while a certain number of the people stood by him, and by them he was declared to be a king, and thought himself more worthy of that dignity than any one else. He burned down the royal palace at Jericho, and plundered what was left in it. He also set fire to many others of the king's houses in several places of the country, and utterly destroyed them, and permitted those that were with him to take what was left in them for a prey; and he would have done greater things unless care had been taken to repress him immediately; for Gratus, when he had joined himself to some Roman soldiers, took the forces he had with him, and met Simon, and after a great and long fight, no small part of those that came from Perea, who were a disordered body of men, and fought rather in a bold than in a skilful manner, were destroyed: and although Simon had saved himself by flying away through a certain valley, yet Gratus overtook him, and cut off his head. The royal palace also at Amathus, by the river Jordan, was burned down by a party of men that were got together, as were those belonging to Simon. And thus did a great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king to keep the multitude in good order, and because

* Unless this Judas, the son of Ezekias, be the same with that Theudas mentioned Acts, v. 36, Josephus must have omitted him; for that other Theudas, whom he afterwards mentions under Fadus, the Roman governor, B. xx. ch. v. sect. 1, is much too late to correspond to him that is mentioned in the Acts. The names *Theudas*, *Thadeus*, and *Judas*, differ but little. See Archbishop Usher's annals at A. M. 4001. However, since Josephus does not pretend to reckon up the heads of all those *ten thousand* disorders in Judea, which he tells us were then abroad, see sect. 4 and 8, the Theudas of the Acts might be at the head of one of those seditions, though not particularly named by him. Thus he informs us here, sect. 6, and Of the War, B. ii. ch. iv. sect. 2, that certain of the seditious came and burned the royal palace at Amathus, or Betharamphta, upon the river Jordan. Perhaps their leader, who is not named by Josephus, might be this Theudas

those foreigners, who came to reduce the seditious to sobriety, did on the contrary set them more in a flame, because of the injuries they offered them, and the avaricious management of their affairs.

7. But because Athronges, a person neither eminent by the dignity of his progenitors, nor for any great wealth he was possessed of, but one that had in all respects been a shepherd only, and was not known by any body; yet because he was a tall man, and excelled others in the strength of his hands, he was so bold as to set up for king. This man thought it so sweet a thing to do more than ordinary injuries to others, that although he should be killed, he did not much care if he lost his life in so great a design. He had also four brethren, who were tall men themselves, and were believed to be superior to others in the strength of their hands, and thereby were encouraged to aim at great things, and thought that strength of theirs would support them in retaining the kingdom. Each of these ruled over a band of men of their own; for those that got together to them were very numerous. They were every one of them also commanders; but, when they came to fight, they were subordinate to him, and fought for him, while he put a diadem about his head, and assembled a council to debate about what things should be done, and all things were done according to his pleasure. And this man retained his power a great while; he was also called king, and had nothing to hinder him from doing what he pleased. He also, as well as his brethren, slew a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces, and managed matters with the like hatred to each of them. The king's forces they fell upon, because of the licentious conduct they had been allowed under Herod's government; and they fell upon the Romans, because of the injuries they had so lately received from them. But in process of time they grew more cruel to all sorts of men; nor could any one escape from one or other of these seditions, since they slew some out of the hopes of gain, and others from a mere custom of slaying men. They once attacked a company of Romans at Emmaus, who were bringing corn and weapons to the army, and fell upon Arius, the centurion, who commanded the company, and shot forty of the best of his foot soldiers; but the rest of them were affrighted at their slaughter, and left their dead behind them, but saved themselves by the means of Gratus, who came with the king's troops that were about him to their assistance. Now these four brethren continued the war a long while by such sort of expeditions, and much grieved the Romans; but did their own nation also a great deal of mischief. Yet were they afterward subdued; one of them in a fight with Gratus, another with Ptolemy; Archelaus also took the eldest of them prisoner; while the last of them was so dejected at the other's misfortune, and saw so plainly that he had no way now left to save himself, his army being worn away with sickness and continual labours, that he also delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his promise and oath to God [to preserve his life.] But these things came to pass a good while afterwards.

8. And now Judea was full of robberies; and, as the several companies of the seditious light upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure, indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

9. As soon as Varus was once informed of the state of Judea by Sabinus's writing to him, he was afraid for the legion he had left there; so he took the two other legions (for there were three legions in all belonging to Syria,) and four troops of horsemen, with the several auxiliary forces which either the kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded him, and made what haste he could to assist those that were then besieged in Judea. He also gave order, that all that were sent out for this expedition should make haste to Ptolemais. The citizens of Berytus also gave him one thousand five hundred auxiliaries, as he passed through their city. Aretus also, the king of Arabia Petrea, out of his hatred to Herod, and in order to purchase the favour of the Romans, sent him no small assistance,

besides their footmen and horsemen: and, when he had now collected all his forces together, he committed a part of them to his son, and to a friend of his, and sent them upon an expedition into Galilee, which lies in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais; who made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, and took Sepphoris, and made its inhabitants slaves, and burned the city. But Varus himself pursued his march for Samaria with his whole army; yet did not he meddle with the city of that name, because it had not at all joined with the seditious; but pitched his camp at a certain village, that belonged to Ptolemy, whose name was Arus, which the Arabians burned, out of their hatred to Herod, and out of the enmity they bore to his friends; whence they marched to another village, whose name was Sampho, which the Arabians plundered and burned, although it was a fortified and a strong place; and all along this march nothing escaped them, but all places were full of fire and slaughter. Emmaus was also burned by Varus's order, after its inhabitants had deserted it, that he might avenge those that had there been destroyed. From thence he now marched to Jerusalem; whereupon those Jews whose camp lay there, and who had besieged the Roman legion, not bearing the coming of his army, left the siege imperfect. But as to the Jerusalem Jews, when Varus reproached them bitterly for what had been done, they cleared themselves of the accusation, and alleged, that the conflux of the people was occasioned by the feast; that the war was not made with their approbation, but by the rashness of the strangers, while they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them, rather than having any inclination to besiege them. There also came beforehand to meet Varus, Joseph, the cousin-german of king Herod, as also Gratus and Rufus, who brought their soldiers along with them, together with those Romans who had been besieged: but Sabinus did not come into Varus's presence, but stole out of the city privately, and went to the seaside.

10. Upon this Varus sent a party of his army into the country, to seek out those that had been the authors of the revolt; and when they were discovered, he punished some of them that were most guilty, and some he dismissed: now the number of those that were crucified on this account were two thousand. After which he disbanded his army, which he found noways useful to him in the affairs he came about: for they behaved themselves very disorderly, and disobeyed his orders, and what Varus desired them to do, and this out of regard to that gain which they made by the mischief they did. As for himself, when he was informed that ten thousand Jews had gotten together, he made haste to catch them; but they did not proceed so far as to fight him, but by the advice of Achiabus, they came together, and delivered themselves up to him; hereupon Varus forgave the crime of revolting to the multitude, but sent their several commanders to Cæsar, many of whom Cæsar dismissed; but for the several relations of Herod, who had been among these men in this war, they were the only persons whom he punished; who, without the least regard to justice, fought against their own kindred.

## CHAP. XI.

### *An Embassage of the Jews to Cæsar; and how Cæsar confirmed Herod's Testament.*

§ 1. So when Varus had settled these affairs, and had placed the former legion at Jerusalem, he returned back to Antioch; but as for Archelaus, he had new sources of trouble coming upon him at Rome, on the occasions following; for an embassage of the Jews was come to Rome, Varus having permitted the nation to send it, that they might petition for the liberty of living by their own laws.* Now

* See Of the War, B. ii. ch. ii. sect. 3.

the number of the ambassadors that were sent by the authority of the nation was fifty, to which they joined above eight thousand of the Jews that were at Rome already. Hereupon Cæsar assembled his friends, and the chief men among the Romans, in the temple of Apollo,* which he had built at a vast charge; whither the ambassadors came, and a multitude of the Jews that were there already, came with them, as did also Archelaus and his friends; but as for the several kinsmen which Archelaus had, they would not join themselves with him, out of their hatred to him; and yet they thought it too gross a thing for them to assist the ambassadors [against him,] as supposing it would be a disgrace to them in Cæsar's opinion to think of thus acting in opposition to a man of their own kindred. Philip† also was come hither out of Syria, by the persuasion of Varus, with this principal intention to assist his brother [Archelaus;] for Varus was his great friend; but still so, that if there should any change happen in the form of government (which Varus suspected there would,) and if any distribution should be made on account of the number that desired the liberty of living by their own laws, that he might not be disappointed, but might have his share in it.

2. Now, upon the liberty that was given to the Jewish ambassadors to speak, they who hoped to obtain a dissolution of kingly government betook themselves to accuse Herod of his iniquities; and they declared, "That he was indeed in name a king, but that he had taken to himself that uncontrolable authority which tyrants exercise over their subjects; and had made use of that authority for the destruction of the Jews; and did not abstain from making many innovations among them besides, according to his own inclinations; and that whereas there were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them; so many indeed as no other history relates: they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him; not only by the anxiety they were in from his looks and disposition towards them, but from the danger their estates were in of being taken away by him. That he did never leave off adorning those cities that lay in their neighbourhood, but were inhabited by foreigners; but so that the cities belonging to his own government were ruined, and utterly destroyed: that whereas, when he took the kingdom, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition, he had filled the nation with the utmost degree of poverty; and when, upon unjust pretences, he had slain any of the nobility, he took away their estates; and when he permitted any of them to live, he condemned them to the forfeiture of what they possessed. And besides the annual impositions which he had laid upon every one of them, they were to make liberal presents to himself, to his domestics and friends, and to such of his slaves as were vouchsafed the favour of being his tax-gatherers; because there was no way of obtaining a freedom from unjust violence, without giving either gold or silver for it. That they would say nothing of the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner; because it was not a smaller pleasure to the sufferers to have such things concealed, than it would have been not to have suffered them That Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put on them, if he had power given him to rule over us; and that although their nation had passed through many subversions and alterations of government, their history gave no account of any calamity they had ever been under, that could be compared with this which Herod had brought upon their nation; that it was for this reason that they thought they might justly and gladly salute Archelaus as king, upon this supposition, that whosoever should be set over their kingdom, he would appear more mild to them than Herod had been: and that they had joined with him in the mourning for his father, in order to gratify him; and were ready to oblige him in other points also, if they could meet with any degree of modera tion from him; but that he seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed

* See the note, Of the War, B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 1.
† He was tetrarch afterward

Herod's own son; and so without any delay, and immediately, he let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established; since the power of disposing of it belonged to Cæsar, who could either give it him or not, as he pleased. That he had given him a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action which concerned them, his own citizens, and God himself also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple. How then could they avoid the just hatred of him, who, to the rest of his barbarity, hath added this as one of our crimes, that we have opposed and contradicted him in the exercise of his authority? Now the main thing they desired was this, that they might be delivered from kingly* and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them; for that it would thereby be made evident, whether they be really a seditious people, and generally fond of innovations, or whether they would live in an orderly manner, if they might have governors of any sort of moderation set over them."

3. Now when the Jews had said this, Nicolaus vindicated the kings from those accusations, and said, that "as for Herod, since he had never been thus accused† all the time of his life, it was not fit for those that might have accused him for lesser crimes than those now mentioned, and might have procured him to be punished during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now he is dead. He also attributed the actions of Archelaus to the Jews' injuries to him; who, affecting to govern contrary to the laws, and going about to kill those that would have hindered them from acting unjustly, when they were by him punished for what they had done, made their complaints against him; so he accused them of their attempts for innovation, and of the pleasure they took in sedition, by reason of their not having learned to submit to justice, and to the laws, but still desiring to be superior in all things." This was the substance of what Nicolaus said.

4. When Cæsar had heard these pleadings, he dissolved the assembly; but a few days afterwards he appointed Archelaus, not indeed to be king of the whole country, but ethnarch of the one half of that which had been subject to Herod, and promised to give him the royal dignity hereafter, if he governed his part virtuously. But as for the other half, he divided it into two parts, and gave it to two other of Herod's sons, to Philip and to Antipas, that Antipas who disputed with Archelaus for the whole kingdom. Now to him it was that Perea and Galilee paid their tribute, which amounted‡ annually to two hundred talents: while

* If any one compare that divine prediction concerning the tyrannical power which Jewish kings would exercise over them, if they would be so foolish as to prefer it before their ancient theocracy or aristocracy, 1 Sam. viii. 1—22. Antiq. B. vi. chap. iv. sect. 4, he will soon find that it was superabundantly fulfilled in the days of Herod, and that to such a degree, that the nation now at last seem sorely to repent of such their ancient choice in opposition to God's better choice for them, and had much rather be subject to even a Pagan Roman government, and their deputies, than to be any longer under the oppression of the family of Herod; which request of theirs Augustus did not now grant them; but did it for the one half of that nation in a few years afterward, upon fresh complaints of the Jews made against Archelaus; who, under the more humble name of ethnarch, which Augustus only would now allow him, soon took upon him the insolence and tyranny of his father king Herod, as the remaining part of this book will inform us, and particularly chap. xiii. sect. 2.

† This is not true. See Antiq. B. xiv. ch. ix. sect. 3, 4, and chap. xii. sect. 2, and chap. xiii. sect. 1, 2. Antiq. B. xv. chap. iii. sect. 5. and chap. x. sect. 2, 3. Antiq. B. xvi. chap. 9, sect. 3.

‡ Since Josephus here informs us that Archelaus had one half of the kingdom of Herod, and presently informs us farther, that Archelaus's annual income, after an abatement of one quarter for the present, was 600 talents, we may therefore gather pretty nearly what was Herod the Great's yearly income; I mean about 1600 talents, which, at the known value of 3000 shekels to a talent, and about 2s. 10d. to a shekel, in the days of Josephus, see the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 2, amounts to 680,000*l.* sterling *per annum*: which income, though great in itself, bearing no proportion to his vast expenses every where visible in Josephus, and to the vast sums he left behind him in his will, chap. viii. sect. 1, and chap. xii. sect. 1, the rest must have arisen either from his confiscation of those great men's estates whom he put to death, or made to pay fine for the saving of their lives, or from some other heavy methods of oppression which such savage tyrants usually exercise upon their miserable subjects; or rather from these several methods put together, all which yet seem very much too small for his expenses, being drawn from no larger a nation than that of the Jews, which was very populous, but without the advantage of trade to bring them riches; so that I cannot but strongly suspect that no small part of this his wealth arose from another source; I mean from some vast sums he took out of David's sepulchre, but concealed from the people. See the note on Antiq. B. vii. ch. xv. sect. 3.

Batanea, with Trachonitis, as well as Auranitis, with a certain* part of what was called the *house of Zenodorus*, paid the tribute of one hundred talents to Philip; but Idumea, and Judea, and the country of Samaria paid tribute to Archelaus; but had a fourth part of that tribute taken off by the order of Cæsar; who decreed them that mitigation, because they did not join in this revolt with the rest of the multitude. There were also certain of the cities which paid tribute to Archelaus; Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, with Joppa, and Jerusalem; for as to Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, they were Grecian cities, which Cæsar separated from his government, and added them to the province of Syria. Now the tribute-money, that came to Archelaus every year from his own dominions, amounted to six hundred talents.

5. And so much came to Herod's sons from their father's inheritance. But Salome, besides what her brother left her by his testament, which were Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of coined silver, Cæsar made her a present of a royal habitation at Askelon: in all, her revenues amounted to sixty talents by the year, and her dwelling house was within Archelaus's government. The rest also of the king's relations received also what his testament allotted them. Moreover, Cæsar made a present to each of Herod's two virgin daughters, besides what their father left them, of two hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ] of silver, and married them to Pheroras's sons: he also granted all that was bequeathed to himself to the king's sons; which was one thousand five hundred talents, excepting a few of the vessels, which he reserved for himself; and they were acceptable to him, not so much for the great value they were of, as because they were memorials of the king to him.

## CHAP. XII.

### *Concerning a spurious Alexander.*

§ 1. When these affairs had been thus settled by Cæsar, a certain young man by birth a Jew, but brought up by a Roman freedman in the city of Sidon, ingrafted himself into the kindred of Herod by the resemblance of his countenance, which those that saw him attested to be that of Alexander, the son of Herod, whom he had slain; and this was an incitement to him to endeavour to obtain the government: so he took to him, as an assistant, a man of his own country (one that was well acquainted with the affairs of the palace, but on other accounts an ill man, and one whose nature made him capable of causing great disturbances to the public, and one that became a teacher of such a mischievous contrivance to the other,) and declared himself to be Alexander, and the son of Herod; but stolen away by one of those that were sent to slay him; who, in reality, slew other men in order to deceive the spectators, but saved both him and his brother Aristobulus. Thus was this man elated, and able to impose on those that came to him; and when he was come to Crete, he made all the Jews that came to discourse with him believe him [to be Alexander.] And when he had gotten much money which had been presented to him there, he passed over

* Take here a very useful note of Grotius, on Luke, B. iii. ch. i. here quoted by Dr. Hudson: "When Josephus says, that some part of the house [or possession] of Zenodorus (i e. Abilene,) was allotted to Philip, he thereby declares that the larger part of it belonged to another; this other was Lysanias, whom Luke mentions, of the posterity of that Lysanias who was possessed of the same country called *Abilene*, from the city Abila, and by others *Chalcidine*, from the city Chalcis, when the government of the east was under Antonius, and this after Ptolemy, the son of Mennius, from which Lysanias, this country came to be commonly called the *Country of Lysanias;* and as, after the death of the former Lysanias, it was called the *tetrarchy of Zenodorus*, so, after the death of Zenodorus, or when the time for which he hired it was ended, when another Lysanias, of the same name with the former, was possessed of the same country, it began to be called again the *tetrarchy of Lysanias*." However, since Josephus elsewhere, Antiq. xx. ch. vii sect. 1, clearly distinguishes Abilene from Chalcidine, Grotius must be here so far mistaken.

to Melos, where he got much more money than he had before, out of the belief they had that he was of the royal family, and their hopes that he would recover his father's principality, and reward his benefactors; so he made haste to Rome, and was conducted thither by those strangers who entertained him. He was also so fortunate as, upon, his landing at Dicearchia, to bring the Jews that were there into the same delusion; and not only other people, but also all those that had been great with Herod, or had a kindness for him, joined themselves to this man as to their king. The cause of it was this, that men were glad of his pretences, which were seconded by the likeness of his countenance, which made those that had been acquainted with Alexander strongly to believe that he was no other but the very same person, which they also confirmed to others by oath; insomuch that when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to Divine Providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped, and being very joyful on account of his mother's family. And when he was come, he was carried in a royal litter through the streets, and all the ornaments about him were such as kings are adorned withal; and this was at the expenses of those that entertained him. The multitude also flocked about him greatly, and made mighty acclamations to him, and nothing was omitted which could be thought suitable to such as had been so unexpectedly preserved.

2. When this thing was told Cæsar, he did not believe it, because Herod was not easily to be imposed upon in such affairs as were of great concern to him; yet having some suspicion it might be so, he sent one Celadus, a freedman of his, and one that had conversed with the young men themselves, and bade him bring Alexander into his presence: so he brought him, being no more accurate in judging about him than the rest of the multitude. Yet did not he deceive Cæsar; for although there were a resemblance between him and Alexander, yet it was not so exact as to impose on such as were prudent in discerning; for this spurious Alexander had his hands rough, by the labours he had been put to, and instead of that softness of body which the other had, and this as derived from his delicate and generous education, this man, for the contrary reason, had a rugged body. When, therefore, Cæsar saw how the master and the scholar agreed in this lying story, and in a bold way of talking, he inquired about Aristobulus, and asked what became of him, who [it seems] was stolen away together with him, and for what reason it was that he did not come along with him, and endeavour to recover that dominion which was due to his high birth also? And when he said, that "he had been left in the isle of Crete, for fear of the dangers of sea, that in case any accident should come to himself, the posterity of Mariamne might not utterly perish, but that Aristobulus might survive, and punish those that laid such treacherous designs against them." And when he persevered in his affirmations, and the author of the imposture agreed in supporting it, Cæsar took the young man by himself, and said to him, "If thou wilt not impose upon me, thou shalt have this for thy reward, that thou shalt escape with thy life; tell me then who thou art? and who it was that had boldness enough to contrive such a cheat as this? For this contrivance is too considerable a piece of villany to be undertaken by one of thy age." Accordingly, because he had no other way to take, he told Cæsar the contrivance, and after what manner, and by whom it was laid together. So Cæsar, upon observing the spurious Alexander to be a strong active man, and fit to work with his hands, that he might not break his promise to him, put him among those that were to row among the mariners; but slew him that induced him to do what he had done; for as for the people of Melos, he thought them sufficiently punished, in having thrown away so much of their money upon this spurious Alexander. And such was the ignominious conclusion of this bold contrivance about the spurious Alexander.

## CHAP. XIII.

*How Archelaus, upon a second Accusation, was banished to Vienna.*

§ 1. When Archelaus was entered on his ethnarchy, and was come into Judea, he accused Joazar, the son of Boethus, of assisting the seditious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his brother in his place. He also magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been at Jericho, and he diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew off that water into the plain to water those palm trees which he had there planted: he also built a village, and put his own name upon it, and called it *Archelais*. Moreover he transgressed the law of our fathers, and married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander, which Alexander had children by her; while it was a thing detestable among the Jews to marry the brother's wife:* nor did this Eleazar abide long in the high priesthood, Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his room while he was still living.

2. But in the tenth year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren, and the principal men of Judea and Samaria, not being able to bear his barbarous and tyrannical usage of them, accused him before Cæsar, and that especially because they knew he had broken the commands of Cæsar; which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them. Whereupon Cæsar, when he heard it, was very angry, and called for Archelaus's steward, who took care of his affairs at Rome, and whose name was Archelaus also; and thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaus, he bid him sail away as soon as possible, and bring him to us; so the man made haste in his voyage, and when he came into Judea, he found Archelaus feasting with his friends; so he told him what Cæsar had sent him about, and hastened him away. And when he was come [to Rome,] Cæsar, upon hearing what certain accusers of his had to say, and what reply he could make, both banished him, and appointed Vienna, a city of Gaul, to be the place of his habitation, and took his money away from him.

3. Now before Archelaus was gone up to Rome upon this message, he related this dream to his friends, that "he saw ears of corn, in number ten, full of wheat perfectly ripe; which ears, as it seemed to him, were devoured by oxen." And when he was awake, and gotten up, because the vision appeared to be of great importance to him, he sent for the diviners, whose study was employed about dreams. And while some were of one opinion, and some of another (for all their interpretations did not agree,) Simon, a man of the sect of the Essens, desired leave to speak his mind freely, and said, that "the vision denoted a change in the affairs of Archelaus, and that not for the better; that oxen, because that animal takes uneasy pains in his labours, denoted afflictions, and indeed denoted farther a change of affairs; because that land which is ploughed by oxen cannot remain in its former state: and that the ears of corn being ten, determined the like number of years, because an ear of corn grows in one year; and that the time of Archelaus's government was over." And thus did this man expound the dream. Now on the fifth day after this dream came first to Archelaus, the other Archelaus, that was sent to Judea by Cæsar to call him away, came thither also.

4. The like accident befell Glaphyra his wife, who was the daughter of king Archelaus, who, as I said before, was married while she was a virgin to Alexander the son of Herod, and brother of Archelaus; but since it fell out so that Alexander was slain by his father, she was married to Juba, the king of Lydia; and when he was dead, and she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father, Archelaus divorced his former wife Mariamne, and married her, so great was his affec-

* Spanheim seasonably observes here, that it was forbidden the Jews to marry their brother's wife, when she had children by her first husband, and that Zenoras [cites or] interprets the clause before us accordingly.

tion for this Glaphyra; who during her marriage to him saw the following dream. She thought "she saw Alexander standing by her, at which she rejoiced, and embraced him with great affection; but that he complained of her, and said, O Glaphyra! thou provest that saying to be true which assures us, that women are not to be trusted. Didst not thou pledge thy faith to me? And wast not thou married to me when thou wast a virgin? And had we not children between us? Yet hast thou forgotten the affection I bare to thee out of a desire of a second husband. Nor hast thou been satisfied with that injury thou didst me, but thou hast been so bold as to procure thee a third husband to lie by thee; and in an indecent and imprudent manner hast entered into my house, and hast been married to Archelaus, thy husband, and my brother. However, I will not forget thy former kind affection for me, but will set thee free from every such reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." When she had related this to her female companions, in a few days time she departed this life.

5. Now I did not think these histories improper for the present discourse, both because my discourse now is concerning kings, and otherwise also an account of the advantage hence to be drawn, as well for the confirmation of the immortality of the soul, as of the providence of God over human affairs, I thought them fit to be set down; but if any one does not believe such relations, let him indeed enjoy his own opinion, but let him not hinder another that would thereby encourage himself in virtue. So Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria; and Cyrenius, one that had been consul. was sent by Cæsar to take an account of the people's effects in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaus.

# BOOK XVIII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS,

*FROM THE BANISHMENT OF ARCHELAUS TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.*

## CHAP. I.

*How Cyrenius was sent by Cæsar to make a Taxation of Syria and Judea; and how Coponius was sent to be Procurator of Judea; concerning Judas of Galilee, and concerning the Sects that were among the Jews.*

§ 1. Now Cyrenius, a Roman senator, and one who had gone through other magistracies, and had passed through them till he had been consul, and one who, on other accounts, was of great dignity, came at this time into Syria, with a few others, being sent by Cæsar to be a judge of that nation, and to take an account of their substance: Coponius also, a man of the equestrian order, was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews. Moreover, Cyrenius came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus's money: but the Jews, although at the beginning they took the report of a taxation heinously, yet did they leave off any farther opposition to it, by the persuasion of Joazar, who was the son of Boethus, and high priest; so they, being overpersuaded by Joazar's words, gave an account of their estates, without any dispute about it. Yet was there one Judas,* a Gaulonite, of a city whose name was *Gamala*, who taking with him Saddouk,† a Pharisee, became zealous to draw them to a revolt, who both said that this taxation was no better than an introduction to slavery, and exhorted the nation to assert their liberty; as if they could procure them happiness and security for what they possessed, and an ensured enjoyment of a still greater good, which was that of the honour and glory they would thereby acquire for magnanimity. They also said, that God would not otherwise be assisting to them, than upon their joining with one another in such counsels as might be successful, and for their own advantage; and this especially, if they would set about great exploits, and not grow weary in executing the same; so men received what they said with pleasure, and this bold attempt proceeded to a

* Since St. Luke once, Acts, v. 37, and Josephus four several times, once here, sect. 6; and B. xx. ch. v. sect. 2; Of the War, B. ii. chap. viii. sect. 1; and ch. xvii. sect. 8; calls this Judas, who was the pestilent author of that seditious doctrine and temper which brought the Jewish nation to utter destruction, a *Galilean*; but here, sect. 1, Josephus calls him a *Gaulonite*, of the city Gamala; it is a great question where this Judas was born, whether in Galilee, on the west side, or in Gaulonitis, on the east side of the river Jordan: while in the place just now cited out of the Antiquities, B. xx. ch. v. sect. 2, he is not only called a Galilean, but it is added to his story, *as I have signified in the books that go before these*, as if he had still called him a *Galilean* in those Antiquities before, as well as in that particular place, as Dean Aldrich observes, On the War, B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 1. Nor can one well imagine why he should here call him a *Gaulonite*, when in the 6th section following here, as well as twice of the War, he still calls him a *Galilean*. As for the city of Gamala, whence this Judas was derived, it determines nothing, since there were two of that name, the one in Gaulonitis, the other in Galilee. See Reland on the city or town of that name.

† It seems not very improbable to me, that this Sadduc, the Pharisee, was the very same man of whom the Rabbins speak, as the unhappy but undesigning occasion of the impiety or infidelity of the Sadducees: nor perhaps had the men this name of Sadducees till this very time, though they were a distinct sect long before. See the note on B. xiii. ch. x. sect. 5; and Dean Prideaux, as there quoted; nor do we, that I know of, find the least footsteps of such impiety or infidelity of these Sadducees before this time the Recognitions assuring us that they began about the days of John the Baptist, B. i. ch liv vol. 1.

great height. All sorts of misfortunes also sprang from these men, and the nation was infected with this doctrine to an incredible degree; one violent war came upon us after another, and we lost our friends which used to alleviate our pains; there were also very great robberies and murders of our principal men. This was done in pretence indeed for the public welfare, but in reality from the hopes of gain to themselves; whence arose seditions, and from them murders of men, which sometimes fell on those of their own people (by the madness of these men towards one another, while their desire was that none of the adverse party might be left,) and sometimes on their enemies; a famine also coming upon us reduced us to the last degree of despair, as did also the taking and demolishing of cities: nay, the sedition at last increased so high, that the very temple of God was burnt down by their enemies' fire. Such were the consequences of this, that the customs of our fathers were altered, and such a change was made, as added a mighty weight toward bringing all to destruction, which these men occasioned by their thus conspiring together; for Judas and Sadducus,* who excited a fourth philosophic sect among us, and had a great many followers therein, filled our civil government with tumults at present, and laid the foundations of our future miseries by this system of philosophy, which we were before unacquainted withal; concerning which I will discourse a little, and this the rather, because the infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it, brought the people to destruction.

2. The Jews had, for a great while, three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves, the sect of the Essens, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees; of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish war, yet will I a little touch upon them now.

3. Now for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason; and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing which they have introduced; and, when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what he wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again: on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever they do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities gave great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives, and their discourses also.

4. But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, that souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of any thing besides what the law enjoins them; for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent; but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able almost to do nothing of themselves: for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them.

5. The doctrine of the Essens is this, that all things are best ascribed to God. They teach the immortality of souls, and esteem that the rewards of righteousness are to be earnestly striven for; and when they send what they have dedicated to

* See the preceding Note.

God into the temple*, they do not offer sacrifices, because they have more pure lustrations of their own; on which account they are excluded from the common court of the temple, but offer their sacrifices themselves; yet is their course of life better than that of other men; and they entirely addict themselves to husbandry. It also deserves our admiration how much they exceed all other men that addict themselves to virtue, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that as it hath never appeared among any other men, neither Greeks nor barbarians, no, not for a little time, so hath it endured a long while among them. This is demonstrated by that institution of theirs, which will not suffer any thing to hinder them from having all things in common; so that a rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than he who hath nothing at all. There are about four thousand men that live in this way; and neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants; as thinking the latter tempts men to be unjust, and the former gives the handle to domestic quarrels; but as they live by themselves, they minister one to another. They also appoint certain stewards to receive the incomes of their revenues, and of the fruits of the ground: such as are good men and priests, who are to get their corn and their food ready for them. They none of them differ from others of the Essens in their way of living, but do the most resemble those Dacæ, who are called *Polistæ*† [dwellers in cities.]

6. But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy, Judas the Galilean was the author. These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord. And since this immoveable resolution of theirs is well known to a great many, I shall speak no farther about that matter; nor am I afraid that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather fear that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain. And it was in Gessius Florus's time that the nation began to go mad with this distemper, who was our procurator, and who occasioned the Jews to go wild with it by the abuse of his authority, and to make them revolt from the Romans. And these are the sects of Jewish philosophy.

## CHAP. II.

*How Herod and Philip built several Cities in honour of Cæsar. Concerning the Succession of Priests and Procurators; as also what befell Phraates and the Parthians.*

§ 1. When Cyrenius had now disposed of Archelaus's money, and when the taxings were come to a conclusion, which were made in the thirty-seventh year of Cæsar's victory over Antony at Actium, he deprived Joazar of the high priesthood, which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest; while Herod and Philip had each of them received their own tetrarchy, and settled the affairs thereof. Herod also built a wall about Sepphoris (which is the security of all Galilee,) and made

* It seems by what Josephus says here, and Philo himself elsewhere, Op. p. 676, that these Essens did not use to go up to the Jewish festivals at Jerusalem, or to offer sacrifices there, which may be one great occasion why they are never mentioned in the ordinary books of the New Testament; though in the Apostolical Constitutions they are mentioned as those that *observe the customs of their forefathers*, and that without any such ill character laid upon them as is there laid upon the other sects among that people.

† Who these Πολισται in Josephus, or Κτισται in Strabo, among the Pythagoric Dacæ were, it is not easy to determine. Scaliger offers no improbable conjecture, that some of these Dacæ lived alone like monks, in tents or caves; but that others of them lived together in *built cities*, and thence were called by such names as implied the same.

it the metropolis of the country. He also built a wall round Betharamphtha, which was itself a city also, and called it *Julius*, from the name of the emperor's wife. When Philip also had built Paneas, a city at the fountains of Jordan, he named it *Cesarea*. He also advanced the village Bethsaida, situate at the lake of Gennesareth, unto the dignity of a city, both by the number of inhabitants it contained, and its other grandeur, and called it by the name of *Julias*, the same name with Cæsar's daughter.

2. As Coponius, who we told you was sent along with Cyrenius, was exercising his office of procurator, and governing Judea, the following accidents happened. As the Jews were celebrating the feast of unleavened bread, which we call the *Passover*, it was customary for the priests to open the temple gates just after midnight. When, therefore, those gates were first opened, some of the Samaritans came privately into Jerusalem, and threw about dead men's bodies in the cloisters on which account the Jews afterward excluded them out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals; and on other accounts also they watched the temple more carefully than they had formerly done. A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came to be his successor in that government; under whom Salome, the sister of king Herod, died, and left to Julia [Cæsar's wife] Jamnia, all its toparchy, and Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais, where is a great plantation of palm trees, and their fruit is excellent in its kind. After him came Annius Rufus, under whom died Cæsar, the second emperor of the Romans, the duration of whose reign was fifty-seven years, besides six months and two days (of which time Antonius ruled together with him fourteen years; but the duration of his life was seventy-seven years;) upon whose death Tiberius Nero, his wife Julia's son, succeeded. He was now the third emperor; and he sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea, and to succeed Annius Rufus. This man deprived Ananus of the high priesthood, and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi, to be high priest. He also deprived him in a little time, and ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest; which office, when he had held for a year, Gratus deprived him of it, and gave the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus; and, when he had possessed that dignity no longer than a year, Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor. When Gratus had done these things, he went back to Rome, after he had tarried in Judea eleven years, when Pontius Pilate came as his successor.

3. And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it *Tiberias*. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth. There are warm baths, at a little distance from it, in a village named *Emmaus*. Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come thither out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants: some of them were persons of condition. He also admitted poor people, and those such as were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen; and these he was a benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expenses, and by giving them land also: for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city Tiberias;* whereas our laws pronounce, that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.†

4. About this time died Phraates, king of the Parthians, by the treachery of Phraataces his son, upon the occasion following: When Phraates had had legiti-

* We may here take notice, as well as in the parallel parts of the books Of the War, B. ii. ch. ix. sect. 1, that after the death of Herod the Great, and the succession of Archelaus, Josephus is very brief in his accounts of Judea, till near his own time. I suppose the reason is, that after the large history of Nicolaus of Damascus, including the life of Herod, and probably the succession and first actions of his sons, he had but few good histories of those times before him.

† Numb xix. 11 14.

imate sons of his own, he had also an Italian maid-servant, whose name was *Thermusa*, who had been formerly sent to him by Julius Cæsar, among other presents. He first made her his concubine; but he being a great admirer of her beauty, in process of time having a son by her, whose name was *Phraataces*, he made her his legitimate wife, and had a great respect for her. Now she was able to persuade him to do any thing that she said, and was earnest in procuring the government of Parthia for her son; but still she saw that her endeavours would not succeed, unless she could contrive how to remove Phraates's legitimate sons out [of the kingdom:] so she persuaded him to send those his sons as pledges of his fidelity to Rome; and they were sent to Rome accordingly, because it was not easy for him to contradict her commands. Now while Phraataces was alone brought up in order to succeed in the government, he thought it very tedious to expect that government by his father's donation [as his successor:] he therefore formed a treacherous design against his father by his mother's assistance, with whom, as the report went, he had criminal conversation also. So he was hated for both these vices, while his subjects esteemed this [wicked] love of his mother to be no way inferior to his parricide; and he was by them in a sedition expelled out of the country, before he grew too great, and died. But as the best sort of Parthians agreed together that it was impossible they should be governed without a king, while also it was their constant practice to choose one of the family of Arsaces (nor did their law allow of any others; and they thought this kingdom had been sufficiently injured already by the marriage with an Italian concubine, and by her issue,) they sent ambassadors, and called Orodes [to take the crown;] for the multitude would not otherwise have borne them; and though he were accused of very great cruelty, and was of an untractable temper, and prone to wrath, yet still he was one of the family of Arsaces. However, they made a conspiracy against him, and slew him, and that, as some say, at a festival, and among their sacrifices (for it is the universal custom there to carry their swords with them;) but as the more general report is, they slew him when they had drawn him out a hunting. So they sent ambassadors to Rome, and desired they would send one of those that were there as pledges, to be their king. Accordingly, Vonones was preferred before the rest, and sent to them (for he seemed capable of such great fortune, which two of the greatest kingdoms under the sun now offered him, his own and a foreign one.) However, the barbarians soon changed their minds, they being naturally of a mutable disposition, upon the supposal that this man was not worthy to be their governor; for they could not think of obeying the commands of one that had been a slave (for so they called those that had been hostages,) nor could they bear the ignominy of that name: and this was the more intolerable, because then the Parthians must have such a king set over them, not by right of war, but in a time of peace. So they presently invited Artabanus, king of Media, to be their king, he being also of the race of Arsaces. Artabanus complied with the offer that was made to him, and came to them with an army. So Vonones met him; and at first the multitude of the Parthians stood on his side, and he put his army in array, but Artabanus was beaten, and fled to the mountains of Media. Yet did he a little time after gather a great army together, and fought with Vonones, and beat him; whereupon Vonones fled away on horseback, with a few of his attendants about him, to Seleucia [upon Tigris.] So when Artabanus had slain a great number, and this after he had gotten the victory by reason of the very great dismay the barbarians were in, he retired to Ctesiphon with a great number of his people; and so he now reigned over the Parthians. But Vonones fled away to Armenia; and as soon as he came thither, he had an inclination to have the government of the country given him, and sent ambassadors to Rome [for that purpose.] But because Tiberius refused it him, and because he wanted courage, and because the Parthian king threatened him, and sent ambassadors to him to denounce war against him if he proceeded; and because he had no way to take to regain any other kingdom (for the people of authority

among the Armenians about Niphates joined themselves to Artabanus,) he delivered up himself to Silanus, the president of Syria, who, out of regard to his education at Rome, kept him in Syria, while Artabanus gave Armenia to Orodes, one of his own sons.

5. At this time died Antiochus, the king of Commagene; whereupon the multitude contended with the nobility, and both sent ambassadors [to Rome;] for the men of power were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a [Roman] province; as were the multitude desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been. So the senate made a decree, that Germanicus should be sent to settle the affairs of the east, fortune hereby taking a proper opportunity for depriving him of his life; for when he had been in the east, and settled all affairs there, his life was taken away by the poison which Piso gave him, as hath been related elsewhere.*

## CHAP. III.

*A Sedition of the Jews against Pontius Pilate. Concerning Christ; and what befell Paulina and the Jews at Rome.*

§ 1. But now Pilate, the procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images: on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cesarea, and interceded with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because this would tend to the injury of Cæsar, while yet they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and set upon his judgment seat; which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

2. But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However, the Jews† were not pleased with what had

* This citation is now wanting.

† These Jews, as they are here called, whose blood Pilate shed on this occasion, may very well be those very Galilean Jews *whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices;* Luke, xiii. 1, 2; these tumults being usually excited at some of the Jews' great festivals, when they slew abundance of sacrifices, and the Galileans being commonly much more busy in such tumults than those of Judea and Jerusalem, as we learn from the history of Archelaus, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. ix. sect. 3, and ch. x. sect. 2, 9; though indeed Josephus's present copies say not one word of *those eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, and slew them,* which the 4th verse of the same 13th chapter of St. Luke informs us of. But since our gospel teaches us, Luke, xxiii. 6, 7, that *when Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether Jesus were a Galilean? And as soon as he knew that he belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod.* And ver. 12. *The same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they had been at enmity between themselves.* Take the very probable key of this matter in the words of the learned Nol-

been done about this water; and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused the man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bid the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous, and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there were a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded. And thus an end was put to this sedition

3. Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross,* those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day;† as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

4. About the same time also another sad calamity put the Jews into disorder, and certain shameful practices happened about the temple of Isis that was at Rome. I will now first take notice of the wicked attempt about the temple of Isis, and will then give an account of the Jewish affairs. There was at Rome a woman whose name was Paulina; one who, on account of the dignity of her ancestors, and by the regular conduct of a virtuous life, had a great reputation: she was also very rich; and although she were of a beautiful countenance, and in that flower of her age, wherein women are the most gay, yet did she lead a life of great modesty. She was married to Saturninus, one that was every way answerable to her in an excellent character. Dicius Mundus fell in love with this woman, who was a man very high in the equestrian order; and as she was of too great dignity to be caught by presents, and had already rejected them, though they had been sent in great abundance, he was still more inflamed with love to her, insomuch that he promised to give her two hundred thousand Attic drachmæ for one night's lodging; and when this would not prevail upon her, and he was not able to bear this misfortune in his amours, he thought it the best way to famish himself to death for want of food, on account of Paulina's sad refusal: and he determined with himself to die after such a manner, and he went on with his purpose accordingly. Now Mundus had a freed woman, who had been made free by his father, whose name was Ide, one skilful in all sorts of mischief. This woman was very much grieved at the young man's resolution to kill himself (for he did not conceal his intentions to destroy himself from others,) and came to him, and encouraged him by her discourse, and made him to hope, by some promises she gave him, that he might obtain a night's lodging with Paulina; and when he joyfully hearkened to her entreaty, she said, she wanted no more than fifty thousand drachmæ for the entrapping of the woman. So when she had encouraged the young man, and gotten as much money as she required, she did not take the same methods as had been taken before, because she perceived that the woman was by no means to be tempted by money, but as she knew that she was very

lius de Herod, No. 249. "The cause of the enmity between Herod and Pilate (says he) seems to have been this, that Pilate had intermeddled with the tetrarch's jurisdiction, and had slain some of his Galilean subjects; Luke, xiii. 1; and, as he was willing to correct that error, he sent Christ to Herod at his time."

* A. D. 33. April 3. † April 5.

much given to the worship of the goddess Isis, she devised the following stratagem: She went to some of Isis's priests, and upon the strongest assurances [of concealment,] she persuaded them by words, but chiefly by the offer of money, of 25,000 drachmæ in hand, and as much more when the thing had taken effect; and told them the passion of the young man, and persuaded them to use all means possible to beguile the woman. So they were drawn in to promise so to do, by that large sum of gold they were to have. Accordingly the eldest of them went immediately to Paulina, and upon his admittance, he desired to speak with her by herself. When that was granted him, he told her, that "he was sent by the god Anubis, who was fallen in love with her, and enjoined her to come to him." Upon this she took the message very kindly, and valued herself greatly upon this condescension of Anubis, and told her husband, that she had a message sent her, and was to sup and to lie with Anubis: so he agreed to her acceptance of the offer, as fully satisfied with the chastity of his wife. Accordingly she went to the temple, and after she had supped there, and it was the hour to go to sleep, the priest shut the doors of the temple, when, in the holy part of it, the lights were also put out. Then did Mundus leap out (for he was hidden therein,) and did not fail of enjoying her, who was at his service all the night long, as supposing he was the god; and when he was gone away, which was before those priests who knew nothing of this stratagem were stirring, Paulina came early to her husband, and told him how the god Anubis had appeared to her. Among her friends also she declared how great a value she put upon this favour, who partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature, and partly were amazed at it, as having no pretence for not believing it, when they considered the modesty and the dignity of the person. But now on the third day after what had been done, Mundus met Paulina, and said, "Nay, Paulina, thou hast saved me two hundred thousand drachmæ, which sum thou mightest have added to thy own family; yet hast thou not failed to be at my service in the manner I invited thee. As for the reproaches thou hast laid upon Mundus, I value not the business of names; but I rejoice in the pleasure I reaped by what I did, while I took to myself the name of Anubis." When he had said this, he went his way. But now she began to come to the sense of the grossness of what she had done, and rent her garments, and told her husband of the horrid nature of this wicked contrivance, and prayed him not to neglect to assist her in this case. So he discovered the fact to the emperor: whereupon Tiberius inquired into the matter thoroughly, by examining the priests about it, and ordered them to be crucified as well as Ide, who was the occasion of their perdition, and who had contrived the whole matter which was so injurious to the woman. He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber; while he only banished Mundus, but did no more to him, because he supposed that what crime he had committed was done out of the passion of love. And these were the circumstances which concerned the temple of Isis, and the injuries occasioned by her priests. I now return to the relation of what happened about this time to the Jews at Rome, as I formerly told you I would.

5. There was a man who was a Jew, but had been driven away from his own country by an accusation laid against him for transgressing their laws, and by the fear he was under of punishment for the same; but in all respects a wicked man. He then living at Rome, professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses. He procured also three other men, entirely of the same character with himself, to be his partners. These men persuaded Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion, to send purple and gold to the temple at Jerusalem, and when they had gotten them, they employed them for their own uses, and spent the money themselves; on which account it was that they at first required it of her. Whereupon Tiberius, who had been informed of the thing by Saturninus, the husband of Fulvia, who desired inquiry might be made about it, ordered all the Jews to be banished out of Rome; as

which the consuls listed four thousand men out of them, and sent them to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number of them, who were unwilling to become soldiers on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers.* Thus were these Jews banished out of the city by the wickedness of four men.

## CHAP. IV.

*How the Samaritans made a Tumult, and Pilate destroyed many of them; how Pilate was accused, and what Things were done by Vitellius relating to the Jews and the Parthians.*

§ 1. But the nation of the Samaritans did not escape without tumults. The man who excited them to it was one who thought lying a thing of little consequence, and who contrived every thing so that the multitude might be pleased; so he bid them get together upon Mount Gerizzim, which is by them looked upon as the most holy of all mountains, and assured them, that when they were come thither, he would show them those sacred vessels which were laid under that place, because Moses† put them there. So they came thither armed, and thought the discourse of the man probable; and as they abode at a certain village, which was called Tirathaba, they got the rest together to them, and desired to go up the mountain in a great multitude together: but Pilate prevented their going up by seizing upon the roads with a great band of horsemen and footmen, who fell upon those that were gotten together in the village, and when it came to an action, some of them they slew, and others of them they put to flight, and took a great many alive, the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled away, Pilate ordered to be slain.

2. But when this tumult was appeased, the Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius, a man that had been consul, and who was now president of Syria, and accused Pilate of the murder of those that were killed; for that they did not go to Tirathaba in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate. So Vitellius sent Marcellus, a friend of his, to take care of the affairs of Judea, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, to answer before the emperor to the accusation of the Jews. So Pilate, when he had tarried ten years in Judea, made haste to Rome, and this in obedience to the orders of Vitellius, which he durst not contradict; but before he could get to Rome Tiberius was dead.

3. But Vitellius came into Judea, and went up to Jerusalem; it was at the time of that festival which is called the *Passover*. Vitellius was there magnificently received, and released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from all the taxes upon the fruits that were bought and sold, and gave them leave to have the care of the high priest's vestments, with all their ornaments, and to have them under the custody of the priests in the temple, which power they used to have formerly, although at this time they were laid up in the tower of Antonia, the citadel so called,

* Of the banishment of these 4000 Jews into Sardinia by Tiberius, see Suetonius in Tiber. sect. 36. But as for Mr. Reland's note here, which supposes that Jews could not, consistently with their laws, be soldiers, it is contradicted by one branch of the history before us, and contrary to innumerable instances of their fighting, and proving excellent soldiers in war; and indeed many of the best of them, and even under heathen kings themselves, did so, those I mean who allowed them their rest on the Sabbath day, and other solemn festivals, and let them live according to their own laws, as Alexander the Great and the Ptolomies of Egypt did. It is true, they could not always obtain those privileges, and then they got excused as well as they could, or sometimes absolutely refused to fight, which seems to have been the case here, as to the major part of the Jews now banished, but nothing more. See several of the Roman decrees in their favour as to such matters, B. xiv. ch. x.

† Since Moses never came himself beyond Jordan, nor particularly to Mount Gerizzim, and since these Samaritans have a tradition among them related here by Dr. Hudson, from Reland, who was very skilful in Jewish and Samaritan learning, that in the days of Uzzi or Ozzi the high priest, 1 Chron. vi. 6, the ark and other sacred vessels were, by God's command, laid up or hidden in Mount Gerizzim, it is highly probable that this was the foolish foundation the present Samaritans went upon in the sedition here described, and that we should read here Ωσιας, instead of Μωσεως in the text of Josephus.

and that on the occasion following: There was one of the [high] priests, named Hyrcanus, and as there were many of that name, he was the first of them; this man built a tower near the temple, and when he had done so, he generally dwelt in it, and had these vestments with him; because it was lawful for him alone to put them on, and he had them there reposited when he went down into the city, and took his ordinary garments. The same things were continued to be done by his sons, and by their sons after them. But when Herod came to be king he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner; and because he was a friend to Antonius, he called it by the name of *Antonia*. And as he found these vestments lying there, he retained them in the same place, as believing, that while he had them in his custody, the people would make no innovations against him. The like to what Herod did was done by his son Archelaus, who was made king after him; after whom the Romans, when they entered on the government, took possession of these vestments of the high priest, and had them reposited in a stone chamber under the seal of the priests, and of the keepers of the temple, the captain of the guard lighting a lamp there every day; and seven days* before a festival they were delivered to them by the captain of the guard, when the high priest, having purified them, and made use of them, laid them up again in the same chamber where they had been laid up before, and this the very next day after the feast was over. This was the practice at the three yearly festivals, and on the fast day; but Vitellius put these garments into our own power, as in the days of our forefathers, and ordered the captain of the guard not to trouble himself to inquire where they were laid, or when they were to be used; and this he did as an act of kindness to oblige the nation to him. Besides which, he also deprived Joseph, who was also called *Caiaphas*, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus, the former high priest, to succeed him. After which he took his journey back to Antioch.

4. Moreover, Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, and commanded him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus, the king of Parthia; for while he was his enemy he terrified him, because he had taken Armenia away from him, lest he should proceed farther, and told him he should no otherwise trust him than upon his giving him hostages, and especially his son Artabanus. Upon Tiberius's writing thus to Vitellius, by the offer of great presents of money, he persuaded both the king of Iberia, and the king of Albania, to make no delay, but to fight against Artabanus; and although they would not do it themselves, yet did they give the Scythians a passage through their country, and opened the Caspian gates to them, and brought them upon Artabanus. So Armenia was again taken from the Parthians, and the country of Parthia was filled with war, and the principal of their men were slain, and all things were in disorder among them: the king's son also himself fell in these wars, together with many ten thousands of his army. Vitellius had also sent such great sums of money to Artabanus's father's kinsmen and friends, that he had almost procured him to be slain by the means of those bribes which they had taken. And when Artabanus perceived that the plot laid against him was not to be avoided, because it was laid by the principal men, and those a great many in number, and that it would certainly take effect: when he also estimated the number of those that were truly faithful to him, as also of those who were already corrupted, but were deceitful in the kindness they professed to him, and were likely, upon trial, to go over to his enemies, he made his escape to the upper provinces, where he afterward raised a great army out of the Dabæ and Sacæ, and fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.

5. When Tiberius had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus, and when, upon this invitation, he

* This mention of the high priest's sacred garments received seven days before a festival, and purified in those days against a festival, as having been polluted, by being in the custody of heathens, in Josephus, agrees well with the traditions of the Talmudists, as Reland here observes. Nor is there any question but the three feasts here mentioned, were the Passover, Pentecost, and feast of Tabernacles; and the fast, so called by way of distinction, as Acts, xxvii. 9, was the great day of expiation

received the proposal kindly, Artabanus and Vitellius went to Euphrates, and as a bridge was laid over the river, they each of them came with their guards about them, and met one another on the midst of the bridge. And when they had agreed upon the terms of peace, Herod the tetrarch erected a rich tent on the midst of the passage, and made them a feast there. Artabanus also, not long afterward, sent his son Darius, as an hostage, with many presents, among which there was a man seven cubits tall, a Jew he was by birth, and his name was *Eleazar*, who for his tallness was called a giant. After which Vitellius went to Antioch, and Artabanus to Babylon; but Herod [the tetrarch,] being desirous to give Cæsar the first information that they had obtained hostages, sent posts with letters, wherein he had accurately described all the particulars, and had left nothing for the consul Vitellius to inform him of. But when Vitellius's letters were sent, and Cæsar had let him know that he was acquainted with the affairs already, because Herod had given him an account of them before, Vitellius was very much troubled at it; and supposing that he had been thereby a greater sufferer than he really was, he kept up a secret anger upon this occasion, till he could be revenged on him, which he was after Caius had taken the government.

6. About this time it was that Philip, Herod's brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year* of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch of Trachonitis and Gaulanitis, and of the nation of the Bataneans also, thirty-seven years. He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him;† he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint; he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly. He died at Julius; and when he was carried to that monument which he had already erected for himself beforehand, he was buried with great pomp. His principality Tiberius took, for he left no sons behind him, and added it to the province of Syria; but gave order that the tributes which arose from it should be collected, and laid up in that his tetrarchy.

## CHAP. V.

*Herod the Tetrarch makes War with Aretas, the King of Arabia, and is beaten by him; as also concerning the Death of John the Baptist; how Vitellius went up to Jerusalem: together with some Account of Agrippa, and of the Posterity of Herod the Great.*

§ 1. About this time Aretas, the king of Arabia Petrea, and Herod, had a quarrel on the account following: Herod the tetrarch had married the daughter of Aretas, and had lived with her a great while; but when he was once at Rome, he lodged with Herod,‡ who was his brother indeed, but not by the same mother; for this

* This calculation from all Josephus's Greek copies is exactly right; for since Herod died about September, in the fourth year before the Christian æra, and Tiberius began, as is well known, Aug. 19, A. D. 14, it is evident that the 37th year of Philip, reckoned from his father's death, was the 20th of Tiberius, or near the end of A. D. 33, (the very year of our Saviour's death also, or however in the beginning of the next year, A. D. 34.) This Philip the tetrarch seems to have been the best of all the posterity of Herod, for his love of peace, and his love of justice.

† An excellent example this.

‡ This Herod seems to have had the additional name of *Philip*, as Antipas was named *Herod-Antipas*, and as Antipas and Antipater seem to be in a manner the very same name, yet were the names of two sons of Herod the Great; so might Philip the tetrarch and this Herod-Philip be two different sons of the same father, all which Grotius observes on Matt. xiv. 3. Nor was it, as I agree with Grotius and others of the learned, Philip the tetrarch, but this Herod-Philip, whose wife Herod the tetrarch had married, and that in her first husband's lifetime, and when her first husband had issue by her; for whic

Herod was the son of the high priest Simon's daughter. However, he fell in love with Herodias, this last Herod's wife who was the daughter of Aristobulus their brother, and the sister of Agrippa the Great. This man ventured to talk to her about a marriage between them, which address, when she admitted, an agreement was made for her to change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from Rome: one article of this marriage also was this, that he should divorce Aretas's daughter. So Antipas, when he had made this agreement, sailed to Rome: but when he had done there the business he went about, and was returned again, his wife having discovered the agreement he had made with Herodias, and having learned it before he had notice of her knowledge of the whole design, she desired him to send her to Macherus, which is a place in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod, without informing him of any of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither, as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing: now she had sent a good while before to Macherus, which was subject to her father, and so all things necessary for her journey were made ready for her by the general of Aretas's army; and by that means she soon came into Arabia, under the conduct of several generals, who carried her from one to another successively; and she soon came to her father, and told him of Herod's intentions. So Aretas made this the first occasion of his enmity between him and Herod, who had also some quarrel with him about their limits at the country of Gemalitis. So they raised armies on both sides, and prepared for war, and sent their generals to fight instead of themselves; and when they had joined battle, all Herod's army was destroyed by the treachery of some fugitives, who, though they were of the tetrarchy of Philip, joined with Herod's army. So Herod wrote about these affairs to Tiberius, who, being very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius, to make war upon him, and either to take him alive, and bring him to him in bonds, or to kill him, and send him his head. This was the charge that Tiberius gave to the president of Syria.

2. Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment of what he did against John, who was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism: for that the washing [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only,] but for the purification of the body: supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly moved [or pleased] by hearing his words, Herod, who feared lest the great influence John had over the people, might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion (for they seemed ready to do any thing he should advise,) thought it best by putting him to death, to prevent any mischief he might cause, and not bring himself into difficulties, by sparing a man who might make him repent of it when it should be too late. Accordingly he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. Now the Jews had an opinion that the destruction of this army was sent as a punishment upon Herod, and a mark of God's displeasure to him.

3. So Vitellius prepared to make war with Aretas, having with him two legions of armed men; he also took with him all those of light armature, and of the horsemen which belonged to them, and were drawn out of those kingdoms which were under the Romans, and made haste for Petra, and came to Ptolemais. But as he was marching very busily, and leading his army through Judea, the principal men met him, and desired that he would not thus march through their land; for that

adulterous and incestuous marriage, John the Baptist justly reproved Herod the tetrarch, and for which reproof Salome, the daughter of Herodias, by her first husband Herod-Philip, who was still alive, occasioned him to be unjustly beheaded.

he laws of their country would not permit them to overlook those images which vere brought into it, of which there were a great many in their ensigns; so he vas persuaded by what they said, and changed that resolution of his, which he ad before taken in that matter. Whereupon he ordered the army to march along he great plain, while he himself, with Herod the tetrarch, and his friends, went p to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God, an ancient festival of the Jews being hen just approaching; and when he had been there, and been honourably enter- ained by the multitude of the Jews, he made a stay there for three days, within vhich time he deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his bro her Theophilus. But when on the fourth day, letters came to him, which in ormed him of the death of Tiberius, he obliged the multitude to take an oath of idelity to Caius; he also recalled his army, and made them every one to go home, nd take their winter quarters there, since upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making this war which he had before. It vas also reported, that when Aretas heard of the coming of Vitellius to fight him, ie said, upon his consulting the diviners, that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius's could enter Petra; for that one of the rulers would die; either he that gave orders for the war, or he that was marching at the other's desire, in order o be subservient to his will, or else he against whom this army was prepared So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch; but Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, went p to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, in order to treat of some affairs with the emperor, if he might be permitted so to do. I have now a mind to de- scribe Herod and his family, how it fared with them, partly because it is suitable o this history to speak of that matter, and partly because this thing is a demon stration of the interposition of Providence, how a multitude of children is of no dvantage, no more than any other strength that mankind set their hearts upon, esides those acts of piety which are done towards God; for it happened, that within the revolution of a hundred years, the posterity of Herod, which were a great many in number, were, excepting a few, utterly destroyed.* One may well apply this for the instruction of mankind, and learn thence how unhappy they were; it will also show us the history of Agrippa, who, as he was a person most worthy of admiration, so was he from a private man, beyond all the expectation of those that knew him, advanced to great power and authority. I have said some- hing of them formerly, but I shall now also speak accurately about them.

4. Herod the Great had two daughters by Mariamne, the [grand] daughter of Hyrcanus; the one was Salampsio, who was married to Phasaelus her first cou- sin, who was himself the son of Phasaelus, Herod's brother; her father making the match: the other was Cypros, who was herself married also to her first cou- sin Antipater, the son of Salome, Herod's sister. Phasaelus had five children by Salampsio, Antipater, Herod, and Alexander; and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; which last, Agrippa the son of Aristobulus married; and Timius of Cyprus married Alexandra: he was a man of note, but had by her no children Agrippa had by Cypros two sons and three daughters, which daughters were named Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; but the names of the sons were Agrippa and Drusus, of which Drusus died before he came to the years of puberty; but their father Agrippa was brought up with his other brethren, Herod and Aristo bulus; for these were also the sons of the son of Herod the Great, by Bernice, but Bernice was the daughter of Costobarus and of Salome, who was Herod's sister. Aristobulus left these infants, when he was slain by his father, together with his brother Alexander, as we have already related. But when they were arrived at the years of puberty, this Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, who was daughter of Herod the king, and

* Whether this sudden extinction of almost the entire lineage of Herod the Great, which was very nu- merous, as we are both here and in the next section informed, was not in part as a punishment for the gross incests they were frequently guilty of, in marrying their own nephews and nieces, well deserves to be considered. See Levit. xviii. 6, 7; xxi. 10, and Noldius, De Herod. No. 269, 270.

of Joseph, the son of Joseph who was brother to Herod the king, and had by her a son, Aristobulus: but Aristobulus, the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape, the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa;* they had a daughter who was deaf, whose name also was Jotape; and these hitherto were the children of the male line. But Herodias, their sister, was married to Herod [Philip,] the son of Herod the Great, who was born of Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high priest, who had a daughter Salome; after whose birth Herodias took upon her to confound the laws of our country; and divorced herself from her husband while he was alive, and was married to Herod [Antipas,] her husband's brother by the father's side; he was tetrarch of Galilee: but her daughter Salome was married to Philip, the Son of Herod, and tetrarch of Trachonitis; and as he died childless, Aristobulus, the son of Herod, the brother of Agrippa, married her; they had three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus: and this was the posterity of Phasaelus and Salampsio. But the daughter of Antipater by Cypros, was Cypros, whom Alexis Selcias, the son of Alexas, married; they had a daughter, Cypros; but Herod and Alexander, who, as we told you, were the brothers of Antipater, died childless. As to Alexander, the son of Herod the king, who was slain by his father; he had two sons, Alexander and Tigranes, by the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia: Tigranes, who was king of Armenia, was accused at Rome, and died childless; Alexander had a son of the same name with his brother Tigranes, and was sent to take possession of the kingdom of Armenia by Nero: he had a son Alexander, who married Jotape,† the daughter of Antiochus, king of Commagena; Vespasian made him king of an island in Cilicia. But these descendants of Alexander, soon after their birth, deserted the Jewish religion, and went over to that of the Greeks; but for the rest of the daughters of Herod the king, it happened that they died childless. And as these descendants of Herod, whom we have enumerated, were in being at the same time that Agrippa the Great took the kingdom, and I have now given an account of them, it now remains that I relate the several hard fortunes which befell Agrippa, and how he got clear of them, and was advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the Navigation of King Agrippa to Rome, to Tiberius Cæsar: and how, upon his being accused by his own Freedman, he was bound: how also he was set at Liberty by Caius, after Tiberius's Death, and was made King of the Tetrarchy of Philip.*

§ 1. A LITTLE before the death of Herod the king, Agrippa lived at Rome, and was generally brought up and conversed with Drusus, the emperor Tiberius's son; and contracted a friendship with Antonia, the wife of Drusus the Great, who had his mother Bernice in great esteem, and was very desirous of advancing her son. Now, as Agrippa was by nature magnanimous and generous in the presents he made, while his mother was alive, this inclination of his mind did not appear, that he might be able to avoid her anger for such his extravagance; but when Bernice was dead, and he was left to his own conduct, he spent a great deal extravagantly in his daily way of living, and a great deal in the immoderate presents he made, and those chiefly among Cæsar's freedmen, in order to gain their assistance, insomuch that he was in a little time reduced to poverty, and could not live at Rome any longer. Tiberius also forbade the friends of his deceased son to come into his sight, because on seeing them he should be put in mind of his son, and his grief would thereby be revived.

* There are coins still extant of this Emesa, as Spanheim informs us.

† Spanheim also informs us of a coin still extant of this Jotape, daughter of the king of Commagena

2. For these reasons he went away from Rome, and sailed to Judea, but in evil circumstances, being dejected with the loss of that money which he once had, and because he had not wherewithal to pay his creditors, who were many in number, and such as gave him no room for escaping them. Whereupon he knew not what to do; so, for shame of his present condition, he retired to a certain tower, at Malatha, in Idumea, and had thoughts of killing himself; but his wife Cypros perceived his intentions, and tried all sorts of methods to divert him from taking such a course: so she sent a letter to his sister Herodias, who was now the wife of Herod the tetrarch, and let her know Agrippa's present design, and what necessity it was which drove him thereto, and desired her as a kinswoman of his, to give him her help, and to engage her husband to do the same, since she saw how she alleviated these her husband's troubles all she could, although she had not the like wealth to do it withal. So they sent for him, and allotted him Tiberias for his habitation, and appointed him some income of money for his maintenance, and made him a magistrate of that city, by way of honour to him. Yet did not Herod long continue in that resolution of supporting him, though even that support was not sufficient for him; for as once they were at a feast at Tyre, and in their cups, and reproaches were cast upon one another, Agrippa thought that was not to be borne, while Herod hit him in the teeth with his poverty, and with his owing his necessary food to him. So he went to Flaccus, one that had been consul, and had been a very great friend to him at Rome formerly, and was now president of Syria.

3. Hereupon Flaccus received him kindly, and he lived with him. Flaccus had also with him there Aristobulus, who was indeed Agrippa's brother, but was at variance with him; yet did not their enmity to one another hinder the friendship of Flaccus to them both, but still they were honourably treated by him. However, Aristobulus did not abate of his ill will to Agrippa, till at length he brought him into ill terms with Flaccus: the occasion of bringing on which estrangement was this: the Damascens were at difference with the Sidonians about their limits, and when Flaccus was about to hear the cause between them, they understood that Agrippa had a mighty influence upon him; so they desired that he would be of their side, and for that favour promised him a great deal of money; so he was zealous in assisting the Damascens as far as he was able. Now Aristobulus had gotten intelligence of this promise of money to him, and accused him to Flaccus of the same; and when, upon a thorough examination of the matter, it appeared plainly so to be, he rejected Agrippa out of the number of his friends. So he was reduced to the utmost necessity, and came to Ptolemais; and because he knew not where else to get a livelihood, he thought to sail to Italy; but as he was restrained from so doing by want of money, he desired Marsyas, who was his freedman, to find some method of procuring him so much as he wanted for that purpose, by borrowing such a sum of some person or other. So Marsyas desired of Peter, who was the freedman of Bernice, Agrippa's mother, and by the right of her testament was bequeathed to Antonia, to lend him so much upon Agrippa's own bond and security; but he accused Agrippa of having defrauded him of certain sums of money, and so obliged Marsyas, when he made the bond of 20,000 Attic drachmæ, to accept of 2,500 drachmæ* less than what he desired, which the other allowed of, because he could not help it. Upon the receipt of this money, Agrippa came to Anthedon, and took shipping, and was going to set sail; but Herennius Capito, who was the procurator of Jamnia, sent a band of soldiers to demand of him 300,000 drachmæ of silver, which were by him owing to Cæsar's treasury while he was at Rome, and so forced him to stay. He then pretended that he would do as he bid him: but when night came on, he cut his cables, and went off, and sailed to Alexandria, where he desired Alexan-

* Spanheim observes, that we have here an instance of the Attic quantity of use money, which was the eighth part of the original sum, or *twelve and a half per cent.* for such is the proportion of 2,500 to 20,000

der the alabarch* to lend him 200,000 drachmæ: but he said he would not lend it to him, but would not refuse it Cypros, as greatly astonished at her affection to her husband, and at the other instances of her virtue; so she undertook to repay it. Accordingly, Alexander paid them five talents at Alexandria, and promised to pay him the rest of that sum at Dicearchi [Puteoli;] and this he did out of the fear he was in that Agrippa would soon spend it. So this Cypros set her husband free, and dismissed him to go on with his navigation to Italy, while she and her children departed for Judea.

4. And now Agrippa was come to Puteoli, whence he wrote a letter to Tiberius Cæsar, who then lived at Capreæ, and told him that he was come so far in order to wait on him and to pay him a visit; and desired that he would give him leave to come over to Capreæ; so Tiberius made no difficulty, but wrote to him in an obliging way in other respects, and withal told him he was glad of his safe return, and desired him to come to Capreæ; and when he was come, he did not fail to treat him as kindly as he had promised him in his letter to do. But the next day came a letter to Cæsar from Herennius Capito, to inform him that Agrippa had borrowed 300,000 drachmæ and not paid it at the time appointed; but, when it was demanded of him, he ran away like a fugitive, out of the places under his government, and put it out of his power to get the money of him. When Cæsar had read the letter, he was much troubled at it, and gave order that Agrippa should be excluded from his presence, until he paid that debt: upon which he was no way daunted at Cæsar's anger, but entreated Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, and of Claudius, who was afterward Cæsar himself, to lend him those 300,000 drachmæ, that he might not be deprived of Tiberius's friendship; so, out of regard to the memory of Bernice, his mother (for those two women were very familiar with one another,) and out of regard to his and Claudius's education together, she lent him the money; and upon the payment of this debt, there was nothing to hinder Tiberius's friendship to him. After this Tiberius Cæsar recommended to him his grandson,† and ordered that he should always accompany him when he went abroad. But upon Agrippa's kind reception by Antonia, he betook himself to pay his respects to Caius, who was her grandson, and in very high reputation by reason of the good will they bare his father.‡ Now there was one Thallus, a freedman of Cæsar, of whom he borrowed a million of drachmæ, and thence repaid Antonia the debt he owed her, and by spending the overplus in paying his court to Caius, became a person of great authority with him.

5. Now, as the friendship which Agrippa had for Caius was come to a great height, there happened some words to pass between them, as they once were in a chariot together, concerning Tiberius; Agrippa praying [to God] (for they two sat by themselves,) that "Tiberius might soon go off the stage, and leave the government to Caius, who was in every respect more worthy of it." Now Eutychus, who was Agrippa's freedman, and drove his chariot, heard these words, and at that time said nothing of them; but when Agrippa accused him of stealing some garments of his (which was certainly true,) he ran away from him: but when he was caught, and brought before Piso, who was governor of the city, and the man was asked, why he ran away? he replied that he had somewhat to say to Cæsar, that tended to his security, and preservation: So Piso bound him, and sent him to Capreæ. But Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him still in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if there ever was any other king or tyrant that was so; for he did not admit ambassadors quickly, and no successors were dispatched away to governors or procurators of the provinces, that had been formerly sent, unless they were dead: whence it was, that he was so negligent in hearing the causes of prisoners; insomuch, that when he was asked by his friends, what was the reason of his delay, in such cases? he said, that "he delayed to hear ambassadors, lest upon their quick dismission, other ambassadors should be

* The governor of the Jews there. † Tiberius junior ‡ Germanicus.

appointed, and return upon him; and so he should bring trouble upon himself in their public reception and dismission: that he permitted those governors, who had been sent once to their governments [to stay there a great while,] out of regard to the subjects that were under them; for that all governors are naturally disposed to get as much as they can, and that those who are not to fix there, but to stay a short time, and that at an uncertainty when they shall be turned out, do the more severely hurry themselves on to fleece the people: but that, if their government be long continued to them, they are at last satiated with the spoils, as having gotten a vast deal, and so become at length less sharp in their pillaging; but that, if successors are sent quickly, the poor subjects, who are exposed to them as a prey, will not be able to bear the new ones, while they shall not have the same time allowed them, wherein their predecessors had filled themselves, and so grow more unconcerned about getting more; and this because they are removed before they have had time [for their oppressions.] He gave them an example to show his meaning: A great number of flies came about the sore places of a man that had been wounded; upon which one of the standers-by pitied the man's misfortunes, and thinking he was not able to drive those flies away himself, was going to drive them away for him; but he prayed him to let them alone: the other, by way of reply, asked him the reason of such a preposterous proceeding, in preventing relief from his present misery: to which he answered, If thou drivest these flies away, thou wilt hurt me worse, for, as these are already full of my blood, they do not crowd about me, nor pain me so much as before, but are sometimes more remiss, while the fresh ones that come almost famished, and find me quite tired down already, will be my destruction. For this cause, therefore, it is, that I am myself careful not to send such new governors perpetually to those my subjects, who are already sufficiently harassed by many oppressions, as may, like these flies, farther distress them; and so, besides their natural desire of gain, may have this additional incitement to it, that they expect to be suddenly deprived of that pleasure which they take in it." And, as a farther attestation to what I say of the dilatory nature of Tiberius, I appeal to this his practice itself; for although he were emperor twenty-two years, he sent in all but two procurators to govern the nation of the Jews, Gratus, and his successor in the government, Pilate. Nor was he in one way of acting with respect to the Jews, and in another with respect to the rest of his subjects. He farther informed them, that even in the hearing of the causes of prisoners, he made such delays, "because immediate death to those that must be condemned to die would be an alleviation of their present miseries, while those wicked wretches have not deserved any such favour; but I do it that, by being harassed with the present calamity, they may undergo greater misery."

6. On this account it was that Eutychus could not obtain a hearing, but was kept still in prison. However, some time afterward, Tyberius came from Capreæ to Tusculanum, which is about a hundred furlongs from Rome. Aggrippa then desired of Antonia, that she would procure a hearing for Eutychus, let the matter whereof he accused him prove what it would. Now Antonia was greatly esteemed by Tiberius on all accounts, from the dignity of her relation to him, who had been his brother Drusus's wife, and from her eminent chastity;* for though she were still a young woman, she continued in her widowhood, and refused all other matches, although Augustus had enjoined her to be married to somebody else; yet did she all along preserve her reputation free from reproach. She had also been the greatest benefactress to Tiberius, when there was a very

* This high commendation of Antonia for marrying but once, given here, and supposed elsewhere, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. xiii. sect. 4, and this notwithstanding the strongest temptations, show how honourable single marriages were both among the Jews and Romans, in the days of Josephus and of the apostles, and takes away much of that surprise which the modern Protestants have at those laws of the apostles, where no widows, but those who have been the wives of *one husband* only, are taken into the church list; and no bishops, priests, or deacons, are allowed to marry more than once, without leaving off to officiate as clergymen any longer. See Luke, ii. 36; 1 Tim. v. 11, 12; iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6; Constitut. Apost. B. ii. sect

dangerous plot laid against him by Sejanus, a man who had been her husband's friend, and who had the greatest authority, because he was general of the army, and when many members of the senate and many of the freedmen joined with him, and the soldiery was corrupted, and the plot was come to a great height. Now Sejanus had certainly gained his point, had not Antonia's boldness been more wisely conducted than Sejanus's malice; for when she had discovered his designs against Tiberius, she wrote him an exact account of the whole, and gave the letter to Pallus, the most faithful of her servants, and sent him to Capreæ to Tiberius, who, when he understood it, slew Sejanus and his confederates; so that Tiberius, who had her in great esteem before, now looked upon her with still greater respect, and depended upon her in all things. So, when Tiberius was desired by this Antonia to examine Eutychus, he answered, "If indeed Eutychus had falsely accused Agrippa in what he hath said of him, he hath had sufficient punishment by what I have done to him already; but if, upon examination the accusation appears to be true, let Agrippa have a care, lest, out of desire of punishing his freedman, he do not rather bring a punishment upon himself." Now when Antonia told Agrippa of this, he was still much more pressing that the matter might be examined into; so Antonia, upon Agrippa's lying hard at her continually to beg this favour, took the following opportunity; as Tiberius once lay at his ease, upon his sedan, and was carried about, and Caius her grandson, and Agrippa were before him after dinner, she walked by the sedan, and desired him to call Eutychus, and have him examined: to which he replied: "O Antonia, the gods are my witnesses, that I am induced to do what I am going to do, not by my own inclination, but because I am forced to it by thy prayers." When he had said this, he ordered Macro, who succeeded Sejanus, to bring Eutychus to him; accordingly, without any delay, he was brought. Then Tiberius asked him, what he had to say against a man who had given him his liberty? Upon which he said, "O my lord, this Caius, and Agrippa with him, were once riding in a chariot, when I sat at their feet, and among many other discourses that passsd, Agrippa said to Caius, O that the day would once come, when this old fellow will die, and name thee for the governor of the habitable earth! For then this Tiberius, his grandson, would be no hinderance, but would be taken off by thee, and that earth would be happy and I happy also." Now Tiberius took these to be truly Agrippa's words, and bearing a grudge withal at Agrippa, because when he had commanded him to pay his respects to Tiberius, his grandson, and the son of Drusus, Agrippa had not paid him that respect, but disobeyed his commands, and transferred all his regard to Caius; he said to Macro. "Bind this man." But Macro not distinctly knowing which of them it was whom he bid him bind, and not expecting that he would have any such thing done to Agrippa, he forbore, and came to ask more distinctly what it was that he said? But when Cæsar had gone round the hippodrome, he found Agrippa standing: "For certain" said he, "Macro, this is the man I meant to have bound:" and when he still asked, "Which of these is to be bound?" he said "Agrippa." Upon which Agrippa betook himself to make supplication for himself, putting him in mind of his son, with whom he was brought up, and of Tiberius [his grandson,] whom he had educated; but all to no purpose: for they led him about bound even in his purple garments. It was also very hot weather, and they had but little wine to their meal, so that he was very thirsty; he was also in a sort of agony, and took this treatment of him heinously; as he therefore saw one of Caius's slaves, whose

1, 2; B. vi. sect. 17; Can. B. xvii.; Grot. in Loc. ii. 36; and Respons. ad Consult. Cassand. p 44, and Cotelet. in Constitut. B. vi. sect. 17. And note, that Tertullian owns this law, against second marriages of the clergy, had been once at least executed in his time; and heavily complains elsewhere, that the breach thereof had not been always punished by the Catholics, as it ought to have been. Jerom, speaking of the ill reputation of marrying twice, says, that no such person could be chosen into the clergy in his days; which Augustine testifies also: and for Epiphanius, rather earlier, he is clear and full to the same purpose, and says, that law obtained over the whole Catholic church in his days; as the places in the forecited authors inform us.

name was Thaumastus, carrying some water in a vessel, he desired that he would let him drink; so the servant gave him some water to drink, and he drank heartily, and said, "O thou boy, this service of thine to me will be for thy advantage; for, if I once get clear of these my bonds, I will soon procure thee thy freedom of Caius, who hast not been wanting to minister to me now I am in bonds, in the same manner as when I was in my former state and dignity." Nor did he deceive him in what he promised him, but made him amends for what he had now done; for, when afterward Agrippa was come to the kingdom, he took particular care of Thaumastus, and got him his liberty from Caius, and made him the steward over his own estate: and when he died, he left him to Agrippa his son, and to Bernice his daughter, to minister to them in the same capacity. The man also grew old in that honourable post, and therein died. But all this happened a good while later.

7. Now Agrippa stood in his bonds before the royal palace, and leaned on a certain tree for grief, with many others who were in bonds also; and as a certain bird sat upon the tree on which Agrippa leaned (the Romans call this bird *bubo*,) [an owl;] one of those that were bound, a German by nation, saw him, and asked a soldier who that man in purple was; and when he was informed that his name was Agrippa, and that he was by nation a Jew, and one of the principal men of that nation, he asked leave of the soldier to whom he was bound,* to let him come nearer to him, to speak with him; for that he had a mind to inquire of him about some things relating to his country; which liberty when he had obtained, and as he stood near him, he said thus to him by an interpreter, that "this sudden change of thy condition, O young man, is grievous to thee, as bringing on thee a manifold and very great adversity; nor wilt thou believe me, when I foretell how thou wilt get clear of this misery, which thou art now under, and how Divine Providence will provide for thee. Know, therefore (and I appeal to my own country gods, as well as to the gods of this place, who have awarded these bonds to us,) that all I am going to say about thy concerns shall neither be said for favour nor bribery, nor out of an endeavour to make thee cheerful without cause; for such predictions, when they come to fail, make the grief at last, and in earnest, more bitter than if the party had never heard of any such thing. However, though I run the hazard of my own self, I think it fit to declare to thee the prediction of the gods. It cannot be that thou shouldest long continue in these bonds; but thou wilt soon be delivered from them, and wilt be promoted to the highest dignity and power, and thou wilt be envied by all those who now pity thy hard fortune: and thou wilt be happy till thy death, and wilt leave that thine happiness to the children whom thou shalt have. But do thou remember, when thou seest this bird again, that thou wilt then live but five days longer. This event will be brought to pass by that God who hath sent this bird hither to be a sign unto thee. And I cannot but think it unjust to conceal from thee what I foreknow concerning thee, that, by thy knowledge beforehand what happiness is coming upon thee, thou mayest not regard thy present misfortunes. But, when this happiness shall actually befall thee, do not forget what misery I am in myself, but endeavour to deliver me." So, when the German had said this, he made Agrippa laugh at him as much as he afterwards appeared worthy of admiration. But now Antonia took Agrippa's misfortune to heart; however, to speak to Tiberius on his behalf, she took to be a very difficult thing, and indeed quite impracticable, as to any hope of success; yet did she procure of Macro, that the soldiers that kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition; and that he might have leave to bathe himself every day, and that his freedmen and friends might come to him, and that other things that tended to ease him migh-

* Dr. Hudson here takes notice, out of Seneca, Epistle v. that this was the custom of Tiberius, to couple the prisoner and the soldier that guarded him together in the same chain.

be indulged him. So his friend Silas came in to him, and two of his freedmen, Marsyas and Stechus, brought him such sorts of food as he was fond of, and indeed took great care of him; they also brought him garments, under pretence of selling them, and, when night came on, they laid them under him; and the soldiers assisted them, as Macro had given them order to do beforehand. And this was Agrippa's condition for six months' time, and in this case were his affairs.

8. But for Tiberius, upon his return to Capreæ, he fell sick. At first his distemper was but gentle; but, as that distemper increased upon him, he had small or no hopes of recovery. Hereupon he bid Euodus, who was that freedman whom he most of all respected, to bring the children* to him; for that he wanted to talk to them before he died. Now he had at present no sons of his own alive; for Drusus, who was his only son, was dead; but Drusus's son Tiberius was still living, whose additional name was *Gemellus:* there was also living Caius, the son of Germanicus, who was the son† of his brother [Drusus.] He was now grown up, and had had a liberal education, and was well improved by it, and was in esteem and favour with the people on account of the excellent character of his father Germanicus, who had attained the highest honour among the multitude, by the firmness of his virtuous behaviour, by the easiness and agreeableness of his conversing with the multitude, and because the dignity he was in did not hinder his familiarity with them all, as if they were his equals; by which behaviour he was not only greatly esteemed by the people and the senate, but by every one of those nations that were subject to the Romans; some of which were affected, when they came to him, with the gracefulness of their reception by him, and others were affected in the same manner by the report of the others that had been with him; and upon his death there was a lamentation made by all men; not such a one as was to be made in way of flattery to their rulers, while they did but counterfeit sorrow, but such as was real; while every body grieved at his death as if they had lost one that was near to them. And truly such had been his easy conversation with men, that it turned greatly to the advantage of his son among all; and among others, the soldiery were so peculiarly affected to him, that they reckoned it an eligible thing, if need were, to die themselves, if he might but attain to the government.

9. But when Tiberius had given order to Euodus to bring the children to him the next day in the morning, he prayed to his country gods to show him a manifest signal, which of those children should come to the government; being very desirous to leave it to his son's son, but still depending upon what God should foreshow concerning them, more than upon his own opinion and inclination: so he made this to be the omen, that the government should be left to him who should come to him first the next day. When he had thus resolved within himself, he sent to his grandson's tutor, and ordered him to bring the child to him early in the morning, as supposing that God would permit him to be made emperor. But God proved opposite to his designation; for while Tiberius was thus contriving matters, and as soon as it was at all day, he bid Euodus to call in that child which should be there ready. So he went out, and found Caius before the door, for Tiberius was not yet come, but staid waiting for his breakfast; for Euodus knew nothing of what his lord intended; so he said to Caius, "Thy father calls thee, and then brought him in. As soon as Tiberius saw Caius, and not before, he reflected on the power of God, and how the ability of bestowing the government on whom he would was entirely taken from him; and thence he was not able to establish what he had intended. So he greatly lamented that this power of establishing what he had before contrived was taken from him, and that his grandson Tiberius was not only to lose the Roman empire by this fatality, but his own safety also, because his preservation would now depend upon such as would be more potent than himself, who would think it a thing not to be

* Tiberius his own grandson, and Caius his brother Drusus's grandson.

† So I correct Josephus's copy, which calls Germanicus his brother who was his brother's son.

borne, that a kinsman should live with him, and so his relation would not be able to protect him; but he would be feared and hated by him that had the supreme authority, partly on account of his being next to the empire, and partly on account of his perpetually contriving to get the government, both in order to preserve himself, and to be at the head of affairs also. Now Tiberius had been very much given to astrology,* and the calculation of nativities, and had spent his life in the esteem of what predictions had proved true, more than those whose profession it was. Accordingly, when he once saw Galba coming in to him, he said to his most intimate friends, that "there came in a man that would one day have the dignity of the Roman empire." So that this Tiberius was more addicted to all such sorts of diviners than any other of the Roman emperors, because he had found them to have told him truth in his own affairs. And indeed he was now in great distress upon this accident that had befallen him, and was very much grieved at the destruction of his son's son, which he foresaw and complained of himself, that he should have made use of such a method of divination before hand, while it was in his power to have died without grief by his knowledge of futurity; whereas he was now tormented by this foreknowledge of the misfortune of such as were dearest to him, and must die under that torment. Now, although he were disordered at this unexpected revolution of the government to those for whom he did not intend it, he spake thus to Caius, though unwillingly and against his own inclination: "O child! although Tiberius be nearer related to me than thou art, I, by my own determination, and the conspiring suffrage of the gods, do give, and put into thy hand, the Roman empire; and I desire thee never to be unmindful when thou comest to it, either of my kindness to thee, who set thee in so high a dignity, or of thy relation to Tiberius. But as thou knowest that I am, together with, and after the gods, the procurer of so great happiness to thee, so I desire that thou wilt make me a return for my readiness to assist thee, and wilt take care of Tiberius because of his near relation to thee. Besides which thou art to know, that, while Tiberius is alive, he will be a security to thee, both as to empire and as to thy own preservation; but, if he die, that will be but a prelude to thy own misfortunes; for, to be alone, under the weight of such vast affairs, is very dangerous; nor will the gods suffer those actions which are unjustly done, contrary to that law which directs men to act otherwise, to go off unpunished." This was the speech which Tiberius made, which did not persuade Caius to act accordingly, although he promised so to do; but when he was settled in the government, he took off this Tiberius, as was predicted by the other Tiberius; as he was also himself in no long time afterward slain by a secret plot laid against him.

10. So when Tiberius had at this time appointed Caius to be his successor, he outlived but a few days, and then died, after he had held the government twenty-two years five months and three days: now Caius was the fourth emperor. But when the Romans understood that Tiberius was dead, they rejoiced at the good news, but had not courage to believe it; not because they were unwilling it should be true; for they would have given large sums of money that it might be so, but because they were afraid that if they had showed their joy when the news proved false, their joy should be openly known, and they should be accused for it, and be thereby undone. For this Tiberius had brought a vast number of miseries on the best families of the Romans, since he was easily inflamed with passion in all cases, and was of such a temper as rendered his anger irrevocable till he had executed the same, although he had taken a hatred against men without reason; for he was by nature fierce in all the sentences he gave, and made death the penalty for the slightest offences; insomuch that when the Romans heard the rumour about his death gladly, they were restrained from the enjoyment of that pleasure by the dread of such miseries as they foresaw would follow, if their

* This is a known thing among the Roman historians and poets, that Tiberius was greatly given to astrology and divination.

hopes proved ill grounded. Now Marsyas, Agrippa's freedman, as soon as he heard of Tiberius's death, came running to tell Agrippa the news; and finding him going out to the bath, he gave him a nod, and said in the Hebrew tongue, "The lion* is dead;" who understanding his meaning, and being overjoyed at the news, "Nay," said he, "but all sorts of thanks and happiness attend thee for this news of thine; only I wish that what thou sayest may prove true." Now the centurion, who was set to keep Agrippa, when he saw with what haste Marsyas came, and what joy Agrippa had from what he said, he had a suspicion that his words implied some great innovation of affairs, and he asked them about what was said. They at first diverted the discourse; but upon his farther pressing, Agrippa, without more ado, told him, for he was already become his friend; so he joined with him in that pleasure which this news occasioned, because it would be fortunate to Agrippa, and made him a supper. But as they were feasting, and the cups went about, there came one who said, that "Tiberius was still alive, and would return to the city in a few days." At which news the centurion was exceedingly troubled, because he had done what might cost him his life, to have treated so joyfully a prisoner, and this upon the news of the death of Cæsar; so he thrust Agrippa from the couch whereon he lay, and said, "Dost thou think to cheat me by a lie about the emperor without punishment? And shalt not thou pay for this thy malicious report at the price of thine head?" When he had so said, he ordered Agrippa to be bound again (for he had loosed him before,) and kept a severer guard over him than formerly, and in that evil condition was Agrippa that night; but the next day the rumour increased in the city, and confirmed the news that Tiberius was certainly dead; insomuch that men durst now openly and freely talk about it; nay, some offered sacrifices on that account. Several letters also came from Caius, one of them to the senate, which informed them of the death of Tiberius, and of his own entrance on the government; another to Piso, the governor of the city, which told him the same thing. He also gave order that Agrippa should be removed out of the camp, and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison; so that he was now out of fear as to his own affairs; for although he were still in custody, yet was it now with ease to his own affairs. Now as soon as Caius was come to Rome, and had brought Tiberius's dead body with him, and had made a sumptuous funeral for him, according to the laws of his country, he was much disposed to set Agrippa at liberty that very day, but Antonia hindered him; not out of any ill will to the prisoner, but out of regard to decency in Caius, lest that should make men believe that he received the death of Tiberius with pleasure, when he loosed one whom he bound immediately. However, there did not many days pass ere he sent for him to his house, and had him shaved, and made him change his raiment, after which he put a diadem upon his head, and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip. He also gave him the tetrarchy of Lysanias,† and changed his iron chain for a golden one of equal weight. He also sent Marullus to be procurator of Judea.

12. Now in the second year of the reign of Caius Cæsar, Agrippa desired leave to be given him to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government, and he promised to return again, when he had put the rest in order, as it ought to be put. So, upon the emperor's permission, he came into his own country, and appeared to them all unexpectedly as a king, and thereby demonstrated to the men that saw him the power of fortune, when they compared his former poverty with his present happy affluence; so some called him a happy man, and others could not well believe that things were so much changed with him for the better.

* This name of a *lion* is often given to tyrants, especially by the Jews, such as Agrippa, and probably his freedman Marsyas, in effect, were. Ezek. xix. 1—9; Esth. xiv. 13; 2 Tim. iv. 17. They are also sometimes compared to, or represented by, wild beasts, of which the lion is the principal. Dan. vii. 3—8; Apoc. xiii. 1, 2.

† Although Caius now promised to give Agrippa the tetrarchy of Lysanias, yet was it not all actually conferred upon him till the reign of Claudius, as we learn, Antiq. B. xix. chap. v. sect. 1.

## CHAP. VII.

### *How Herod the Tetrarch was banished.*

§ 1. But Herodias, Agrippa's sister, who now lived as wife to that Herod who was tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, took this authority of her brother in an envious manner, particularly when she saw that he had a greater dignity bestowed on him than her husband had; since when he ran away, it was because he was in a way of dignity, and of great good fortune. She was therefore grieved, and much displeased at so great a mutation of his affairs, and chiefly when she saw him marching among the multitude with the usual ensigns of royal authority, she was not able to conceal how miserable she was, by reason of the envy she had towards him; but she excited her husband, and desired him that he would sail to Rome to court honours equal to his: for she said, that "she could not bear to live any longer, while Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who was condemned to die by his father, one that came to her husband in such extreme poverty, that the necessaries of life were forced to be entirely supplied him day by day; and when he fled away from his creditors by sea, he now returned a king; while he was himself the son of a king, and while the near relation he bare to royal authority called upon him to gain the like dignity, he sat still, and was contented with a privater life. But then, Herod, although thou wast formerly not concerned to be in a lower condition than thy father, from whom thou wast derived, had been; yet do thou now seek after the dignity which thy kinsman hath attained to; and do not thou bear this contempt, that a man who admired thy riches should be in greater honour than thyself, nor suffer his poverty to show itself able to purchase greater things than our abundance, nor do thou esteem it other than a shameful thing to be inferior to one who, the other day, lived upon thy charity. But let us go to Rome, and let us spare no pains nor expenses, either of silver or gold, since they cannot be kept for any better use than for the obtaining of a kingdom."

2. But for Herod, he opposed her request at this time out of the love of ease, and having a suspicion of the trouble he should have at Rome; so he tried to instruct her better. But the more she saw him draw back, the more she pressed him to it, and desired him to leave no stone unturned in order to be king: and at last she left not off till she engaged him, whether he would or not, to be of her sentiments, because he could no otherwise avoid her importunity. So he got all things ready, after as sumptuous a manner as he was able, and spared for nothing, and went up to Rome, and took Herodias along with him. But Agrippa, when he was made sensible of their intentions and preparations, he also prepared to go thither; and as soon as he heard they set sail, he sent Fortunatus, one of his freedmen, to Rome, to carry presents to the emperor, and letters against Herod, and to give Caius a particular account of those matters, if he should have an opportunity. This man followed Herod so quick, and had so prosperous a voyage, and came so little after Herod, that while Herod was with Caius he came himself, and delivered his letters; for they both sailed to Dicearchia, and found Caius at Baiæ, which is itself a little city of Campania, at the distance of about five furlongs from Dicearchia. There are in that place royal palaces, with sumptuous apartments, every emperor still endeavouring to outdo his predecessor's magnificence; the place also affords warm baths, that spring out of the ground of their own accord, which are of advantage for the recovery of the health of those that make use of them, and besides they minister to men's luxury also. Now Caius saluted Herod, for he first met with him, and then looked upon the letters which Agrippa had sent him, and which were written in order to accuse Herod; wherein he accused him, that he had been in confederacy with Sejanus, against Tiberius's government, and that he was now confederate with Artabanus the king of Parthia, in opposition to the government of Caius; as a demonstration of which he

alleged, that he had armour sufficient for seventy thousand men ready in his armoury. Caius was moved at this information, and asked Herod whether what was said about the armour was true: and when he confessed there was such armour there, for he could not deny the same, the truth of it being notorious, Caius took that to be a sufficient proof of the accusation, that he intended to revolt. So he took away from him his tetrarchy, and gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom; he also gave Herod's money to Agrippa; and, by way of punishment, awarded him a perpetual banishment, and appointed Lyons, a city of Gaul, to be his place of habitation. But when he was informed that Herodias was Agrippa's sister, he made her a present of what money was her own, and told her, that "it was her brother who prevented her being put under the same calamity with her husband." But she made this reply: "Thou, indeed, O emperor, actest after a magnificent manner, and as becomes thyself in what thou offerest me; but the kindness which I have for my husband hinders me from partaking of the favour of thy gift; for it is not just, that I, who have been made a partner in his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." Hereupon Caius was angry at her, and sent her with Herod into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa. And thus did God punish Herodias for her envy at her brother, and Herod also for giving ear to the vain discourses of a woman. Now Caius managed public affairs with great magnanimity, during the first and second year of his reign, and behaved himself with such moderation that he gained the good will both of the Romans themselves, and of his other subjects. But in process of time he went beyond the bounds of human nature, in his conceit of himself, and, by reason of the vastness of his dominions, made himself a god, and took upon himself to act in all things to the reproach of the Deity itself.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning the Embassage* of the Jews to Caius; and how Caius sent Petronius into Syria to make War against the Jews, unless they would receive his Statue.*

§ 1. THERE was now a tumult arisen at Alexandria, between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks; and three ambassadors† were chosen out of each party that were at variance, who came to Caius. Now one of these ambassadors from the people of Alexandria was Apion, who uttered many blasphemies against the Jews; and among other things that he said, he charged them with neglecting the honours that belonged to Cæsar; for that while all who were subject to the Roman empire built altars and temples to Caius, and in other regards universally received him as they received the gods; these Jews alone thought it a dishonourable thing for them to erect statues in honour of him, as well as to swear by his name. Many of these severe things were said by Apion, by which he hoped to provoke Caius to anger at the Jews, as he was likely to be; but Philo, the principal of the Jewish ambassage, a man eminent on all accounts, brother to Alexander‡ the alabarch, and one not unskilful in philosophy, was ready to betake

* This is a most remarkable chapter, as containing such instances of the interposition of Providence, as have been always very rare among the other idolatrous nations, but of old very many among the posterity of Abraham, the worshippers of the true God; nor do these seem much inferior to those in the Old Testament, which are the more remarkable, because, among all their other follies and vices, the Jews were not at this time idolaters; and the deliverances here mentioned were done in order to prevent their relapse into that idolatry.

† Josephus here assures us, that the ambassadors from Alexandria to Caius were on each part no more than three in number, for the Jews and for the Gentiles, which are but six in all; whereas Philo, who was the principal ambassador from the Jews, as Josephus here confesses (As was Apion, for the Gentiles,) says, the Jews' ambassadors were themselves no fewer than five, towards the end of his legation to Caius; which, if there be no mistake in the copies, must be supposed the truth; nor, in that case, would Josephus have contradicted so authentic a witness, had he seen that account of Philo's, which that he ever did does not appear.

‡ This Alexander, the alabarch, or governor of the Jews at Alexandria, and brother to Philo, is sup-

himself to make his defence against those accusations; but Caius prohibited him, and bade him begone: he was also in such a rage that it openly appeared he was about to do them some very great mischief. So Philo being thus affronted went out, and said to those Jews who were about him, that "they should be of good courage, since Caius's words indeed showed anger at them, but in reality had already set God against himself."

2. Hereupon Caius, taking it very heinously that he should be thus despised by the Jews alone, sent Petronius to be president of Syria, and successor in the government of Vitellius, and gave him order to make an invasion into Judea, with a great body of troops, and if they would admit of his statue willingly, to erect it in the temple of God; but if they were obstinate, to conquer them by war, and then to do it. Accordingly Petronius took the government of Syria, and made haste to obey Cæsar's epistle. He got together as great a number of auxiliaries as he possibly could, and took with him two legions of the Roman army, and came to Ptolemais, and there wintered, as intending to set about the war in the spring. He also wrote word to Caius what he had resolved to do, who commended him for his alacrity, and ordered him to go on, and to make war with them, in case they would not obey his commands. But there came many ten thousands of the Jews to Petronius to Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him, that "he would not compel them to transgress and violate the law of their forefathers; but if, said they, thou art entirely resolved to bring this statue, and erect it, do thou first kill us, and then do what thou hast resolved on; for while we are alive, we cannot permit such things as are forbidden us to be done by the authority of our legislator, and by our forefathers' determination, that such prohibitions are instances of virtue." But Petronius was angry at them, and said, "If indeed I were myself emperor, and were at liberty to follow my own inclination, and then had designed to act thus, these your words would be justly spoken to me; but now Cæsar hath sent to me, I am under the utmost necessity of being subservient to his decrees, because a disobedience to them will bring upon me inevitable destruction." Then the Jews replied, "Since therefore thou art so disposed, O Petronius, that thou wilt not disobey Caius's epistles, neither will we transgress the commands of our laws; and as we depend upon the excellency of our laws, and, by the labours of our ancestors, have continued hitherto without suffering them to be transgressed, we dare not by any means suffer ourselves to be so timorous as to transgress those laws out of the fear of death, which God hath determined are for our advantage; and if we fall into misfortunes, we will bear them in order to preserve our laws, as knowing, that those who expose themselves to dangers have good hope of escaping them, because God will stand on our side, when out of regard to him we undergo afflictions, and sustain the uncertain turns of fortune. But if we should submit to thee, we should be greatly reproached for our cowardice, as hereby showing ourselves ready to transgress our law; and we should incur the great anger of God also, who, even thyself being judge, is superior to Caius."

3. When Petronius saw by their words that their determination was hard to be removed, and that, without a war, he should not be able to be subservient to Caius in the dedication of his statue, and that there must be a great deal of blood shed, he took his friends, and the servants that were about him, and hasted to Tiberias, as wanting to know in what posture the affairs of the Jews were; and many ten thousands of the Jews met Petronius again, when he was come to Tiberias. These thought they must run a mighty hazard if they should have a war with the Romans, but judged that the transgression of the law was of much greater consequence, and made supplication to him that he would by no means reduce them to such distresses, nor defile their city with the dedication of the statue. Then Petronius said to them, "Will you then make war with Cæsar, without considering his great preparations for war, and your own weakness?" They re-

posed by Bishop Pearson, in Act. Apost. p. 41, 42, to be the same with that Alexander who is mentioned by St. Luke, as of the kindred of the high priests, Acts, iv. 6.

plied, "We will not by any means make war with him, but still we will die before we see our laws transgressed." So they threw themselves down upon their faces, and stretched out their throats, and said they were ready to be slain: and this they did for forty days together, and in the mean time left off the tilling of their ground, and that while the season* of the year required them to sow it. Thus they continued firm in their resolution, and proposed to themselves to die willingly, rather than to see the dedication of the statue.

4. When matters were in this state, Aristobulus, king Agrippa's brother, and Helcias the Great, and the other principal men of that family with them, went in unto Petronius, and besought him, That "since he saw the resolution of the multitude, he would not make any alteration, and thereby drive them to despair; but would write to Caius, that the Jews had an insuperable averseness to the reception of the statue, and how they continued with him, and left off the tillage of their ground; that they were not willing to go to war with him, because they were not able to do it, but were ready to die with pleasure, rather than suffer their laws to be transgressed; and how, upon the lands continuing unsown, robberies would grow up, on the inability they would be under of paying their tributes; and that perhaps Caius might be thereby moved to pity, and not order any barbarous action to be done to them, nor think of destroying the nation: that if he continues inflexible in his former opinion to bring a war upon them, he may then set about it himself." And thus did Aristobulus, and the rest with him, supplicate Petronius. So Petronius,† partly on account of the pressing instances which Aristobulus and the rest with him made, and because of the great consequence of what they desired, and the earnestness wherewith they made their supplication; partly on account of the firmness of the opposition made by the Jews, which he saw, while he thought it a horrible thing for him to be such a slave to the madness of Caius, as to slay so many ten thousand men, only because of their religious disposition towards God, and after that to pass his life in expectation of punishment; Petronius, I say, thought it much better to send to Caius, and to let him know how intolerable it was to him to bear the anger he might have against him for not serving him sooner, in obedience to his epistle, for that perhaps he might persuade him; and that if his mad resolution continued, he might then begin the war against them; nay, that in case he should turn his hatred against himself, it was fit for virtuous persons even to die for the sake of such vast multitudes of men. Accordingly he determined to hearken to the petitioners in this matter.

5. He then called the Jews together to Tiberias, who came, many ten thousands in number; he also placed that army he now had with him opposite to them; but did not discover his own meaning, but the commands of the emperor, and told them, That "his wrath would without delay be executed on such as had the courage to disobey what he had commanded, and this immediately: and that it was fit for him, who had obtained so great a dignity by his grant, not to contradict him in any thing: yet," said he, "I do not think it just to have such a regard to my own safety and honour, as to refuse to sacrifice them for your preservation, who are so many in number, and endeavour to preserve the regard that is due to your law, which, as it hath come down to you from your forefathers, so do you esteem it worthy of your utmost contention to preserve it: nor, with the supreme assistance and power of God, will I be so hardy as to suffer your temple to fall into contempt by the means of the imperial authority. I will therefore send to Caius, and let him know what your resolutions are, and will assist your suit as

* What Josephus here, and sect. 6, relates as done by the Jews *before seed time*, is in Philo, not far off the time *when the corn was ripe*, who, as Le Clerc notes, differ here one from the other. This is another indication that Josephus, when he wrote this account, had not seen Philo's Legat. ad Caium, otherwise he would hardly have herein differed from him.

† This Publius Petronius was after this, still president of Syria under Claudius, and at the desire of Agrippa, published a severe decree against the inhabitants of Dora, who, in a sort of imitation of Caius, had set up a statue of Claudius in a Jewish Synagogue there. This decree is extant, B. xix. ch. vi. sect. 3, and greatly confirms the present accounts of Josephus, as to the other decrees of Claudius, relating to the like Jewish affairs, B. xix. ch. v. sect. 2. 3, to which I refer the inquisitive reader.

ar as I am able, that you may not be exposed to suffer on account of the honest lesigns you have proposed to yourselves: and may God be our assistant, for his uthority is beyond all the contrivance and power of men; and may he procure you the preservation of your ancient laws, and may not he be deprived, though without your consent, of his accustomed honours. But if Caius be irritated, and turn the violence of his rage upon me, I will rather undergo all that danger and that affliction that may come either on my body or my soul, than see so many of you to perish, while you are acting in so excellent a manner. Do you, therefore, every one of you, go your way about your own occupations, and fall to the cultivation of your ground: I will myself send to Rome, and will not refuse to serve you in all things, both by myself and by my friends."

6. When Petronius had said this, and had dismissed the assembly of the Jews, he desired the principal of them to take care of their husbandry, and to speak kindly to the people, and encourage them to have good hope of their affairs. Thus did he readily bring the multitude to be cheerful again. And now did God show his presence* to Petronius, and signify to him, that he would afford him his assistance in his whole design; for he had no sooner finished the speech that he made to the Jews, but God sent down great showers of rain, contrary to human expectation; for that day was a clear day, and gave no sign, by the appearance of the sky, of any rain; nay, the whole year had been subject to a great drought, and made men despair of any water from above, even when at any time they saw the heavens overcast with clouds; insomuch that when such a great quantity of rain came, and that in an unusual manner, and without any other expectation of it, the Jews hoped that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition for them. But as to Petronius, he was mightily surprised when he perceived that God evidently took care of the Jews, and gave plain signs of his appearance,† and this to such a degree that those that were in earnest much inclined to the contrary, had no power left to contradict it. This was also among those other particulars which he wrote to Caius, which all tended to dissuade him, and by all means to entreat him not to make so many ten thousands of these men go distracted; whom if he should slay (for without war they would by no means suffer the laws of their worship to be set aside,) he would lose the revenue they paid him, and would be publicly cursed by them for all future ages. Moreover, that God, who was their governor, had showed his power most evidently on their account, and that such a power of his as left no room for doubt about it. And this was the business that Petronius was now engaged in.

7. But king Agrippa, who now lived at Rome, was more and more in the favour of Caius; and when he had once made him a supper, and was careful to exceed all others both in expenses, and in such preparations as might contribute most to his pleasure; nay, it was so far from the ability of others, that Caius himself could never equal, much less exceed it (such care had he taken beforehand to exceed all men, and particularly to make all agreeable to Cæsar:) hereupon Caius admired his understanding and magnificence, that he should force himself to do all to please him, even beyond such expenses as he could bear, and was desirous not to be behind Agrippa in that generosity, which he exerted in order to please him. So Caius, when he had drank wine plentifully, and was merrier than ordinary, said thus during the feast, when Agrippa had drunk to him: "I knew before now‡ how great a respect thou hast had for me, and how great

* Josephus here uses the solemn New Testament words, παρουσια, and ἐπιφανεια, the *presence* and *appearance* of God, for the extraordinary manifestation of his power and providence to Petronius, by sending rain in a time of distress, immediately upon the resolution he had taken to preserve the temple unpolluted at the hazard of his own life, without any other miraculous appearance at all in that case: which well deserves to be taken notice of here, and greatly illustrates several texts, both in the Old and New Testament.

† See the preceding note.

‡ This behaviour of Caius to Agrippa is very like that of Herod Antipas, his uncle, to Herodias, Agrippa's sister, about John the Baptist, Matt. xiv. 6.—11.

kindness thou hast showed me, though with those hazards to thyself, which thou underwentest under Tiberius on that account; nor hast thou omitted any thing to show thy good will towards us, even beyond thy ability, whence it would be a base thing for me to be conquered by thy affection. I am therefore desirous to make thee amends for every thing, in which I have been any way formerly deficient, for all that I have bestowed on thee, that may be called my gifts, is but little. Every thing that may contribute to thy happiness shall be at thy service, and that cheerfully, and so far as my ability will reach." And this was what Caius said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for some large country, or the revenues of certain cities. But although he had prepared beforehand what he would ask, yet had he not discovered his intentions, but made this answer to Caius immediately: That "it was not out of any expectation of gain that he formerly paid his respects to him, contrary to the commands of Tiberius, nor did he now do any thing relating to him out of regard to his own advantage, and in order to receive any thing from him; that the gifts he had already bestowed upon him were great, and beyond the hopes of even a craving man; for although they may be beneath thy power [who art the donor,] yet are they greater than my inclination and dignity, who am the receiver." And as Caius was astonished at Agrippa's inclinations, and still the more pressed him to make his request for somewhat which he might gratify him with, Agrippa replied, "Since thou, O my lord, declarest such is thy readiness to grant, that I am worthy of thy gifts, I will ask nothing relating to my own felicity; for what thou hast already bestowed on me has made me excel therein: but I desire somewhat which may make thee glorious for piety, and render the divinity assistant to thy designs, and may be for an honour to me among those that inquire about it, as showing that I never once fail of obtaining what I desire of thee; for my petition is this, That thou wilt no longer think of the dedication of that statue which thou hast ordered to be set up in the Jewish temple by Petronius."

8. And thus did Agrippa venture to cast the die upon this occasion, so great was the affair in his opinion, and in reality, though he knew how dangerous a thing it was to speak; for had not Caius approved of it, it had tended to no less than the loss of his life. So Caius, who was mightily taken with Agrippa's obliging behaviour, and on other accounts thinking it a dishonourable thing to be guilty of falsehood before so many witnesses, in points wherein he had with such alacrity forced Agrippa to become a petitioner, and that it would look as if he had already repented of what he had said, and because he greatly admired Agrippa's virtue, in not desiring him at all to augment his own dominions, either with larger revenues, or other authority, but took care of the public tranquillity, of the laws, and of the divinity itself, he granted him what he had requested. He also wrote thus to Petronius, "commending him for assembling his army, and then consulting him about those affairs. If therefore, said, he, thou hast already erected my statue, let it stand; but if thou hast not yet dedicated it, do not trouble thyself farther about it, but dismiss thy army, go back, and take care of those affairs which I sent thee about at first; for I have now no occasion for the erection of that statue. This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa, a man whom I honour so very greatly that I am not able to contradict what he would have, or what he desired me to do for him." And this was what Caius wrote to Petronius, which was before he received his letter, informing him that the Jews were very ready to revolt about the statue, and that they seemed resolved to threaten war against the Romans, and nothing else. When therefore Caius was much displeased that any attempt should be made against his government, as he was a slave to base and vicious actions, on all occasions, and had no regard to what was virtuous and honourable, and against whomsoever he resolved to show his anger, and that for any cause whatsoever, he suffered not himself to be restrained by any admonition, but thought the indulging his anger to be real pleasure, he wrote thus to Petronius: "Seeing thou esteemest the presents made thee by the Jews to be of greater value

that my commands, and art grown insolent enough to be subservient to their pleasure, I charge thee to become thy own judge, and to consider what thou art to do, now thou art under my displeasure; for I will make thee an example to the present and to all future ages, that they may not dare to contradict the commands of their emperor."

9. This was the epistle which Caius wrote to Petronius, but Petronius did not receive it while Caius was alive; that ship which carried it sailing so slow, that other letters came to Petronius before this, by which he understood that Caius was dead; for God would not forget the dangers Petronius had undertaken on account of the Jews, and of his own honour. But when he had taken away Caius out of his indignation of what he had so insolently attempted in assuming to himself divine worship, both Rome and all that dominion conspired with Petronius, especially those that were of the senatorian order, to give Caius his due reward, because he had been unmercifully severe to them; for he died not long after he had written to Petronius that epistle which threatened him with death. But as for the occasion of his death, and the nature of the plot against him, I shall relate them in the progress of this narration. Now that epistle which informed Petronius of Caius's death came first, and a little afterward came that which commanded him to kill himself with his own hands. Whereupon he rejoiced at this coincidence as to the death of Caius, and admired God's providence, who without the least delay, and immediately, gave him a reward for the regard he had to the temple, and the assistance he afforded the Jews for avoiding the dangers they were in. And by this means Petronius escaped that danger of death which he could not foresee.

## CHAP. IX.

*What befell the Jews that were in Babylon, on Occasion of Asineus and Anileus, two Brethren.*

§ 1. A VERY sad calamity now befell the Jews that were in Mesopotamia, and especially those that dwelt in Babylonia. Inferior it was to none of the calamities which had gone before, and came together with a great slaughter of them, and that greater than any upon record before: concerning all which I shall speak accurately, and shall explain the occasions whence these miseries came upon them. There was a city of Babylonia called Neerda; not only a very populous one, but one that had a good and large territory about it, and, besides its other advantages, full of men also. It was, besides, not easily to be assaulted by enemies, from the river Euphrates encompassing it all around, and from the walls that were built about it. There was also the city Nisibis, situate on the same current of the river. For which reason the Jews, depending on the natural strength of these places, deposited in them that half shekel which every one, by the custom of our country, offers unto God, as well as they did other things devoted to him; for they made use of these cities as a treasury, whence, at a proper time, they were transmitted to Jerusalem; and many ten thousand men undertook the carriage of those donations, out of fear of the ravages of the Parthians, to whom the Babylonians were then subject. Now there were two men, Asineus and Anileus, of the city Neerda by birth, and brethren to one another. They were destitute of a father, and their mother put them to learn the art of weaving curtains, it not being esteemed a disgrace among them for men to be weavers of cloth. Now he that taught them that art, and was set over them, complained that they came too late to their work, and punished them with stripes; but they took this just punishment as an affront, and carried off all the weapons which were kept in that house, which were not a few; and went into a certain place where was a partition of the rivers, and

was a place naturally very fit for the feeding of cattle, and for preserving such fruits as were usually laid up against winter. The poorest sort of the young men also resorted to them, whom they armed with the weapons they had gotten, and became their captains; and nothing hindered them from being their leaders into mischief; for as soon as they were become invincible, and had built them a citadel, they sent to such as fed cattle, and ordered them to pay them so much tribute out of them as might be sufficient for their maintenance; proposing also that they would be their friends, if they would submit to them, and that they would defend them from all their other enemies on every side, but that they would kill the cattle of those that refused to obey them. So they hearkened to their proposals (for they could do nothing else,) and sent them as many sheep as were required of them; whereby their forces grew greater, and they became lords over all they pleased, because they marched suddenly, and did them a mischief; insomuch that every body who had to do with them chose to pay them respect, and they became formidable to such as came to assault them, till the report about them came to the ears of the king of Parthia himself.

2. But when the governor of Babylonia understood this, and had a mind to put a stop to them, before they grew greater, and before greater mischiefs should arise from them, he got together as great an army as he could, both of Parthians and Babylonians, and marched against them, thinking to attack them and destroy them, before any one should carry them the news that he had got an army together. He then encamped at a lake, and lay still; but on the next day (it was the Sabbath, which is among the Jews a day of rest from all sorts of work,) he supposed that the enemy would not dare to fight him thereon, but that he should take them and carry them away prisoners without fighting. He therefore proceeded gradually, and thought to fall upon them on the sudden. Now Asineus was sitting with the rest, and their weapons lay by them; upon which he said, "Sirs, I hear a neighing of horses; not of such as are feeding, but such as have men on their backs: I also hear such a noise of their bridles, that I am afraid that some enemies are coming upon us to encompass us round. However, let somebody go to look about, and make report of what reality there is in the present state of things; and may what I have said prove a false alarm." And when he said this, some of them went out to spy out what was the matter, and they came again immediately and said to him, that "neither hast thou been mistaken in telling us what our enemies were doing, nor will those enemies permit us to be injurious to people any longer. We are caught by their intrigues like brute beasts, and there is a large body of cavalry marching upon us, while we are destitute of hands to defend ourselves withal, because we are restrained from doing it by the prohibition of our law, which obliges us to rest [on this day."] But Asineus did not by any means agree with the opinion of his spy as to what was to be done, but thought it more agreeable to the law to pluck up their spirits in this necessity they were fallen into, and break their law by avenging themselves, although they should die in the action, than by doing nothing to please their enemies in submitting to be slain by them. Accordingly he took up his weapons, and infused courage into those that were with him to act as courageously as himself. So they fell upon their enemies, and slew a great many of them, because they despised them, and came as to a certain victory, and put the rest to flight.

3. But when the news of this fight came to the king of Parthia, he was surprised at the boldness of these brethren, and was desirous to see them, and speak with them. He therefore sent the most trusty of all his guards to say thus to them: "That king Artabanus, although he hath been unjustly treated by you, who have made an attempt against his government, yet hath he more regard to

* Ἐνεγκοτον is here, and in very many other places of Josephus, *immediately at hand*, and is to be so expounded, 2 Thess. ii. 2, when some falsely pretended that St. Paul had said, either by word of mouth, or by an epistle, or by both, *that the day of Christ was immediately at hand;* for still St. Paul did then plainly think that day not very many years future.

your courageous behaviour than to the anger he bears to you, and hath sent me to give his right hand* and security; and he permits you to come to him safely, and without any violence upon the road; and he wants to have you address yourselves to him as his friends, without meaning any guile or deceit to you. He also promises to make you presents, and to pay you those respects which will make an addition of his power to your courage, and thereby be of advantage to you." Yet did Asineus himself put off his journey thither, but sent his brother Anileus with all such presents as he could procure. So he went, and was admitted to the king's presence; and when Artabanus saw Anileus coming alone, he inquired into the reason why Asineus avoided to come along with him; and when he understood that he was afraid, and staid by the lake, he took an oath by the gods of his country, that he would do them no harm, if they came to him upon the assurances he gave them, and gave him his right hand.† This is of the greatest force there with all these barbarians, and affords a firm security to those who converse with them; for none of them will deceive you, when once they have given you their right hands, nor will any one doubt of their fidelity when that is once given, even though they were before suspected of injustice. When Artabanus had done this, he sent away Anileus to persuade his brother to come to him. Now this the king did, because he wanted to curb his own governors of provinces by the courage of these Jewish brethren, lest they should make a league with them; for they were ready for a revolt, and were disposed to rebel, had they been sent on an expedition against them. He was also afraid, lest when he was engaged in a war in order to subdue those governors of provinces that had revolted, the party of Asineus, and those in Babylonia, should be augmented, and either make war upon him, when they should hear of that revolt, or, if they should be disappointed in that case, they would not fail of doing further mischief to him.

4. When the king had these intentions, he sent away Anileus, and Anileus prevailed on his brother [to come to the king,] when he had related to him the king's good will, and the oath that he had taken. Accordingly they made haste to go to Artabanus, who received them, when they were come, with pleasure, and admired Asineus's courage in the actions he had done; and this because he was a little man to see to, and at first sight appeared contemptible also, and such as one might deem a person of no value at all. He also said to his friends, how, upon the comparison, he showed his soul to be in all respects superior to his body, and when, as they were drinking together, he once showed Asineus to Abdagases, one of the generals of his army, and told him his name, and described the great courage he was of in war, and Abdagases had desired leave to kill him, and thereby to inflict on him a punishment for those injuries he had done to the Parthian government, the king replied, "I will never give thee leave to kill a man who hath depended on my faith; especially not after I have sent him my right hand, and endeavoured to gain his belief by oaths made by the gods. But if thou beest a truly warlike man, thou standest not in need of my perjury. Go thou, then, and avenge the Parthian government; attack this man, when he is returned back, and conquer him by the forces that are under thy command, without my privity." Hereupon the king called for Asineus, and said to him, "It is time for thee, O thou young man, to return home, and not provoke the indignation of my generals in this place any farther, lest they attempt to murder thee, and that without my approbation. I commit to thee the country of Babylonia in trust, that it may, by thy care, be preserved free from robbers, and from other mischiefs. I have kept my faith inviolable to thee, and that not in trifling affairs, but in those that concerned thy safety, and do therefore deserve thou shouldst be kind to me." When he had said this, and given Asineus some presents, he sent him away im-

* The joining of the right hands was esteemed among the Persians [and Parthians] in particular, a most inviolable obligation to fidelity, as Dr. Hudson here observes, and refers to the commentary on Justin, B. xi. ch. xv. for its confirmation. We often meet with the like use of it in Josephus.

† See the preceding note.

mediately; who, when he was come home, built fortresses, and became great in a little time, and managed things with such courage and success, as no other person, that had no higher a beginning, ever did before him. Those Parthian governors also, who were sent that way, paid him great respect; and the honour that was paid him by the Babylonians seemed to them too small, and beneath his deserts, although he were in no small dignity and power there: nay, indeed, all the affairs of Mesopotamia depended upon him, and he more and more flourished in this happy condition of his for fifteen years.

5. But as their affairs were in so flourishing a state, there sprang up a calamity among them on the following occasion. When once they had deviated from that course of virtue whereby they had gained so great power, they affronted and transgressed the laws of their forefathers, and fell under the dominion of their lusts and pleasures. A certain Parthian, who came as general of an army into those parts, had a wife following him, who had a vast reputation for other accomplishments, and particularly was admired above all other women for her beauty, Anileus, the brother of Asineus, either heard of that her beauty from others, or perhaps saw her himself also, and so became at once her lover and her enemy, partly because he could not hope to enjoy this woman but by obtaining power over her as a captive, and partly because he thought he could not conquer his inclinations for her; as soon therefore as her husband had been declared an enemy to them, and was fallen in the battle, the widow of the deceased was married to this her lover. However, this woman did not come into their house without producing great misfortunes both to Anileus himself, and to Asineus also; but brought great mischiefs upon them on the occasion following. Since she was led away captive, upon the death of her husband, she concealed the images of those gods which were their country gods, common to her husband and to herself: now it is the custom* of that country for all to have the idols they worship in their own houses, and to carry them along with them when they go into a foreign land; agreeably to which custom of theirs, she carried her idols with her. Now at first she performed her worship to them privately, but when she was become Anileus's married wife, she worshipped them in her accustomed manner, and with the same appointed ceremonies which she used in her former husband's days; upon which their most esteemed friends blamed him at first that he did not act after the manner of the Hebrews, nor perform what was agreeable to their laws, in marrying a foreign wife, and one that transgressed the accurate appointments of their sacrifices and religious ceremonies: that he ought to consider, lest by allowing himself in many pleasures of the body, he might lose his principality, on account of the beauty of a wife, and that high authority which, by God's blessing, he had arrived at. But when they prevailed not at all upon him, he slew one of them for whom he had the greatest respect, because of the liberty he took with him; who, when he was dying, out of regard to the laws imprecated a punishment upon his murderer Anileus, and upon Asineus also, and that all their companions might come to a like end from their enemies; upon the two first, as the principal actors of this wickedness, and upon the rest as those that would not assist him when he suffered in the defence of their laws. Now these latter were sorely grieved, yet did they tolerate these doings, because they remembered that they had arrived at their present happy state by no other means than their fortitude. But when they also heard of the worship of those gods whom the Parthians adore, they thought that the injury that Anileus offered to their laws was to be borne no longer; and a great number of them came to Asineus, and loudly complained of

* This custom of the Mesopotamians to carry their household gods along with them wherever they travelled is as old as the days of Jacob, when Rachel his wife did the same, Gen. xxxi. 19, 30—35; nor is it to pass here unobserved, what great miseries came on these Jews, because they suffered one of their leaders to marry an idolatrous wife, contrary to the law of Moses. Of which matter, see the note on B. xix. ch. v. sect. 3.

Anileus, and told him that "it had been well that he had of himself seen what was advantageous to them, but that however it was now high time to correct what had been done amiss, before the crime that had been committed proved the ruin of himself and of all the rest of them. They added, that the marriage of this woman was made without their consent, and without a regard to their old laws; and that the worship which this woman paid [to her gods] was a reproach to the God whom they worshipped." Now Asineus was sensible of his brother's offence, that it had been already the cause of great mischiefs, and would be so for the time to come; yet did he tolerate the same from the good will he had to so near a relation, and forgiving it to him, on account that his brother was quite overborne by his wicked inclinations. But as more and more still came about him every day, and the clamours about it became greater, he at length spake to Anileus about these clamours, reproving him for his former actions, and desiring him for the future to leave them off, and send the woman back to her relations. But nothing was gained by these reproofs: for as the woman perceived that a tumult was made among the people on her account, and was afraid for Anileus, lest he should come to any harm for his love to her, she infused poison into Asineus's food, and thereby took him off, and was now secure of prevailing, when her lover was to be judge of what should be done about her.

6. So Anileus took the government upon himself alone, and led his army against the villages of Mithridates, who was a man of principal authority in Parthia, and had married king Artabanus's daughter: he also plundered them; and among that prey was found much money, and many slaves, as also a great number of sheep, and many other things, which, when gained, make men's condition happy. Now when Mithridates, who was there at this time, heard that his villages were taken, he was very much displeased to find that Anileus had first begun to injure him, and to affront him in his present dignity, when he had not offered any injury to him beforehand; and he got together the greatest body of horsemen he was able, and those out of that number which were of an age fit for war, and came to fight Anileus; and when he was arrived at a certain village of his own, he lay still there, as intending to fight him on the day following, because it was the Sabbath, the day on which the Jews rest. And when Anileus was informed of this by a Syrian stranger of another village, who not only gave him an exact account of other circumstances, but told him where Mithridates would have a feast, he took his supper at a proper time, and marched by night, with an intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were unapprized what they should do; so he fell upon them about the fourth watch of the night, and some of them he slew while they were asleep, and others he put to flight, and took Mithridates alive, and set him naked upon an ass,* which among the Parthians is esteemed the greatest reproach possible. And when he had brought him into a wood with such a resolution, and his friends desired him to kill Mithridates, he soon told them his own mind to the contrary, and said that "it was not right to kill a man who was of one of the principal families among the Parthians, and greatly honoured with matching into the royal family; that so far as they had hitherto gone was tolerable; for although they had injured Mithridates, yet if they preserved his life, this benefit would be remembered by him to the advantage of those that gave it him; but that if he were once put to death, the king would not be at rest till he had made a great slaughter of the Jews that dwelt at Babylon; to whose safety we ought to have a regard, both on account of our relation to them, and because, if any misfortune befall us, we have no other place to retire to, since he hath gotten the flower of their youth under him." By this

* This custom in Syria and Mesopotamia, of setting men upon an ass, by way of disgrace, is still kept up at Damascus in Syria; where, in order to show their despite against the Christians, the Turks will not suffer them to hire horses, but asses only, when they go abroad to see the country, as Mr. Maundrell assures us, page 128.

thought, and this speech of his made in council, he persuaded them to act accordingly; so Mithridates was let go. But when he was gone away, his wife reproached him, that although he was son-in-law to the king, he neglected to avenge himself on those that had injured him, while he took no care about it, but was contented to have been made a captive by the Jews, and to have escaped them: and she bid him "either to go back like a man of courage, or else, she sware by the gods of their royal family, that she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him." Upon which, partly because he could not bear the daily trouble of her taunts, and partly because he was afraid of her insolence, lest she should in earnest dissolve their marriage, he unwillingly, and against his inclinations, got together again as large an army as he could, and marched along with them, as himself thinking it a thing not to be borne any longer, that he, a Parthian, should owe his preservation to the Jews, when they had been too hard for him in the war.

7. But as soon as Anileus understood that Mithridates was marching with a great army against him, he thought it too ignominious a thing to tarry about the lakes, and not to take the first opportunity of meeting his enemies; and he hoped to have the same success, and to beat their enemies as they did before; as also he ventured boldly upon the like attempts. Accordingly he led out his army, and a great many more joined themselves to that army, in order to betake themselves to plunder other people, and in order to terrify the enemy again by their numbers. But when they had marched ninety furlongs, while the road had been through dry [and sandy] places, and about the midst of the day, they were become very thirsty; and Mithridates appeared, and fell upon them, as they were in distress for want of water, on which account, and on account of the time of the day, they were not able to bear their weapons. So Anileus and his men were put to an ignominious route, while men in despair were to attack those that were fresh, and in good plight; so a great slaughter was made, and many ten thousands fell. Now Anileus, and all that stood firm about him, ran away, as fast as they were able, into a wood, and afforded Mithridates the pleasure of having gained a great victory over them. But there now came in to Anileus a conflux of bad men, who regarded their own lives very little, if they might but gain some present ease; insomnch that they, by thus coming to him, compensated the multitude of those that perished in the fight. Yet were not these men like to those that fell, because they were rash, and unexercised in war; however, with these he came upon the villages of the Babylonians, and a mighty devastation of all things was made there by the injuries that Anileus did them. So the Babylonians, and those that had already been in the war, sent to Neerda, to the Jews there, and demanded Anileus. But although they did not agree to their demands (for if they had been willing to deliver him up, it was not in their power so to do,) yet did they desire to make peace with them. To which the others replied, that they also wanted to settle conditions of peace with them, and sent men together with the Babylonians, who discoursed with Anileus about them. But the Babylonians, upon taking a view of his situation, and having learned where Anileus and his men lay, fell secretly upon them as they were drunk, and fallen asleep, and slew all that they caught of them, without any fear, and killed Anileus himself also.

8. The Babylonians were now freed from Anileus's heavy incursions, which had been a great restraint to the effects of that hatred they bore to the Jews; for they were almost always at variance, by reason of the contrariety of their laws, and which party soever grew boldest before the other, they assaulted the other; and at this time in particular it was, that upon the ruin of Anileus's party, the Babylonians attacked the Jews, which made those Jews so vehemently to resent the injuries they received from the Babylonians, that being neither able to fight them, nor bearing to live with them, they went to Seleucia, the principal city of

hose parts, which was built by Seleucus Nicator. It was inhabited by many of he Macedonians, but by more of the Grecians; not a few of the Syrians also lwelt there; and thither did the Jews fly, and live there five years without any nisfortunes. But on the sixth year a pestilence came upon these at Babylon, vhich occasioned new removals of men's habitations out of that city; and because hey came to Seleucia, it happened that a still heavier calamity came upon them )n that account, which I am going to relate immediately.

9. Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia, which were Greeks and Syrians, was commonly quarrelsome, and full of discord, though the Greeks were oo hard for the Syrians. When therefore the Jews were come thither, and dwelt among them, there arose a sedition, and the Syrians were too hard for the other, by the assistance of the Jews, who are men that despise dangers, and very ready c fight upon any occasion. Now when the Greeks had the worst in this sedi- ion, and saw that they had but one way of recovering their former authority, and hat was, if they could prevent the agreement between the Jews and the Syrians, hey every one discoursed with such of the Syrians as were formerly their ac- quaintance, and promised they would be at peace and friendship with them. Ac- cordingly they gladly agreed so to do; and when this was done by the principal nen of both nations, they soon agreed to a reconciliation, and when they were so agreed, they both knew that the great design of such their union would be heir common hatred to the Jews. Accordingly they fell upon them, and slew about fifty thousand of them, nay, the Jews were all destroyed, excepting a few who escaped, either by the compassion which their friends or neighbours afforded hem in order to let them fly away. These retired to Ctesiphon a Grecian city, and situated near to Seleucia, where the king [of Parthia] lives in winter every year, and where the greatest part of his riches are deposited; but the Jews had here no certain settlement, those of Seleucia having little concern for the king's honour. Now the whole nation of the Jews were in fear both of the Babylonians and of the Seleucians, because all the Syrians that live in those places agreed with the Seleucians in the war against the Jews; so the most of them gathered themselves together, and went to Neerda and Nisibis, and obtained security there by the strength of these cities; besides which their inhabitants, who were a great many, were all warlike men. And this was the state of the Jews at this time in Babylonia.

# BOOK XIX.

## CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THREE YEARS AND A HALF.

*FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE JEWS OUT OF BABYLON TO FADUS THE ROMAN PROCURATOR.*

## CHAP. I.

### *How Caius* was slain by Cherea.*

§ 1. Now this Caius† did not demonstrate his madness in offering injuries only to the Jews at Jerusalem, or to those that dwelt in the neighbourhood, but suffered it to extend itself through all the earth and sea, so far as was in subjection to the Romans, and filled it with ten thousand mischiefs; so many indeed in number as no former history relates. But Rome itself felt the most dismal effects of what he did, while he deemed that not to be any way more honourable than the rest of the cities; hut he pulled and halled its other citizens, but especially the senate, and particularly the nobility, and such as had been dignified by illustrious ancestors; he also had ten thousand devices against such of the equestrian order, as it was styled, who were esteemed by the citizens equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because out of them the senators were themselves chosen; these he treated after an ignominious manner, and removed them out of his way, while they were at once slain and their wealth plundered; because he slew men generally in order to seize on their riches. He also asserted his own divinity, and insisted on greater honours to be paid him by his subjects than are due to mankind. He also frequented that temple of Jupiter which they style the Capitol, which is with them the most holy of all their temples, and had boldness enough to call himself the brother of Jupiter. And other pranks he did like a madman; as when he laid a bridge from the city Dicearchia, which belongs to Campania, to Misenum, another city upon the seaside, from one promontory to another, of the length of thirty furlongs as measured over the sea. And this was done, because he esteemed it to be a most tedious thing to row over it in a small ship, and thought withal, that it became him to make that bridge, since he was lord of the sea, and might oblige it to give marks of obedience as well as the earth; so he enclosed the whole bay within his bridge, and drove his chariot over it, and thought that, as he was a god, it was fit for him to travel over such roads as this was. Nor did he abstain from the plunder of any of the Grecian temples, and gave order that all the engravings and sculptures, and the rest of the ornaments of the statues and donations therein dedicated, should be brought to him, saying, that "the best things ought to be set no where but in the best place, and that the city of Rome was that best place." He also adorned his own house and his gardens with the curiosities brought from those temples, together with the houses he lay at when

* In this and the three next chapters, we have, I think, a larger and more distinct account of the slaughter of Caius, and the succession of Claudius, than we have of any such ancient facts whatsoever elsewhere. Some of the occasions of which probably were, Josephus's bitter hatred against tyranny, and the pleasure he took in giving the history of the slaughter of such a barbarous tyrant as was this Caius Caligula, as also the deliverance his own nation had by that slaughter, of which he speaks, sect. 2, together with the great intimacy he had with Agrippa junior, whose father was deeply concerned in the advancement of Claudius, upon the death of Caius; from which Agrippa junior, Josephus might be fully informed of this history.

† Called *Caligula* by the Romans.

e travelled all over Italy: whence he did not scrupie to give a command, that he statue of Jupiter Olympius, so called because he was honoured at the Olym-ian games by the Greeks, which was the work of Phidias the Athenian, should e brought to Rome. Yet did not he compass his end, because the architects old Memmius Regulus, who was commanded to remove that statue of Jupiter, that he workmanship was such as would be spoiled, and would not bear the removal. t was also reported that Memmius, both on that account, and on account of some such mighty prodigies as are of an incredible nature, put off the taking it down, and vrote to Caius those accounts, as his apology for not having done what his epistle equired of him; and that when he was thence in danger of perishing, he was aved by Caius's being dead himself, before he had put him to death.

2. Nay, Caius's madness came to this height, that when he had a daughter born he carried her into the Capitol, and put her upon the knees of the statue, nd said, that the child was common to him and to Jupiter, and determined that he had two fathers, but which of those fathers were the greatest, he left undetermined; and yet mankind bore him in such his pranks. He also gave leave to slaves to accuse their masters of any crimes whatsover they pleased: for all such accusations were terrible, because they were in great part made to please him, and at his suggestion; insomuch that Pollux, Claudius's slave, had the boldness o lay an accusation against Claudius himself, and Caius was not ashamed to be present at his trial of life and death, to hear that trial of his own uncle, in hopes of being able to take him off, although he did not succeed to his mind. But when he had filled the whole habitable world, which he governed, with false accusations and miseries, and had occasioned the greatest insult of slaves against their masters, who indeed in great measure ruled them, there were many secret plots now laid against him; some in anger, and in order for men to revenge themselves, on account of the miseries they had already undergone from him; and others made attempts upon him, in order to take him off before they should fall into such great miseries, while his death came very fortunately for the preservation of the laws of all men, and had a great influence upon the public welfare; and this happened most happily for our nation in particular, which had almost utterly perished if he had not been suddenly slain. And I confess I have a mind to give a full account of this matter, particularly because it will afford great assurance of the power of God, and great comfort to those that are under afflictions, and wise caution to those who think their happiness will never end, nor bring them at length to the most lasting miseries, if they do not conduct their lives by the principles of virtue.

3. Now there were three several conspiracies made in order to take off Caius, and each of these three were conducted by excellent persons. Emilius Regulus, born at Corduba in Spain, got some men together, and was desirous to take Caius off, either by them or by himself. Another conspiracy there was laid by them, under the conduct of Cherea Cassius, the tribune [of the Pretorian band;] Minucianus Annius was also one of great consequence amongst those that were prepared to oppose his tyranny. Now the several occasions of these men's several hatred and conspiracy against Caius were these: Regulus had indignation and hatred against all injustice, for he had a mind naturally angry, and bold, and free, which made him not conceal his counsels; so he communicated them to many of his friends, and to others, who seemed to him persons of activity and vigour: Minucianus entered into this conspiracy, because of the injustice done to Lepidus his particular friend, and one of the best character of all the citizens, whom Caius had slain, as also because he was afraid of himself, since Caius's wrath tended to the slaughter of all alike; and for Cherea, he came in, because he thought it a deed worthy of a free ingenuous man to kill Caius, and was ashamed of the reproaches he lay under from Caius, as though he were a coward as also because he was himself in danger every day from his friendship with him, and the observance he paid him. These men proposed this attempt to all

the rest that were concerned, who saw the injuries that were offered them, and were desirous that Caius's slaughter might succeed by their mutual assistance of one another, and they might themselves escape being killed by the taking off Caius; that perhaps they should gain their point, and that it would be a happy thing if they should gain it, to approve themselves to so many excellent persons as earnestly wished to be partakers with them in their design, for the delivery of the city and of the government, even at the hazard of their own lives. But still Cherea was the most zealous of them all, both out of a desire of getting himself the greatest name, and also by reason of his access to Caius's presence, with less danger because he was tribune, and could therefore the more easily kill him

4. Now at this time came on the horse races [Circensian games;] the view of which games was eagerly desired by the people of Rome; for they come with great alacrity into the hyppodrome [circus] at such times, and petition their emperors, in great multitudes, for what they stand in need of; who usually did not think fit to deny them their requests, but readily and gratefully granted them. Accordingly they most importunately desired, that Caius would now ease them in their tributes, and abate somewhat of the rigour of the taxes imposed upon them; but he would not hear their petition; and, when their clamours increased, he sent soldiers, some one way, and some another, and gave order that they should lay hold on those that made the clamours, and, without any more ado, bring them out, and put them to death. These were Caius's commands, and those who were commanded executed the same; and the number of those who were slain on this occasion was very great. Now the people saw this, and bore it so far, that they left off clamouring, because they saw with their own eyes, that this petition to be relieved, as to the payment of their money, brought immediate death upon them. These things made Cherea more resolute to go on with his plot, in order to put an end to this barbarity of Caius against men. He then at several times thought to fall upon Caius even as he was feasting; yet did he restrain himself by some considerations; not that he had any doubt on him about killing him, but as watching for a proper season, that the attempt might not be frustrated, but that he might give the blow so as might certainly gain his purpose.

5. Cherea had been in the army a long time, yet was he not pleased with conversing so much with Caius. But Caius had set him to require the tribute and other dues, which, when not paid in due time, were forfeited to Cæsar's treasury; and he had made some delays in requiring them, because those burdens had been doubled, and had rather indulged his own mild disposition than performed Caius's command; nay, indeed, he provoked Caius to anger by his sparing men, and pitying the hard fortunes of those from whom he demanded the taxes, and Caius upbraided him with his sloth and effeminacy in being so long about collecting the taxes. And indeed he did not only affront him in other respects, but when he gave him the watchword of the day, to whom it was to be given by his place, he gave him feminine words; and those of a nature very reproachful; and these watchwords he gave out, as having been initiated in the secrets of certain mysteries, which he had been himself the author of. Now, although he had sometimes put on women's clothes, and had been wrapt in some embroidered garments to them belonging, and done a great many other things, in order to make the company mistake him for a woman; yet did he, by way of reproach, object the like womanish behaviour to Cherea. But when Cherea received the watchword from him, he had indignation at it, but had greater indignation at the delivery of it to others, as being laughed at by those that received it; insomuch that his fellow-tribunes made him the subject of their drollery; for they would foretell that he would bring them some of his usual watchwords, when he was about to take the watchword from Cæsar, and would thereby make him ridiculous; on which accounts he took the courage of assuming certain partners to him, as having just reasons for his indignation against Caius. Now there was one Pompedius a senator

nd one who had gone through almost all posts in the government, but otherwise n Epicurean, and for that reason loved to lead an inactive life. Now Timidius, n enemy of his, had informed Caius, that he had used indecent reproaches gainst him, and had made use of Quinctilia for a witness to them; a woman she vas much beloved by many that frequented the theatre, and particularly by Pom-)edius, on account of her great beauty. Now this woman thought it a horrible hing to attest to an accusation that touched the life of her lover, which was also . lie. Timidius, however, wanted to have her brought to the torture. Caius vas irritated at this reproach upon him, and commanded Cherea, without any lelay, to torture Quinctilia, as he used to employ Cherea in such bloody matters, nd those that required the torture, because he thought he would do it the more )arbarously, in order to avoid that imputation of effeminacy which he had laid ipon him. But Quinctilia, when she was brought to the rack, trod upon the oot of one of her associates, and let him know, that he might be of good courage, nd not be afraid of the consequence of her tortures; for that she would bear hem with magnanimity. Cherea tortured this woman after a cruel manner; nwillingly indeed, but because he could not help it. He then brought her, with-ut being in the least moved at what she had suffered, into the presence of Caius, nd that in such a state as was sad to behold; and Caius, being somewhat af-ected with the sight of Quinctilia, who had her body miserably disordered by he pain she had undergone, freed both her and Pompedius of the crime laid to heir charge. He also gave her money to make her an honourable amends, and omfort her for that maiming of her body which she had suffered, and for her lorious patience under such insufferable torments.

6. This matter sorely grieved Cherea, as having been the cause as far as he ould, or the instrument of those miseries to men, which seemed worthy of con-olation to Caius himself; on which account he said to Clement and to Papinius of whom Clement was general of the army, and Papinius was a tribune:) "To e sure, O Clement, we have no way failed in our guarding the emperor; for as o those that have made conspiracies against his government, some have been lain by our care and pains, and some have been by us tortured, and this to such t degree that he hath himself pitied them. How great then is our virtue in sub-nitting to conduct his armies?" Clement held his peace, but showed the shame ie was under in obeying Caius's orders, both by his eyes and his blushing coun-enance, while he thought it by no means right to accuse the emperor in express vords, lest their own safety should be endangered thereby. Upon which Cherea ook courage, and spake to him without fear of the dangers that were before him, nd discoursed largely of the sore calamities under which the city and the go-ernment then laboured, and said, "We may indeed pretend in words, that Caius s the person unto whom the cause of such miseries ought to be imputed; but, n the opinion of such as are able to judge uprightly, it is I, O Clement, and this 'apinius, and before us thou thyself, who bring these tortures upon the Romans, nd upon all mankind. It is not done by our being subservient to the commands )f Caius, but it is done by our own consent; for whereas it is in our power to put n end to the life of this man, who hath so terribly injured the citizens and his ubjects, we are his guard in mischief and his executioners, instead of his sol-liers, and are the instruments of his cruelty. We bear these weapons, not for our liberty, not for the Roman government, but only for his preservation, who nath enslaved both their bodies and their minds; and we are every day polluted vith the blood that we shed, and the torments we inflict upon others; and this we lo, till somebody becomes Caius's instrument in bringing the like miseries upon ourselves. Nor does he thus employ us, because he hath a kindness for us, but 'ather because he hath a suspicion of us, as also because, when abundance more nave been killed (for Caius will set no bounds to his wrath, since he aims to do ill, not out of regard to justice, but to his own pleasure,) we shall also ourselves ie exposed to his cruelty; whereas we ought to be the means of confirming the

security and liberty of all, and at the same time to resolve to free ourselves from dangers."

7. Hereupon Clement openly commended Cherea's intentions; but bid him "hold his tongue; for that in case his words should get out among many, and such things should be spread abroad as were fit to be concealed, the plot would come to be discovered before it was executed, and they should be brought to punishment; but that they should leave all to futurity, and the hope which thence arose, that some fortunate event would come to their assistance; that, as for himself, his age would not permit him to make any attempt in that case. However although perhaps I could suggest what may be safer than what thou, Cherea hast contrived and said, yet how is it possible for any one to suggest what is more for thy reputation?" So Clement went his way home, with deep reflections on what he had heard, and what he had himself said. Cherea also was under no concern, and went quickly to Cornelius Sabinus, who was himself one of the tribunes, and whom he otherwise knew to be a worthy man, and a lover of liberty; and on that account very uneasy at the present management of public affairs; he being desirous to come immediately to the execution of what had been determined, and thinking it right for him to propose it to the other, and afraid lest Clement should discover them, and besides looking upon delays and puttings off to be next to desisting from the enterprise.

8. But as all was agreeable to Sabinus, who had himself, equally with Cherea, the same design, but had been silent for want of a person to whom he could communicate that design; so having now met with one, who not only promised to conceal what he heard, but who had already opened his mind to him, he was much more encouraged, and desired of Cherea, that no delay might be made therein. Accordingly they went to Minucianus, who was as virtuous a man, and as zealous to do glorious actions as themselves, and suspected by Caius on occasion of the slaughter of Lepidus; for Minucianus and Lepidus were intimate friends, and both in fear of the dangers that they were under; for Caius was terrible to all the great men, as appearing ready to act a mad part towards each of them in particular, and towards all of them in general: and these men were afraid of one another, while they were yet uneasy at the posture of affairs, but avoided to declare their mind and their hatred against Caius to one another, out of fear of the dangers they might be in thereby, although they perceived by other means their mutual hatred against Caius, and on that account were not averse to a mutual kindness one towards another.

9. When Minucianus and Cherea had met together, and saluted one another (as they had been used in former conversations to give the upper hand to Minucianus, both on account of his eminent dignity, for he was the noblest of all the citizens, and highly commended by all men, especially when he made speeches to them,) Minucianus began first, and asked Cherea, what was the watchword he had received that day from Caius? for the affront which was offered Cherea in giving the watchwords, was famous over the city. But Cherea made no delay so long as to reply to that question, out of the joy he had that Minucianus would have such confidence in him as to discourse with him. "But do thou," said he, "give me the watchword of liberty. And I return thee my thanks, that thou hast so greatly encouraged me to exert myself after an extraordinary manner; nor do I stand in need of many words to encourage me, since both thou and I are of the same mind, and partakers of the same resolutions, and this before we have conferred together. I have indeed but one sword girt on, but this one will serve us both. Come on, therefore, let us set about the work. Do thou go first, if thou hast a mind, and bid me follow thee; or else I will go first, and thou shalt assist me, and we will assist one another, and trust one another. Nor is there necessity for even one sword to such as have a mind disposed to such works, by which mind the sword uses to be successful. I am zealous about this action, nor am I solicitous what I may myself undergo; for I am not at leisure to consider

he dangers that may come upon myself, so deeply am I troubled at the slavery our once free country is now under, and at the contempt cast upon excellent laws, and at the destruction which hangs over all men by the means of Caius. I wish that I may be judged by thee, and that thou mayest esteem me worthy of credit in these matters, seeing we are both of the same opinion, and there is herein no difference between us."

10. When Minucianus saw the vehemency with which Cherea delivered himself, he gladly embraced him, and encouraged him in his bold attempt, commending him, and embracing him; so he let him go with his good wishes; and some affirm, that he thereby confirmed Minucianus in the prosecution of what had been agreed among them; for, as Cherea entered into the court, the report runs, that a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, which bid him finish what he was about, and take the opportunity that Providence afforded; and that Cherea at first suspected that some one of the conspirators had betrayed him, and he was caught, but at length perceived that it was by way of exhortation Whether somebody,* that was conscious of what he was about, gave a signal for his encouragement, or whether it were God himself, who looks upon the actions of men, that encouraged him to go on boldly in his design, is uncertain. The plot was now communicated to a great many, and they were all in their armour; some of the conspirators being senators, and some of the equestrian order, and as many of the soldiery as were made acquainted with it; for there was not one of them who would not reckon it a part of his happiness to kill Caius, and on that account they were all very zealous in the affair, by what means soever any one could come at it; that he might not be behindhand in these virtuous designs, but might be ready with all his alacrity or power, both by words and actions, to complete this slaughter of a tyrant. And besides these, Callistus also, who was a freedman of Caius, and was the only man that had arrived at the greatest degree of power under him; such a power, indeed, as was in a manner equal to the power of the tyrant himself, by the dread that all men had of him, and by the great riches he had acquired; for he took bribes most plenteously, and committed injuries without bounds, and was more extravagant in the use of his power in unjust proceedings than any other. He also knew the disposition of Caius to be implacable, and never to be turned from what he had resolved on. He had withal many other reasons why he thought himself in danger, and the vastness of his wealth was not one of the least of them; on which account he privately ingratiated himself with Claudius, and transferred his courtship to him, out of his hope, that in case, upon the removal of Caius, the government should come to him, his interest in such changes should lay a foundation for his preserving his dignity under him, since he laid in beforehand a stock of merit, and did Claudius good offices in his promotion. He had also the boldness to pretend, that he had been persuaded to make away with Claudius by poisoning him, but had still invented ten thousand excuses for delaying to do it. But it seems probable to me, that Callistus only counterfeited this in order to ingratiate himself with Claudius; for if Caius had been in earnest resolved to take off Claudius, he would not have admitted of Callistus's excuse, nor would Callistus, if he had been enjoined to do such an act as was desired by Caius, have put it off, nor, if he had disobeyed those injunctions of his master, had he escaped immediate punishment; while Claudius was preserved from the madness of Caius by a certain divine providence, and Callistus pretended to such a piece of merit as he no way deserved

11. However, the execution of Cherea's designs was put off from day to day by the sloth of many therein concerned; for as to Cherea himself, he would not willingly make any delay in that execution, thinking every time a fit time for it, for frequent opportunities offered themselves; as when Caius went up to the Ca-

* Just such a voice, as this is related to be, came, and that from an unknown original also, to the famous Polycarp, as he was going to martyrdom, bidding him "play the man;" as the church of Smyrna assures us in their account of that his martyrdom, sect. 9.

pitol to sacrifice for his daughter, or when he stood upon his royal palace, and threw gold and silver pieces of money among the people, he might be pushed down headlong, because the top of the palace, that looks towards the market-place, was very high; and also when he celebrated the mysteries, which he had appointed at that time; for he was then no way secluded from the people, but so licitous to do every thing carefully and decently, and was free from all suspicion, that he should be then assaulted by any body; and although the gods should afford him no divine assistance to enable him to take away his life, yet had he strength himself sufficient to dispatch Caius, even without a sword. Thus was Cherea, angry at his fellow-conspirators, for fear they should suffer a proper opportunity to pass by; and they were themselves sensible that he had just cause to be angry at them, and that his eagerness was for their advantage; yet did they desire he would have a little longer patience, lest upon any disappointment they might meet with, they should put the city into disorder, and an inquisition should be made after the conspiracy, and should render the courage of those that were to attack Caius without success, while he would then secure himself more carefully than ever against them; that it would therefore be the best to set about the work when the shows were exhibited in the palace. These shows were acted in honour of that Cæsar* who first of all changed the popular government, and transferred it to himself; galleries being fixed before the palace, where the Romans that were Patricians became spectators, together with their children and their wives, and Cæsar himself was to be also a spectator; and they reckoned among those many ten thousands, who would there be crowded into a narrow compass, they should have a favourable opportunity to make their attempt upon him as he came in; because his guards that should protect him, if any of them should have a mind to do it, would not here be able to give him any assistance.

12. Cherea consented to this delay; and when the shows were exhibited, it was resolved to do the work the first day. But fortune, which allowed a farther delay to his slaughter, was too hard for their foregoing resolution; and as three days of the regular time for these shows were now over, they had much ado to get the business done on the last day. Then Cherea called the conspirators together, and spake thus to them: "So much time passed away without effect is a reproach to us, as delaying to go through such a virtuous design as we are engaged in; but more fatal will this delay prove, if we be discovered, and the design be frustrated; for Caius will then become more cruel in his unjust proceedings. Do not we see how long we deprive all our friends of their liberty, and give Caius leave still to tyrannize over them? while we ought to have procured them security for the future, and, by laying a foundation for the happiness of others, gain to ourselves great admiration and honour for all time to come." Now, while the conspirators had nothing tolerable to say by way of contradiction, and yet did not quite relish what they were doing, but stood silent and astonished, he said farther, "O my brave comrades, why do we make such delays? Do not you see that this is the last day of these shows, and that Caius is about to go to sea? for he is preparing to sail to Alexandria, in order to see Egypt. Is it therefore for your honour to let a man go out of your hands who is a reproach to mankind, and to permit him to go after a pompous manner triumphing both at land and sea? Shall not we be justly ashamed of ourselves, if we give leave to some Egyptian or other, who shall think his injuries insufferable to freemen, to kill him? As for myself, I will no longer bear your slow proceedings, but will expose myself to the dangers of the enterprise this very day, and bear cheerfully whatsoever shall be the consequence of the attempt; nor, let them be ever so great, will I put them off any longer; for to a wise and courageous man, what can be more miserable that, while I am alive, any one else should kill Caius, and deprive me of the honour of so virtuous an action?"

* Here Josephus supposes that it was Augustus, and not Julius Cæsar, who first changed the Rom

13. When Cherea had spoken thus, he zealously set about the work, and inspired courage into the rest to go on with it, and they were all eager to fall to it without farther delay. So he was at the palace in the morning, with his equestrian sword girt on him; for it was the custom that the tribunes should ask for the watchword with their swords on, and this was the day on which Cherea was, by custom, to receive the watchword; and the multitude were already come to the palace, to be soon enough for seeing the shows, and that in great crowds, and one tumultuously crushing another, while Caius was delighted with this eagerness of the multitude; for which reason there was no order observed in the seating men, nor was any peculiar place appointed for the senators, or for the equestrian order; but they sat at random, men and women together, and the freemen were mixed with the slaves. So Caius came out in a solemn manner, and offered sacrifice to Augustus Cæsar, in whose honour indeed these shows were celebrated. Now it happened, upon the fall of a certain priest, that the garment of Asprenas, a senator, was filled with blood, which made Caius laugh, although this was an evident omen to Asprenas, for he was slain at the same time with Caius. It is also related, that Caius was that day, contrary to his usual custom, so very affable and good natured in his conversation, that every one of those that were present were astonished at it. After the sacrifice was over, Caius betook himself to see the shows, and sat down for that purpose, as did also the principal of his friends sit near him. Now the parts of the theatre were so fastened together as it used to be every year, in the manner following: it had two doors, the one door led to the open air, the other was for going into or going out of the cloisters, that those within the theatre might not be thereby disturbed; but out of one gallery there went an inward passage, parted into partitions also, which led into another gallery to give room to the combatants, and to the musicians to go out as occasion served. When the multitude were set down, and Cherea, with the other tribunes, were set down also, and the right corner of the theatre was allotted to Cæsar, one Vatinius, a senator, commander of the pretorian band, asked of Cluvius, one that sat by him, and was of consular dignity also, "Whether he had heard any thing of news or not?" but took care that nobody should hear what he said; and when Cluvius replied, that "he had heard no news," "Know then," said Vatinius, "that the game of the slaughter of tyrants is to be played this day." But Cluvius replied, "O brave comrade, hold thy peace, lest some of the Achaians hear thy tale." And as there was abundance of autumnal fruit thrown among the spectators, and a great number of birds, that were of great value to such as possessed them, on account of their rareness, Caius was pleased with the birds fighting for the fruits, and with the violence wherewith the spectators seized upon them; and here he perceived two prodigies that happened there; for an actor was introduced, by whom a leader of robbers was crucified, and the pantomime brought in a play called Cinyras, wherein he himself was to be slain, as well as his daughter Myrrna, and wherein a great deal of fictitious blood was shed, both about him that was crucified, and also about Cinyras. It is also confessed, that this was the same day wherein Pausanias, a friend of Philip, the son of Amyntas who was king of Macedonia, slew him, as he was entering into the theatre. And now Caius was in doubt whether he should tarry to the end of the shows, because it was the last day, or whether he should not go first to the bath, and to dinner, and then return and sit down as before. Hereupon Minucianus, who sat over Caius, and was afraid that the opportunity should fail them, got up, because he saw Cherea was already gone out, and made haste out, to confirm him in his resolution; but Caius took hold of his garment, in an obliging way, and said to him, "O brave man, whither art thou going?" Whereupon, out of reverence to Cæsar, as it seemed, he sat down again; but his fear prevailed over him, and in a little

commonwealth into a monarchy; for these shows were in honour of Augustus, as we shall learn in the next section but one.

time he got up again, and then Caius did no way oppose his going out, as thinking that he went out to perform some necessities of nature. And Asprenas, who was one of the confederates, persuaded Caius to go out to the bath, and to dinner, and then to come in again, as desirous that what had been resolved on might be brought to a conclusion immediately.

14. So Cherea's associates placed themselves in order, as the time would permit them, and they were obliged to labour hard, that the place which was appointed them should not be left by them; but they had an indignation at the tediousness of the delays, and that what they were about should be put off any longer, for it was already about the ninth* hour of the day; and Cherea, upon Caius's tarrying so long, had a great mind to go in, and fall upon him in his seat, although he foresaw that this could not be done without much bloodshed, both of the senators and of those of the equestrian order that were present; and although he knew this must happen, yet had he a great mind to do so, as thinking it a right thing to procure security and freedom to all, at the expense of such as might perish at the same time. And as they were just going back into the entrance to the theatre, word was brought them that Caius was arisen, whereby a tumult was made; hereupon the conspirators thrust away the crowd, under pretence as if Caius was angry at them, but in reality as desirous to have a quiet place, that should have none in it to defend him while they set about Caius's slaughter. Now Claudius, his uncle, was gone out before, and Marcus Vicinius, his sister's husband, as also Valerius of Asia: whom though they had had such a mind to put out of their places, the reverence to their dignity hindered them so to do; then followed Caius, with Paulus Arruntius; and because Caius was now gotten within the palace, he left the direct road, along which those his servants stood that were in waiting, and by which road Claudius had gone out before; Caius turned aside into a private narrow passage, in order to go to the place for bathing, as also in order to take a view of the boys that came out of Asia, who were sent thence, partly to sing hymns in these mysteries which were now celebrated, and partly to dance in the pyrric way of dancing upon the theatres. So Cherea met him, and asked for the watchword; upon Caius's giving him one of his ridiculous words, he immediately reproached him, and drew his sword, and gave him a terrible stroke with it, yet was not this stroke mortal. And although there be those that say, it was so contrived on purpose by Cherea, that Caius should not be killed at one blow, but should be punished more severely by a multitude of wounds; yet does this story appear to me incredible, because the fear men are under in such actions does not allow them to use their reason. And if Cherea was of that mind, I esteem him the greatest of all fools, in pleasing himself with his spite against Caius, rather than immediately procuring safety to himself and to his confederates from the dangers they were in; because there might many things still happen for helping Caius's escape, if he had not already given up the ghost; for certainly Cherea would have regard, not so much to the punishment of Caius, as to the affliction himself and his friends were in, while it was in his power, after such success, to keep silent, and to escape the wrath of Caius's defenders, and not leave it in uncertainty whether he should gain the end he aimed at or not, and after an unreasonable manner to act as if he had a mind to ruin himself, and lose the opportunity that lay before him; but every body may guess as he pleases about this matter. However, Caius was staggered with the pain that blow gave him; for the stroke of the sword falling in the middle between the shoulder and the neck, was hindered by the first bone of the breast from proceeding any farther. Nor did he either cry out, in such astonishment was he, nor did he call out for any of his friends: whether it were that he had no confidence in them, or that his mind was otherwise disordered, but he groaned under the pain he endured, and presently went forward and fled; when Cornelius Sabinus, who was already

* Suetonius says, Caius was slain about the seventh hour of the day: Josephus about the ninth. The series of the narration favours Josephus.

prepared in mind so to do, thrust him down upon his knee, where many of them stood round about him, and struck him with their swords, and they cried out, and encouraged one another all at once to strike him again; but all agree that Aquila gave him the finishing stroke, which directly killed him. But one may justly ascribe this act to Cherea; for although many concurred in the act itself, yet was he the first contriver of it, and began long before all the rest to prepare for it and was the first man that boldly spake of it to the rest; and upon their admission of what he said about it, he got the dispersed conspirators together; he prepared every thing after a prudent manner, and, by suggesting good advice, showed himself far superior to the rest, and made obliging speeches to them, insomuch that he even compelled them all to go on, who otherwise had not courage enough for that purpose; and when opportunity served to use his sword in hand, he appeared first of all ready so to do, and gave the first blow in this virtuous slaughter; he also brought Caius easily into the power of the rest, and almost killed him himself: insomuch that it is but just to ascribe all the rest did, to the advice, and bravery, and labours of the hands of Cherea.

15. Thus did Caius come to his end, and lay dead, by the many wounds which had been given him. Now Cherea and his associates, upon Caius's slaughter, saw that it was impossible for them to save themselves, if they should all go the same way, partly on account of the astonishment they were under; for it was no small danger they had incurred by killing an emperor, who was honoured and loved by the madness of the people, especially when the soldiers were likely to make a bloody inquiry after his murderers. The passages also were narrow wherein the work was done, which were also crowded with a great multitude of Caius's attendants, and of such of the soldiers as were of the emperor's guard that day; whence it was that they went by other ways, and came to the house of Germanicus, the father of Caius, whom they had now killed (which house adjoined to the palace; for while the edifice was one, it was built in its several parts by those particular persons who had been emperors, and those parts bare the names of those that built them, or the name of him who had begun to build any of its parts.) So they got away from the insults of the multitude, and then were for the present out of danger, that is, so long as the misfortune which had overtaken the emperor was not known. The Germans were the first who perceived that Caius was slain. These Germans were Caius's guard, and carried the name of the country whence they were chosen, and composed the Celtic legion. The men of that country are naturally passionate, which is commonly the temper of some other of the barbarous nations also, as being not used to consider much about what they do; they are of robust bodies, and fall upon their enemies as soon as ever they are attacked by them, and which way soever they go, they perform great exploits. When, therefore, these German guards understood that Caius was slain, they were very sorry for it, because they did not use their reason in judging about public affairs, but measured all by the advantages themselves received, Caius being beloved by them because of the money he gave them, by which he had purchased their kindness to him; so they drew their swords, and Sabinus led them on. He was one of the tribunes, not by the means of the virtuous actions of his progenitors, for he had been a gladiator, but he had obtained that post in the army by his having a robust body. So these Germans marched along the houses in quest of Cæsar's murderers, and cut Asprenas to pieces, because he was the first man they fell upon, and whose garment it was that the blood of the sacrifices stained, as I have said already, and which foretold that this his meeting the soldiers would not be for his good. Then did Norbanus meet them, who was one of the principal nobility of the city, and could show many generals of armies among his ancestors; but they paid no regard to his dignity; yet was he of such great strength, that he wrested the sword of the first of those that assaulted him out of his hands, and appeared plainly not to be willing to die without a struggle for his life, until he was surrounded by a great number of assailants, and died by

the multitude of the wounds which they gave him. The third man was Anteius, a senator, and a few others with him. He did not meet with these Germans by chance, as the rest did before, but came to show his hatred to Caius, and because he loved to see Caius lie dead with his own eyes, and took a pleasure in that sight; for Caius had banished Anteius's father, who was of the same name with himself, and, not being satisfied with that, he sent out his soldiers, and slew him; so he was come to rejoice at the sight of him, now he was dead. But as the house was now all in a tumult, when he was aiming to hide himself, he could not escape that accurate search which the Germans made, while they barbarously slew those that were guilty and those that were not guilty, and this equally so. And thus were these [three] persons slain.

16. But when the rumour that Caius was slain reached the theatre, they were astonished at it, and could not believe it: even some that entertained his destruction with great pleasure, and were more desirous of its happening than almost any other satisfaction that could come to them, were under such a fear, that they could not believe it. There were those also who greatly distrusted it, because they were unwilling that any such thing should come to Caius; nor could believe it, though it were ever so true, because they thought no man could possibly have so much power as to kill Caius. These were the women, and the children, and the slaves, and some of the soldiery. This last sort had taken his pay, and in a manner tyrannized with him, and had abused the best of the citizens, in being subservient to his unjust commands, in order to gain honours and advantages to themselves; but for the women, and the youth, they had been inveigled with shews, and the fightings of the gladiators, and certain distributions of flesh-meat among them, which things in pretence were designed for the pleasing of the multitude, but in reality to satiate the barbarous cruelty and madness of Caius. The slaves also were sorry, because they were by Caius allowed to accuse and to despise their masters, and they could have recourse to his assistance, when they had unjustly affronted them; for he was very easy in believing them against their masters, even when they accused them falsely; and if they would discover what money their masters had, they might soon obtain both riches and liberty, as the rewards of their accusations, because the reward of these informers was the eighth* part of the criminal's substance. As to the nobles, although the report appeared credible to some of them, either because they knew of the plot beforehand, or because they wished it might be true; however, they concealed not only the joy they had at the relation of it, but that they had heard any thing at all about it. These last acted so out of the fear they had, that if the report proved false they should be punished for having so soon let men know their minds. But those that knew Caius was dead, because they were partners with the conspirators, they concealed all still more cautiously, as not knowing one another's minds; and fearing lest they should speak of it to some of those to whom the continuance of tyranny was advantageous; and if Caius should prove to be alive, they might be informed against and punished. And another report went about, that although Caius had been wounded indeed, yet was not he dead, but alive still, and under the physician's hands. Nor was any one looked upon by another as faithful enough to be trusted, and to whom any one would open his mind: for he was either a friend to Caius, and therefore suspected to favour his tyranny, or he was one that hated him, who therefore might be suspected to deserve the less credit, because of his ill will to him. Nay, it was said by some (and this indeed it was that deprived the nobility of their hopes, and made them sad,) that Caius was in a condition to despise the dangers he had been in, and took no care of healing his wounds; but was gotten away into the market place, and, bloody as he was, was making an harangue to the people. And these were the conjectural reports of those

The rewards proposed by the Roman laws to informers were sometimes an eighth part of the criminal's goods, as here, and sometimes a fourth part, as Spanheim assures us, from Suetonius and Tacitus

that were so unreasonable as to endeavour to raise tumults, which they turned different ways, according to the opinions of the hearers. Yet did they not leave their seats, for fear of being accused, if they should go out before the rest; for they should not be sentenced according to the real intention with which they went out, but according to the supposals of the accusers and of the judges.

17. But now a multitude of Germans had surrounded the theatre with their swords drawn; all the spectators looked for nothing but death, and at every one's coming in a fear seized upon them, as if they were to be cut in pieces immediately; and in great distress they were, as neither having courage enough to go out of the theatre, nor believing themselves safe from dangers if they tarried there. And when the Germans came upon them, the cry was so great, that the theatre rang again with the entreaties of the spectators to the soldiers, pleading that they were entirely ignorant of every thing that related to such seditious contrivances, and that if there were already any sedition raised, they knew nothing of it; they therefore begged that they would spare them, and not punish those that had not the least hand in such bold crimes as belonged to other persons, while they neglected to search after such as had really done whatsoever it be that hath been done. Thus did these people appeal to God, and deplore their infelicity with shedding of tears, and beating their faces, and said every thing that the most imminent danger, and the utmost concern for their lives, could dictate to them. This brake the fury of the soldiers, and made them repent of what they minded to do to the spectators, which would have been the greatest instance of cruelty. And so it appeared to even those savages, when they had once fixed the heads of those that were slain with Asprenas upon the altar; at which sight the spectators were sorely afflicted, both upon the consideration of the dignity of the persons, and out of a commiseration of their sufferings; nay, indeed, they were almost in as great disorder at the prospect of the danger themselves were in, seeing it was still uncertain whether they should entirely escape the like calamity. Whence it was, that such as thoroughly and justly hated Caius, could yet no way enjoy the pleasure of his death, because they were themselves in jeopardy of perishing together with him; nor had they hitherto any firm assurance of surviving.

18. There was at this time one Euaristus Arruntius, a public crier in the market, and therefore of a strong and audible voice, who vied in wealth with the richest of the Romans, and was able to do what he pleased in the city, both then and afterward. This man put himself in the most mournful habit he could, although he had a greater hatred against Caius than any one else; his fear and his wise contrivance to gain his safety taught him so to do, and prevailed over his present pleasure; so he put on such a mournful dress as he would have done had he lost his dearest friends in the world; this man came into the theatre, and informed them of the death of Caius, and by this means put an end to that state of ignorance the men had been in. Arruntius also went round about the pillars, and called out to the Germans, as did the tribunes with him, bidding them put up their swords, and telling them that Caius was dead. And this proclamation it was plainly which saved those that were collected together in the theatre, and all the rest who any way met the Germans; for while they had hopes that Caius had still any breath in him, they abstained from no sort of mischief; and such an abundant kindness they still had for Caius, that they would willingly have prevented the plot against him, and procured his escape from so sad a misfortune at the expense of their own lives. But they now left off the warm zeal they had to punish his enemies, now they were fully satisfied that Caius was dead, because it was now in vain for them to show their zeal and kindness to him, when he who should reward them was perished. They were also afraid that they should be punished by the senate, if they should go on in doing such injuries, that is, in case the authority of the supreme governor should revert to them.

And thus at length a stop was put, though not without difficulty to that rage which possessed the Germans on account of Caius's death.

19. But Cherea was so much afraid for Minucianus, lest he should light upon the Germans, now they were in their fury, that he went and spake to every one of the soldiers, and prayed them to take care of his preservation, and made himself great inquiry about him, lest he should have been slain. And for Clement, he let Minucianus go when he was brought to him, and, with many other of the senators, affirmed the action was right, and commended the virtue of those that contrived it, and had courage enough to execute it; and said, that tyrants do indeed please themselves and look big for a while, upon having the power to act unjustly; but do not however go happily out of the world, because they are hated by the virtuous; and that Caius, together with all this unhappiness, was become a conspirator against himself, before these other men who attacked him did so; and by becoming intolerable, in setting aside the wise provision the laws had made, taught his dearest friends to treat him as an enemy; insomuch, that, although in common discourse these conspirators were those that slew Caius, yet that, in reality, he lies now dead as perishing by his own self."

20. Now by this time the people in the theatre were arisen from their seats, and those that were within made a very great disturbance; the cause of which was this, that the spectators were too hasty in getting away. There was also one Alcyon, a physician, who hurried away, as if it were to cure those that were wounded, and under that pretence, he sent those that were with him to fetch what things were necessary for the healing those wounded persons, but in reality to get them clear of the present dangers they were in. Now the senate, during this interval, had met, and the people also assembled together in the accustomed forum, and were both employed in searching after the murderers of Caius. The people did it very zealously, but the senate in appearance only; for there was present Valerius of Asia, one that had been consul; this man went to the people, as they were in disorder, and very uneasy that they could not yet discover who they were that had murdered the emperor; he was then earnestly asked by them all, "Who it was that had done it?" He replied, "I wish I had been the man." The consuls* also published an edict, wherein they accused Caius, and gave order to the people then got together, and to the soldiers, to go home, and give the people hopes of the abatement of the oppressions they lay under, and promised the soldiers, if they lay quiet as they used to do, and would not go abroad to do mischief unjustly, that they would bestow rewards upon them; for there was reason to fear lest the city might suffer harm by their wild and ungovernable behaviour, if they should once betake themselves to spoil the citizens or plunder the temples. And now the whole multitude of the senators were assembled together, and especially those that had conspired to take away the life of Caius, who put on at this time an air of great assurance, and appeared with great magnanimity, as if the administration of the public affairs were already devolved upon them

## CHAP. II.

*How the Senators determined to restore the Democracy; but the Soldiers were for preserving the Monarchy. Concerning the Slaughter of Caius's Wife and Daughter. A Character of Caius's Morals*

§ 1. When the public affairs were in this posture, Claudius was on the sudden hurried away out of his house; for the soldiers had a meeting together, and

* These consuls are named in the War of the Jews, B. ii. ch. xi. sect. 1, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, as Spanheim notes here. The speech of the former of them is set down in the next chapter, sect. 2.

when they had debated about what was to be done, they saw that a democracy was incapable of managing such a vast weight of public affairs; and that if it should be set up, it would not be for their advantage: and in case any one of those already in the government should obtain the supreme power, it would in all respects be to their grief, if they were not assisting to him in that advancement; that it would therefore be right for them, while the public affairs were unsettled, to choose Claudius emperor, who was uncle to the deceased Caius, and of a superior dignity and worth to every one of those that were assembled together in the senate, both on account of the virtues of his ancestors, and of the learning he had acquired in his education, and who, if once settled in the empire, would reward them according to their deserts, and bestow largesses upon them. These were their consultations, and they executed the same immediately. Claudius was therefore seized upon suddenly by the soldiery. But Cneas Sentius Saturninus, although he understood that Claudius was seized, and that he intended to claim the government, unwillingly indeed in appearance, but in reality by his own free consent, stood up in the senate, and without being dismayed, made an exhortatory oration to them, and such a one indeed as was fit for men of freedom and generosity, and spake thus:

2. "Although it be a thing incredible, O Romans, because of the great length of time, that so unexpected an event hath happened, yet are we now in possession of liberty. How long indeed this will last is uncertain, and lies at the disposal of the gods, whose grant it is; yet such it is as is sufficient to make us rejoice, and be happy for the present, although we may soon be deprived of it, for one hour is sufficient to those that are exercised in virtue, wherein we may live with a mind accountable only to ourselves, in our own country, now free, and governed by such laws as this country once flourished under. As for myself, I cannot remember our former time of liberty, as being born after it was gone, but I am beyond measure filled with joy at the thoughts of our present freedom. I also esteem those, that were born and brought up in that our former liberty happy men, and that those men are worthy of no less esteem than the gods themselves, who have given us a taste of it in this age; and I heartily wish, that this quiet enjoyment of it, which we have at present, might continue to all ages. However, this single day may suffice for our youth, as well as for us that are in years. It will seem an age to our old men, if they might die during its happy duration; it may also be for the instruction of the younger sort, what kind of virtue those men, from whose loins we are derived, were exercised in. As for ourselves, our business is, during this space of time, to live virtuously, than which nothing can be more to our advantage; which course of virtue it is alone that can preserve our liberty; for, as to our ancient state, I have heard of it by the relations of others; but as to our later state, during my lifetime, I have known it by experience, and learned thereby what mischief tyrannies have brought upon this commonwealth, discouraging all virtue, and depriving persons of magnanimity of their liberty, and proving the teachers of flattery and slavish fear, because it leaves the public administration not to be governed by wise laws, but by the humour of those that govern. For since Julius Cæsar took it into his head to dissolve our democracy, and, by overbearing the regular system of our laws, to bring disorders into our administration, and to get above right and justice, and to be a slave to his own inclinations, there is no kind of misery but what hath tended to the subversion of this city; while all those that have succeeded him have striven one with another to overthrow the ancient laws of their country, and have left it destitute of such citizens as were of generous principles; because they thought it tended to their safety to have vicious men to converse withal, and not only to break the spirits of those that were best esteemed for their virtue, but to resolve upon their utter destruction. Of all which emperors, who have been many in number, and who laid upon us insufferable hardships during the times of their government, this Caius, who hath been slain to-day, hath brought more

terrible calamities upon us than did all the rest, not only by exercising his ungoverned rage upon his fellow-citizens, but also upon his kindred and friends, and alike upon all others, and by inflicting still greater miseries upon them, as punishments, which they never deserved, he being equally furious against men and against the gods. For tyrants are not content to gain their sweet pleasure, and this by acting injuriously, and in the vexation they bring both upon men's estates, and their wives: but they look upon that to be their principal advantage, when they can utterly overthrow the entire families of their enemies; while all lovers of liberty are the enemies of tyranny. Nor can those that patiently endure what miseries they bring on them, gain their friendship: for as they are conscious of the abundant mischiefs they have brought on these men, and how magnanimously they have borne their hard fortunes, they cannot but be sensible what evils they have done, and thence only depend on security from what they are suspicious of, if it may be in their power to take them quite out of the world. Since then we are now gotten clear of such great misfortunes, and are only accountable to one another (which form of government affords us the best assurance of our present concord, and promises us the best security from evil designs, and will be most for our own glory in settling the city in good order,) you ought, every one of you in particular, to, make provision for his own, and, in general, for the public utility; or, on the contrary, they may declare their dissent to such things as have been proposed, and this without any hazard of danger to come upon them; because they have now no lord set over them, who, without fear of punishment, could do mischief to the city, and had an uncontrollable power to take off those that freely declared their opinions. Nor has any thing so much contributed to this increase of tyranny of late, as sloth, and a timorous forbearance of contradicting the emperor's will; while men had an over-great inclination to the sweetness of peace, and had learned to live like slaves, and as many of us as either heard of intolerable calamities that happened at a distance from us, or saw the miseries that were near us, out of the dread of dying virtuously, endured a death joined with the utmost infamy. We ought then, in the first place, to decree the greatest honours we are able to those that have taken off the tyrant, especially to Cherea Cassius; for this one man, with the assistance of the Gods, hath, by his counsel and by his actions, been the procurer of our liberty. Nor ought we to forget him now we have recovered our liberty, who, under the foregoing tyranny, took counsel beforehand, and beforehand hazarded himself for our liberties; but ought to decree him proper honours, and thereby freely declare, that he from the beginning acted with our approbation. And certainly it is a very excellent thing, and what becomes freemen, to requite their benefactors, as this man hath been a benefactor to us all, though not at all like Cassius and Brutus, who slew Caius Julius [Cæsar;] for those men laid the foundations of sedition and civil wars in our city, but this man, together with his slaughter of the tyrant, hath set our city free from all those sad miseries which arose from the tyranny."*

3. And this was the purport of Sentius's oration, which was received with pleasure by the senators, and by as many of the equestrian order as were present And now one Trebellius Maximus rose up hastily, and took off Sentius's finger a ring, which had a stone, with the image of Caius engraved upon it, and which, in his zeal in speaking, and his earnestness in doing what he was about, as it was supposed, he had forgotten to take off himself. This sculpture was broken immediately. But, as it was now far in the night, Cherea demanded of the consuls the watchword, who gave him this word, *Liberty*. These facts were the subjects

* In this oration of Sentius Saturninus, we may see the great value virtuous men put upon public liberty, and the sad misery they underwent, while they were tyrannized over by such emperors as Caius. See Josephus's own short but pithy reflection at the end of the chapter: "So difficult," says he, "it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary to a wise man, who have the absolute power to do what they please without control."

of admiration to themselves, and almost incredible: for it was a hundred years* since the democracy had been laid aside, when this giving the watchword returned to the consuls; for, before the city was subject to tyrants, they were the commanders of the soldiers. But, when Cherea had received that watchword, he delivered it to those who were on the senate's side, which were four regiments, who esteemed the government without emperors to be preferable to tyranny. So these went away with their tribunes. The people also now departed very joyful, full of hope and of courage, as having recovered their former democracy, and were no longer under an emperor; and Cherea was in a very great esteem with them.

4. And now Cherea was very uneasy that Caius's daughter and wife were still alive, and that all his family did not perish with him, since whosoever was left of them must be left for the ruin of the city and of the laws. Moreover, in order to finish this matter with the utmost zeal, and in order to satisfy his hatred of Caius, he sent Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, to kill Caius's wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus as to a kinsman of Clement, that he might be so far a partaker of this murder of the tyrant, and might rejoice in the virtue of having assisted his fellow-citizens, and that he might appear to have been a partaker with those that were first in their designs against him. Yet did this action appear to some of the conspirators to be too cruel, as to this using such severity to a woman, because Caius did more indulge his own ill nature than use her advice in all that he did; from which ill nature it was that the city was in so desperate a condition with the miseries that were brought on it, and the flower of the city was destroyed. But others accused her of giving her consent to these things; nay, they ascribed all that Caius had done to her as the cause of it, and said, she had given a potion to Caius, which had made him obnoxious to her, and had tied him down to love her by such evil methods; insomuch that she, having rendered him distracted, was become the author of all the mischiefs that had befallen the Romans, and that habitable world which was subject to them. So that at length it was determined that she must die; nor could those of the contrary opinion at all prevail to have her saved; and Lupus was sent accordingly. Nor was there any delay made in executing what he went about, but he was subservient to those that sent him on the first opportunity, as desirous to be no way blamable in what might be done for the advantage of the people. So, when he was come into the palace, he found Cesonia, who was Caius's wife, lying by her husband's dead body, which also lay down on the ground, and destitute of all such things as the law allows to the dead, and all over herself besmeared with the blood of her husband's wounds, and bewailing the great affliction she was under, her daughter lying by her also; and nothing else was heard in these her circumstances, but her complaint of Caius, as if he had not regarded what she had often told him of beforehand; which words of hers were taken in a different sense even at that time, and are now esteemed equally ambiguous by those that hear of them, and are still interpreted according to the different inclinations of people. For some said that the words denoted, that she had advised him to leave off his mad behaviour and his barbarous cruelty to the citizens, and to govern the public with moderation and virtue, lest he should perish by the same way, upon their using him as he had used them. But some said, that, as certain words had passed concerning the conspirators, she desired Caius to make no delay, but immediately to put them all to death, and this whether they were guilty or not, and that thereby he would be out of the fear of any danger; and that this was what she reproached him for, when she advised him so to do, but he was too slow and tender in the matter. And this was what Cesonia said, and what the opinions of men were about it. But when she saw Lupus approach, she showed him Caius's dead body, and persuaded him to

* Hence we learn that, in the opinion of Saturninus, the sovereign authority of the consuls and senate had been taken away just 100 years before the death of Caius, A. D. 41, or on the 60th year before the Christian era, when the first triumvirate began under Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

come nearer, with lamentation and tears; and as she perceived that Lupus was in disorder, and approached her in order to execute some design disagreeable to himself, she was well aware for what purpose he came, and stretched out her naked throat, and that very cheerfully to him, bewailing her case, like one that utterly despaired of her life, and bidding him not to boggle at finishing the tragedy they had resolved upon relating to her. So she boldly received her death's wound at the hand of Lupus, as did the daughter after her. So Lupus made haste to inform Cherea of what he had done.

5. This was the end of Caius, after he had reigned four years within four months. He was, even before he came to be emperor, ill natured, and one that had arrived at the utmost pitch of wickedness; a slave to his pleasures, and a lover of calumny; greatly affected by every terrible accident, and on that account of a very murderous disposition, where he durst show it. He enjoyed his exorbitant power to this only purpose, to injure those who least deserved it, with unreasonable insolence, and got his wealth by murder and injustice. He laboured to appear above regarding either what was divine or agreeable to the laws, but was a slave to the commendations of the populace; and whatsoever the laws determined to be shameful, and punished, that he esteemed more honourable than what was virtuous. He was unmindful of his friends, how intimate soever, and though they were persons of the highest character; and, if he was once angry at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them on the smallest occasions, and esteemed every man that endeavoured to lead a virtuous life his enemy. And whatsoever he commanded he would not admit of any contradiction to his inclinations; whence it was that he had criminal conversation with his own sister;* from which occasion chiefly it was also, that a bitter hatred first sprung up against him among the citizens, that sort of incest not having been known of a long time; and so this provoked men to distrust him, and to hate him that was guilty of it. And for any great or royal work that he ever did, which might be for the present and for future ages, nobody can name any such, but only the haven that he made about Rhegium and Sicily, for reception of the ships that brought corn from Egypt: which was indeed a work, without dispute, very great in itself, and of very great advantage to the navigation. Yet was not this work brought to perfection by him, but was the one half of it left imperfect, by reason of his want of application to it; the cause of which was this, that he employed his studies about useless matters, and that by spending his money upon such pleasures as concerned no one's benefit but his own, he could not exert his liberality in things that were undeniably of great consequence. Otherwise he was an excellent orator, and thoroughly acquainted with the Greek tongue, as well as with his own country or Roman language. He was also able off hand and readily to give answers to compositions made by others, of considerable length and accuracy. He was also more skilful in persuading others to very great things than any one else, and this from a natural affability of temper, which had been improved by much exercise and pains-taking; for as he was the grandson† of the brother of Tiberius, whose successor he was, this was a strong inducement to his acquiring of learning, because Tiberius aspired after the highest pitch of that sort of reputation; and Caius aspired after the like glory for eloquence, being induced thereto by the letters of his kinsman and his emperor. He was also among the first raul of his own citizens. But the advantages he received from his learning did not countervail the mischief he brought upon himself in the exercise of his authority, so difficult it is for those to obtain the virtue that is necessary for a wise man,

* Spanheim here notes from Suetonius, that the name of Caius's sister, with whom he was guilty of incest, was *Drusilla*; and that Suetonius adds, he was guilty of the same crime with all his sisters also. He notes farther that Suetonius omits the mention of the haven for ships, which our author esteems the only public work for the good of the present and future ages which Caius left behind him, though in an imperfect condition.

† This Caius was the son of that excellent person Germanicus, who was the son of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius the emperor.

who have the absolute power to do what they please without control. At the first he got himself such friends as were in all respects the most worthy, and was greatly beloved by them, while he imitated their zealous application to the learning and to the glorious actions of the best men; but when he became insolent towards them, they laid aside the kindness they had for him, and began to hate him; from which hatred came that plot, which they raised against him, and wherein he perished.

## CHAP. III.

*How Claudius was seized upon, and brought out of his House, and brought to the Camp, and how the Senate sent an Embassage to him.*

§ 1. Now Claudius, as I said above, went out of that way along which Caius was gone; and, as the family was in a mighty disorder upon the sad accident of the murder of Caius, he was in great distress how to save himself, and was found to have hidden himself in a certain narrow place,* though he had no other occasion for suspicion of any dangers, besides the dignity of his birth; for while he was a private man, he behaved himself with moderation, and was contented with his present fortune, applying himself to learning, and especially to that of the Greeks, and keeping himself entirely clear from every thing that might bring on any disturbance. But as at this time the multitude were under a consternation, and the whole palace was full of the soldiers' madness, and the very emperor's guards seemed under the like fear and disorder with private persons, the band called *pretorian*, which was the purest part of the army, was in consultation what was to be done at this juncture. Now all those that were at this consultation had little regard to the punishment Caius had suffered, because he justly deserved such his fortune; but they were rather considering their own circumstances, how they might take the best care of themselves, especially while the Germans were busy in punishing the murderers of Caius; which yet was rather done to gratify their own savage temper, than for the good of the public: all which things disturbed Claudius, who was afraid of his own safety, and this particularly because he saw the heads of Asprenas and his partners carried about. His station had been on a certain elevated place, whither a few steps led him, and whither he had retired in the dark by himself. But when Gratus, who was one of the soldiers that belonged to the palace, saw him, but did not well know by his countenance who he was because it was dark, though he could well judge that it was a man who was privately there on some design, he came nearer to him, and when Claudius desired that he would retire, he discovered who he was, and owned him to be Claudius. So he said to his followers, "This is a Germanicus;† come on, let us choose him for our emperor." But when Claudius saw they were making preparations for taking him away by force, and was afraid they would kill him, as they had killed Caius, he besought them to spare him, putting them in mind how quietly he had demeaned himself, and that he was unacquainted with what had been done. Hereupon Gratus smiled upon him, and took him by the right hand, and said, "Leave off, sir, these low thoughts of saving yourself, while you ought to have greater thoughts, even of obtaining the empire, which the gods, out of their concern for the habitable world, by taking Caius out of the way, commit to thy virtuous conduct. Go to, therefore, and accept of the throne of thy ancestors." So they took him up and carried him, because he was not then able to go on foot, such was his dread and his joy at what was told him

* This first place Claudius came to was inhabited, and called *Hermeum*, as Spanheim here informs us from Suetonius in Claud. chap. x.

† How Claudius another son of Drusus, which Drusus was the father of Germanicus, could be here himself called *Germanicus*, Suetonius informs us, when he assures us that, by a decree of the senate, the surname of *Germanicus* was bestowed on Drusus, and his posterity also. In Claud. cn. i

2. Now there was already gathered together about Gratus, a great number o the guards; and when they saw Claudius carried off, they looked with a sa countenance, as supposing that he was carried to execution for the mischiefs tha had been lately done; while yet they thought him a man who never meddle with public affairs all his life long, and one that had met with no contemptible dangers under the reign of Caius; and some of them thought it reasonable tha the consuls should take cognizance of these matters; and, as still more and mor of the soldiery got together, the crowd about him ran away, and Claudius coul hardly go on, his body was then so weak; and those who carried his sedan, upo an inquiry that was made about his being carried off, ran away and saved them selves, as despairing of their lord's preservation. But when they were come int the large court of the palace (which, as the report goes about it, was inhabite first of all the parts of the city of Rome,) and had just reached the public treasu ry, many more soldiers came about him as glad to see Claudius's face, and thought it exceeding right to make him emperor, on acconnt of their kindness for Germanicus, who was his brother, and had left behind him a vast reputation among all that were acquainted with him. They reflected also on the covetous temper of the leading men of the senate, and what great errors they had been guilty of when the senate had the government formerly; they also considered the impossibility of such an undertaking, as also what dangers they should be in if the government should come to a single person, and that such a should possess it as they had no hand in advancing; and not to Claudius, who would take it as their grant, and as gained by their good will to him, and would remember the favours they had done him, and would make them a sufficient recompense for the same.

3. These were the discourses the soldiers had one with another by themselves, and they communicated them to all such as came in to them. Now those that inquired about this matter willingly embraced the invitation that was made them to join with the rest; so they carried Claudius into the camp, crowding about him as his guard, and encompassing him about; one chairman still succeeding another that their vehement endeavours might not be hindered. But as to the populace and the senators, they disagreed in their opinions. The latter were very desirous to recover their former dignity, and were zealous to get clear of the slavery that had been brought on them by the injurious treatment of the tyrants, which the present opportunity afforded them; but for the people, who were envious against them, and knew that the emperors were capable of curbing their covetous temper, and were a refuge from them, they were very glad that Claudius had been seized upon, and brought to them; and thought, that if Claudius were made emperor, he would prevent a civil war, such as there was in the days of Pompey. But when the senate knew that Claudius was brought into the camp by the soldiers, they sent to him those of their body which had the best character for their virtues, that they might inform him, "that he ought to do nothing by violence, in order to gain the government; that he who was a single person, one either already or hereafter to be a member of their body, ought to yield to the senate, which consisted of so great a number; that he ought to let the law take place in the disposal of all that related to the public order, and to remember how greatly the former tyrants had afflicted their city; and what dangers both he and they had escaped under Caius; and that he ought not to hate the heavy burden of tyranny, when the injury is done by others, while he did himself wilfully treat his country after a mad and insolent manner; that if he would comply with them, and demonstrate that his firm resolution was to live quietly and virtuously, he would have the greatest honours decreed to him that a free people could bestow; and by subjecting himself to the law, would obtain this branch of commendation, that he acted like a man of virtue, both as a ruler and a subject; but that if he would act foolishly, and learn no wisdom by Caius's death, they would not permit him to go on; that a great part of the army was got together for them, with plenty of weapons, and a great number of slaves, which they could make use of

that good hope was a great matter in such cases, as was also good fortune; and that the gods would never assist any others but those that undertook to act with virtue and goodness, who can be no other than such as fight for the liberty of their country."

4. Now these ambassadors, Veranius and Brocchus, who were both of them tribunes of the people, made this speech to Claudius, and falling down upon their knees, they begged of him, that he would by no means throw the city into wars and misfortunes; but when they saw what a multitude of soldiers encompassed and guarded Claudius, and that the forces that were with the consuls were, in comparison of them, perfectly inconsiderable, they added, that "if he did desire the government, he should accept of it as given by the senate; that he would prosper better, and be happier, if he came to it not by injustice, but by the good will of those that would bestow it upon him."

## CHAP. IV.

*What Things King Agrippa did for Claudius; and how Claudius, when he had taken the Government, commanded the Murderers of Caius to be slain.*

§ 1. Now Claudius, though he was sensible after what an insolent manner the senate had sent to him, yet did he, according to their advice, behave himself for the present with moderation; but not so far that he could not recover himself out of his fright; so he was encouraged [to claim the government] partly by the boldness of the soldiers, and partly by the persuasion of king Agrippa, who exhorted him not to let such a dominion slip out of his hands, when it came thus to him of its own accord. Now this Agrippa, with relation to Caius, did what became one that had been so much honoured by him; for he embraced Caius's body after he was dead, and laid it upon a bed, and covered it as well as he could, and went out to the guards, and told them that Caius was still alive; but he said that they should call for physicians, since he was very ill of his wounds. But when he had learned that Claudius was carried away violently by the soldiers, he rushed through the crowd to him, and when he found that he was in disorder, and ready to resign up the government to the senate, he encouraged him, and desired him to keep the government; but when he had said this to Claudius, he retired home. And upon the senate's sending for him, he anointed his head with ointment, as if he had lately accompanied with his wife, and had dismissed her, and then came to them: he also asked of the senators what Claudius did; who told him the present state of affairs, and then asked his opinion about the settlement of the public. He told them in words, that he was ready to lose his life for the honour of the senate, but desired them to consider what was for their advantage, without any regard to what was most agreeable to them; for that those who grasp at government will stand in need of weapons, and soldiers to guard them, unless they will set up without any preparation for it; and so fall into danger. And when the senate replied, that, "they would bring in weapons in abundance, and money, and that, as to an army, a part of it was already collected together for them, and they would raise a larger one by giving the slaves their liberty." Agrippa made answer:—"O senators! may you be able to compass what you have a mind to; yet will I immediately tell you my thoughts, because they tend to your preservation; take notice then, that the army which will fight for Claudius has been long exercised in warlike affairs; but our army will be no better than a rude multitude of raw men, and those such as have been unexpectedly made free from slavery, and ungovernable; we must then fight against those that are skilful in war, with men who know not so much as how to draw their swords. So that my opinion is, that we should send some persons to Claudius, to persuade him to lay down the government, and I am ready to be one of your ambassadors."

2. Upon this speech of Agrippa the senate complied with him, and he was sen among others, and privately informed Claudius of the disorder the senate was in and gave him instructions to answer them in a somewhat commanding strain, and as one invested with dignity and authority. Accordingly Cladius said to the am bassadors, that "he did not wonder the senate had no mind to have an empero over them, because they had been harassed by the barbarity of those that ha formerly been at the head of their affairs; but that they should taste of an equi table government under him, and moderate times, while he should only be thei ruler in name, but the authority should be equally common to them all; and since he had passed through many and various scenes of life before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust him." So the ambassadors. upon their hearing this his answer, were dismissed. But Claudius discoursed with the army which was there gathered together, who took oaths that they would persist in their fide lity to him; upon which he gave the guards every man five thousand* drachmæ apiece, and a proportionable quantity to their captains, and promised to give the same to the rest of the armies wheresoever they were.

3. And now the consuls called the senate together into the temple of Jupiter the Conqueror, while it was still night; but some of those senators concealed themselves in the city, being uncertain what to do upon the hearing of this sum mons; and some of them went out of the city to their own farms, as foreseeing whither the public affairs were going, and despairing of liberty: nay, these sup posed it much better for them to be slaves without danger to themselves, and to live a lazy and inactive life, than, by claiming the dignity of their forefathers, to run the hazard of their own safety. However, a hundred and no more were gotten together; and as they were in consultation about the present posture of affairs, a sudden clamour was made by the soldiers that were on their side, "de siring that the senate would choose them an emperor, and not bring the govern ment into ruin by setting up a multitude of rulers." So they fully declared them selves to be for the giving the government not to all, but to one; but they gave the senate leave to look out for a person worthy to be set over them; insomuch that now the affairs of the senate were much worse than before; because they had not only failed in the recovery of their liberty, which they boasted themselves of, but were in dread of Claudius also. Yet were there those that hankered after the government, both on account of the dignity of their families, and that accruing to them by their marriages; for Marcus Minucianus was illustrious, both by his own nobility, and by his having married Julia, the sister of Caius, who accordingly was very ready to claim the government, although the consuls discouraged him, and made one delay after another in proposing it; that Minucianus also, who was one of Caius's murderers, restrained Valerius of Asia from thinking of such things; and a prodigious slaughter there had been, if leave had been given to these men to set up for themselves, and oppose Claudius. There were also a considerable number of gladiators besides, and of those soldiers who kept watch by night in the city, and rowers of ships, who all ran unto the camp; insomuch that of those who put in for the government, some left off their pretensions in order to spare the city, and others out of fear for their own persons.

4. But as soon as ever it was day, Cherea, and those that were with him, came into the senate, and attempted to make speeches to the soldiers. However, the multitude of those soldiers, when they saw that they were making signals for si lence with their hands, and were ready to begin to speak to them, grew tumul tuous, and would not let them speak at all, because they were all zealous to be un der a monarchy; and they demanded of the senate one for their ruler, as not en-

* This number of drachmæ to be distributed to each private soldier, 5000 drachmæ, equal to 20,000 sesterces, or 161*l.* sterling, seems much too large, and directly contradicts Suetonius, chap. x. who makes them in all but 15 sesterces, or 2s. 4d. Yet might Josephus have this number from Agrippa junior, though I doubt the thousands, or at least the hundreds, have been added by the transcribers, of which we have had several examples already in Josephus.

during any longer delays; but the senate hesitated about either their own governing, or how they should themselves be governed, while the soldiers would not admit them to govern, and the murderers of Caius would not permit the soldiers to dictate to them. When they were in these circumstances, Cherea was not able to contain the anger he had, and promised, that if they desired an emperor, he would give them one, if any one would bring him the watchword from Eutychus. Now this Eutychus was charioteer of the greenband faction, styled Prasine, and a great friend of Caius; who used to harass the soldiery with building stables for the horses, and spent his time in ignominious labours, which occasioned Cherea to reproach them with him, and to abuse them with much other scurrilous language and told them "he would bring them the head of Claudius; and that it was an amazing thing that after their former madness, they should commit their government to a fool." Yet were not they moved with his words, but drew their swords, and took up their ensigns, and went to Claudius, to join in taking the oath of fidelity to him. So the senate were left without any body to defend them, and the very consuls differed nothing from private persons. They were also under consternation and sorrow, men not knowing what would become of them, because Claudius was very angry at them; so they fell a reproaching one another, and repented of what they had done. At which juncture Sabinus, one of Caius's murderers, threatened that he would sooner come into the midst of them and kill himself, than consent to make Claudius emperor, and see slavery returning upon them; he also abused Cherea for loving his life too well, while he who was the first in his contempt of Caius, could think it a good thing to live, when, even by all that they had done for the recovery of their liberty, they found it impossible to do it. But Cherea said, he had no manner of doubt upon him about killing himself; that yet he would first sound the intentions of Claudius before he did it.

5. These were the debates [about the senate;] but in the camp every body was crowding on all sides to pay their court to Claudius; and the other Consul, Quintus Pomponius, was reproached by the soldiery, as having rather exhorted the senate to recover their liberty; whereupon they drew their swords, and were going to assault him; and they had done it, if Claudius had not hindered them, who snatched the consul out of the danger he was in, and set him by him. But he did not receive that part of the senate which was with Quintus in the like honourable manner; nay, some of them received blows, and were thrust away as they came to salute Claudius; nay, Aponius went away wounded, and they were all in danger. However, king Agrippa went up to Claudius, and desired he would treat the senators more gently; for if any mischief should come to the senate, he would have no others over whom to rule. Claudius complied with him, and called the senate together into the palace, and was carried thither himself through the city, while the soldiery conducted him, though this was to the great vexation of the multitude; for Cherea and Sabinus, two of Caius's murderers, went in the fore-front of them, in an open manner, while Pollio, whom Claudius a little before had made captain of his guards, had sent them an epistolary edict, to forbid them to appear in public. Then did Claudius, upon his coming to the palace, get his friends together, and desired their suffrages about Cherea. They said, that the work he had done was a glorious one, but they accused him that he did it of perfidiousness, and thought it just to inflict the punishment [of death] upon him, to discountenance such actions for the time to come. So Cherea was led to his execution, and Lupus, and many other Romans with him. Now it is reported, that Cherea bore this calamity courageously; and this, not only by the firmness of his own behaviour under it, but by the reproaches he laid upon Lupus, who fell into tears; for when Lupus laid his garment aside and complained of the cold,* he said, that cold was never hurtful to Lupus [*i. e.* a wolf.] And

* The piercing cold, here complained of by Lupus, agrees well to the time of the year when Claudius began his reign: it being for certain about the months of November, December, or January, and most probably a few days after Jan. 24th, and a few days before the Roman Parentalia.

as a great many men went along with them to see the sight, when Cherea came to the place, he asked the soldier who was to be their executioner, whether this office was what he was used to? or whether this was the first time of his using his sword in that manner, and desired him to bring him that very sword with which he himself slew Caius. So he was happily killed at one stroke. But Lupus did not meet with such good fortune in going out of the world, since he was timorous, and had many blows levelled at his neck, because he did not stretch it out boldly [as he ought to have done.]

6. Now a few days after this, as the parental solemnities were just at hand, the Roman multitude made their usual oblations to their several ghosts, and put portions into the fire in honour of Cherea, and besought him to be merciful to them, and not continue his anger against them for their ingratitude. And this was the end of the life that Cherea came to. But for Sabinus, although Claudius not only set him at liberty, but gave him leave to retain his former command in the army, yet did he think it would be unjust in him to fail in performing his obligations to his fellow confederates; so he fell upon his sword, and killed himself, the wound reaching up to the very hilt of the sword.*

## CHAP. V.

*How Claudius restored to Agrippa his Grandfather's Kingdoms, and augmented his Dominions: and how he published an Edict in Behalf of the Jews.*

§ 1. Now when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa which Caius had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judea and Samaria: and this he restored to him as due to his family. But for Abila† of Lysanias, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories. He also made a league with this Agrippa, confirmed by oaths, in the middle of the forum, in the city of Rome: he also took away from Antiochus that kingdom which he was possessed of, but gave him a certain part of Cilicia and Commagena; he also set Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch, at liberty, who had been his old friend, and steward to his mother Antonia, but had been imprisoned by Caius, whose son [Marcus] married Bernice, the daughter of Agrippa. But when Marcus, Alexander's son, was dead, who had married

* It is both here and elsewhere very remarkable, that the murderers of the vilest tyrants, who yet highly deserved to die, when those murderers were under oaths or other the like obligations of fidelity to them, were usually revenged, and the murderers were cut off themselves, and that after a remarkable manner; and this sometimes, as in the present case, by those very persons who were not sorry for such murders, but got kingdoms by them. The examples are very numerous both in sacred and profane histories, and seem generally indications of divine vengeance on such murderers. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that such murderers of tyrants do it usually on such ill principles, in such a cruel manner, and as ready to involve the innocent with the guilty, which was the case here, chap. i. sect. 14, and chap. ii. sect. 4, as justly deserved the divine vengeance upon them. Which seems to have been the case of Jehu also, when, besides the house of Ahab, for whose slaughter he had a commission from God, without any such commission, any justice or commiseration, he killed Ahab's great men, and acquaintance, and priests, and forty-two of the kindred of Ahaziah, 2 Kings, x. 11—14. See Hos. i. 4. I do not mean here to condemn Ehud or Judith, or the like executioners of God's vengeance on those wicked tyrants who had unjustly oppressed God's own people under their theocracy; who, as they appear still to have had no selfish designs nor intentions to slay the innocent, so had they still a divine commission, or a divine impulse, which was their commission for what they did, Judg. iii. 15, 19, 20; Judith, ix. 2; Test Levi. sect. 5, in Authent. Rec. p. 312. See also p. 432.

† Here St. Luke is in some measure confirmed, when he informs us, chap. iii. 1, that Lysanias was some time before tetrarch of Abilene, whose capital was Abila; as he is farther confirmed by Ptolemy, the great geographer, which Spanheim here observes, when he calls that city *Abila of Lysanias*. See the note on B. xvii. chap. xi. sect. 4, and Prid at the years 36 and 22. I esteem this principality to have belonged to the land of Canaan originally, to have been the burying place of Abel, and referred to as such, Matt. xxiii. 35: Luke, xi. 51. See Authent. Rec. Part ii. p. 883—885.

ıer when she was a virgin, Agrippa gave her in marriage to his brother Herod, ınd begged for him of Claudius the kingdom of Chalcis.

2. Now about this time there was a sedition between the Jews and the Greeks, ıt the city of Alexandria; for when Caius was dead, the nation of the Jews, which ıad been very much mortified under the reign of Caius, and reduced to very great listress by the people of Alexandria, recovered itself, and immediately took up heir arms to fight for themselves. So Claudius sent an order to the president ɔf Egypt to quiet that tumult: he also sent an edict, at the request of king Agrippa ınd king Herod, both to Alexandria and to Syria, whose contents were as follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, high priest, and tribune of the ɔeople, ordains thus: Since I am assured that the Jews of Alexandria, called *Alexandrians*, have been joint inhabitants in the earliest times with the Alexanlrians, and have obtained from their kings equal privileges with them, as is evilent by the public records that are in their possession, and the edicts themselves; ınd that after Alexandria had been subjected to our empire by Augustus, their ights and privileges have been preserved by those presidents who have at divers ;imes been sent thither; and that no dispute had been raised about those rights and ɔrivileges, even when Aquila was governor of Alexandria; and that when the Jewish ethnarch was dead, Augustus did not prohibit the making such ethnarchs, ıs willing that all men should be so subject [to the Romans] as to continue in the ɔbservation of their own customs, and not be forced to transgress the ancient rules ɔf their own country religion; but that in the time of Caius, the Alexandrians be-:ame insolent towards the Jews that were among them, which Caius, out of his great madness and want of understanding, reduced the nation of the Jews very ow, because they would not transgress the religious worship of their country, ınd call him a god. I will, therefore, that the nation of the Jews be not deprived ɔf their rights and privileges, on account of the madness of Caius; but that those ights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, be preserved to them, and that hey may continue in their own customs. And I charge both parties to take very great care that no troubles may arise after the promulgation of this edict."

3. And such were the contents of this edict on behalf of the Jews that was sent o Alexandria. But the edict that was sent into the other parts of the habitable earth was this which follows: "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, ıigh priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus: Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those at Alexındria, I very willingly comply therewith; and this grant I make not only for the ake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such ights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augus-:us. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, o keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do now charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep heir own laws only. And I will that this decree of mine be engraven on tables ɔy the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of their ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such ı place whence it may plainly be read from the ground."*

* This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, as Dr. Hudson here tells us, from the great Selden, that it used to be thus represented at the bottom of the edicts by the initial letters only, *U. D. P. R. L. P. Unde De Plano Recte Legi Possit*, "Whence it may plainly be read from the ground."

## CHAP. VI.

*What Things were done by Agrippa at Jerusalem, when he was returned back into Judea; and what it was that Petronius wrote to the Inhabitants of Doris, in Behalf of the Jews.*

§ 1. Now Claudius Cæsar, by these decrees of his which were sent to Alexandria, and to all the habitable earth, made known what opinion he had of the Jews. So he soon sent Agrippa away to take his kingdom, now he was advanced to a more illustrious dignity than before, and sent letters to the presidents and procurators of the provinces, that they should treat him very kindly. Accordingly he returned in haste, as was likely he would, now he returned in so much greater prosperity than he had before. He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing* which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn. And for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he hung it up within the limits of the temple, over the treasury,† that it might be a memorial of the severe fate he had lain under, and a testimony of his change for the better; that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down: for this chain thus dedicated afforded a document to all men, that king Agrippa had been once bound in a chain for a small cause, but recovered his former dignity again; and a little while afterwards got out of his bonds, and was advanced to be a more illustrious king than he was before. Whence men may understand, that all that partake of human nature, how great soever they are, may fall; and that those that fall may gain their former illustrious dignity again.

2. And when Agrippa had entirely finished all the duties of the divine worship, he removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon, the Son of Boethus, whose name was also Cantheras, whose daughter king Herod had married, as I have related above. Simon, therefore, had the [t.gh] priesthood with his brethren, and with his father; in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians, as we have related in a former book.

3. When the king had settled the high priesthood after this manner, he returned the kindness which the inhabitants of Jerusalem had showed him; for he released them from the tax upon houses, every one of which paid it before, thinking it a good thing to requite the tender affection of those that loved him. He also made Silas the general of his forces, as a man who had partaken with him in many of his troubles. But after a very little while the young men of Doris, preferring a rash attempt before piety, and being naturally bold and insolent, carried a statue of Cæsar into a synagogue of the Jews, and erected it there. This procedure of theirs greatly provoked Agrippa; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his country. So he came without delay to Publius Petronius, who was then president of Syria, and accused the people of Doris. Nor

* Josephus shows both here and ch. vii. sect. 3, that he had a much greater opinion of king Agrippa I. than Simon the learned Rabbi, than the people of Cesarea and Sebaste, chap. vii. sect. 4, and ch. ix. sect. 1, and indeed than his double dealing between the senate and Claudius, ch. iv. sect. 2, than his slaughter of James, the brother of John, and his imprisonment of Peter, or his vain-glorious behaviour before he died, both in Acts, xii. 1, 2, 3, and here, ch. iv. sect. 1, will justify or allow. Josephus's character was probably taken from his son Agrippa jun.

† This treasury chamber seems to have been the very same in which our Saviour taught, and where the people offered their charity money for the repairs or other uses of the temple. Mark, xii. 41, &c. Luke, xxi. 1; John, viii. 20.

did he less resent what was done than did Agrippa; for he judged it a piece of impiety to transgress the laws that regulate the actions of men. So he wrote the following letter to the people of Doris, in an angry strain: "Publius Petronius, the president under Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, to the magistrates of Doris, ordains as follows: Since some of you have had the boldness, or madness rather, after the edict of Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus was published, for permitting the Jews to observe the laws of their country, not to obey the same, but have acted in entire opposition thereto, as forbidding the Jews to assemble together in their synagogue, by removing Cæsar's statue, and setting it up therein, and thereby have offended not only the Jews, but the emperor himself, whose statue is more commodiously placed in his own temple, than in a foreign one, where is the place of assembling together; while it is but a part of natural justice, that every one should have the power over the places belonging peculiarly to themselves, according to the determination of Cæsar; to say nothing of my own determination, which it would be ridiculous to mention after the emperors's edict, which gives the Jews leave to make use of their own customs, as also gives order, that they enjoy equally the rights of citizens with the Greeks themselves. I therefore ordain, that Proculus Vitellius the centurion bring those men to me, who, contrary to Augustus's edict, have been so insolent as to do this thing, at which those very men, who appear to be of principal repu tation among them, have an indignation also, and allege for themselves, that it was not done with their consent, but by the violence of the multitude, that they may give an account of what hath been done. I also exhort the principal magistrates among them, unless they have a mind to have this action esteemed to be done with their consent, to inform the centurion of those that were guilty of it, and take care that no handle be hence taken for raising a sedition or quarrel among them; which those seem to me to hunt after, who encourage such doings; while both I myself, and king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, have nothing more under our care, than that the nation of the Jews may have no occasion given them of getting together under the pretence of avenging themselves, and become tumultuous. And that it may be more publicly known what Augustus hath resolved about this whole matter, I have subjoined those edicts which he hath lately caused to be published at Alexandria, and which, although they may be well known to all, yet did king Agrippa, for whom I have the highest honour, read them at that time before my tribunal, and pleaded that the Jews ought not to be deprived of those rights which Augustus hath granted them. I therefore charge you, that you do not, for the time to come, seek for any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that every one be allowed to follow their own religious customs."

4. Thus did Petronius take care of this matter, that such a breach of the law might be corrected, and that no such thing might be attempted afterwards against the Jews. And now king Agrippa took the [high] priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again, and owned that he was more worthy of that dignity than the other. But this was not a thing acceptable to him, to recover that his former dignity. So he refused it, and said, "O king, I rejoice in the honour thou hast for me, and take it kindly, that thou wouldst give me such a dignity of thy own inclinations, although God hath judged that I am not at all worthy of the high priesthood. I am satisfied with having once put on the sacred garments; for I then put them on after a more holy manner than I should now receive them again. But if thou desirest that a person more worthy than myself should have this honourable employment, give me leave to name thee such a one. I have a brother that is pure from all sin against God, and of all offences against thyself; I recommend him to thee as one that is fit for this dignity." So the king was pleased with these words of his, and passed by Jonathan, and, according to his brother's desire, bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias. Nor was it long before Marcus succeeded Petronius as president of Syria

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning Silas, and on what Account it was that King Agrippa was angry at him. How Agrippa began to encompass Jerusalem with a Wall; and what Benefits he bestowed on the Inhabitants of Berytus.*

§ 1. Now Silas, the general of the king's horse, because he had been faithful to him under all his misfortunes, and had never refused to be a partaker with him in any of his dangers, but had oftentimes undergone the most hazardous dangers for him, was full of assurance, and thought he might expect a sort of equality with the king, on account of the firmness of the friendship he had showed to him. Accordingly, he would no where let the king sit as his superior, and took the like liberty in speaking to him upon all occasions; till he became troublesome to the king, when they were merry together, extolling himself beyond measure, and often putting the king in mind of the severity of fortune he had undergone, that he might, by way of ostentation, demonstrate what zeal he had showed in his service; and was continually harping upon this string, what pains he had taken for him, and much enlarged still upon that subject. The repetition of this so frequently seemed to reproach the king, insomuch that he took this ungovernable liberty of talking very ill at his hands. For the commemoration of times, when men have been under ignominy, is by no means agreeable to them; and he is a very silly man who is perpetually relating to a person what kindnesses he hath done him. At last, therefore, Silas had so thoroughly provoked the king's indignation, that he acted rather out of passion than good consideration, and did not only turn Silas out of his place, as general of his horse, but sent him in bonds into his own country. But the edge of his anger wore off by length of time, and made room for more just reasonings as to his judgment about this man, and he considered how many labours he had undergone for his sake. So when Agrippa was solemnizing his birth-day, and he gave festival entertainments to all his subjects, he sent for Silas on the sudden to be his guest. But, as he was a very frank man, he thought he had now a just handle given him to be angry; which he could not conceal from those that came for him, but said to them, "What honour is this the king invites me to, which I conclude will soon be over? For the king hath not let me keep those original marks of the good will I bore him, which I once had from him; but he hath plundered me, and that unjustly also. Does he think that I can leave off that liberty of speech, which, upon the consciousness of my deserts, I shall use more loudly than before, and shall relate how many misfortunes I have delivered him from? how many labours I have undergone for him whereby I procured him deliverance and respect? as a reward for which I have borne the hardships of bonds, and a dark prison. I shall never forget this usage. Nay, perhaps, my very soul, when it is departed out of the body, will not forget the glorious actions I did on his account." This was the clamour he made, and he ordered the messengers to tell it to the king. So he perceived that Silas was incurable in his folly, and still suffered him to lie in prison.

2. As for the walls of Jerusalem, that were adjoining to the new city [Bezetha], he repaired them at the expense of the public, and built them wider in breadth and higher in altitude; and he had made them too strong for all human power to demolish, unless Marcus, the then president of Syria, had by letter informed Claudius Cæsar of what he was doing. And when Claudius had some suspicion of attempts for innovation, he sent to Agrippa to leave off the building of those walls presently. So he obeyed, as not thinking it proper to contradict Claudius.

3. Now, this king was by nature very beneficent, and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations; and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them. He took d

fight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation. He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated; and every one perceived, that he was more friendly to the Greeks than to the Jews; for he adorned foreign cities with large presents in money; with building them baths and theatres besides; nay, in some of those places he erected temples, and porticoes in others; but he did not vouchsafe to raise one of the least edifices in any Jewish city, or make them any donation that was worth mentioning. But Agrippa's temper was mild, and equally liberal to all men. He was humane to foreigners, and made them sensible of his liberality. He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper. Accordingly he loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.

4. However, there was a certain man of the Jewish nation at Jerusalem, who appeared to be very accurate in the knowledge of the law. His name was *Simon*. This man got together an assembly, while the king was absent at Cesarea, and had the insolence to accuse him as not living holily, and that he might justly be excluded out of the temple, since it belonged only to native Jews. But the general of Agrippa's army informed him, that Simon had made such a speech to the people. So the king sent for him; and, as he was then sitting in the theatre, he bid him sit down by him, and said to him with a low and gentle voice, "What is there done in this place that is contrary to the law?" But he had nothing to say for himself, but begged his pardon. So the king was more easily reconciled to him than one could have imagined, as esteeming mildness a better quality in a king than anger, and knowing that moderation is more becoming in great men than passion. So he made Simon a small present, and dismissed him.

5. Now, as Agrippa was a great builder in many places, he paid a peculiar regard to the people of Berytus; for he erected a theatre for them, superior to many other of that sort both in sumptuousness and elegance, as also an amphitheatre, built at vast expenses; and, besides these, he built them baths and porticoes, and spared for no costs in any of his edifices, to render them both handsome and large. He also spent a great deal upon their dedication, and exhibited shows upon them, and brought thither musicians of all sorts, and such as made the most delightful music of the greatest variety. He also showed his magnificence upon the theatre, in his great number of gladiators; and there it was that he exhibited the several antagonists, in order to please the spectators; no fewer indeed than seven hundred men to fight with seven hundred other men;* and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace. And thus were these criminals all destroyed at once.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *What other Acts were done by Agrippa until his Death; and after what Manner he died.*

§ 1. When Agrippa had finished what I have above related at Berytus, he removed to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was in great esteem among other kings. Accordingly there came to him Antiochus, king of Commagena; Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa; and Cotys, who was king of the lesser Armenia; and Polemo, who was king of Pontus; as also Herod his brother, who was king of

* A strange number of condemned criminals to be under the sentence of death at once; no fewer, it seems, than 1400.

Chalcis. All these he treated with agreeable entertainments, and after an obliging manner, and so as to exhibit the greatness of his mind, and so as to appear worthy of those respects which the kings paid to him, by coming thus to see him. However, while these kings staid with him, Marcus, the president of Syria, came thither. So the king, in order to preserve the respect that was due to the Romans, went out of the city to meet him, as far as seven furlongs. But this proved to be the beginning of a difference between him and Marcus; for he took with him in his chariot those other kings as his assessors. But Marcus had a suspicion what the meaning could be of so great a friendship of these kings one with another, and did not think so close an agreement of so many potentates to be for the interest of the Romans. He therefore sent some of his domestics to every one of them, and enjoined them to go their ways home without farther delay. This was very ill taken by Agrippa, who after that became his enemy. And now he took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high-priest in his stead.

2. Now when Agrippa had reigned three years, over all Judea, he came to the city Cesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower; and there he exhibited shows in honour of Cæsar, upon his being informed that there was a certain festival celebrated to make vows for his safety. At which festival a great multitude was gotten together of the principal persons, and such as were of dignity through his province. On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the first reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a horror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place and another from another (though not for his good,) that "he was a god;" and they added, "be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as a superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterward looked up, he saw an owl* sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of ill tidings, as it had once been the messenger of good tidings to him; and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends, and said, "I, whom you call a *god*, am commanded presently to depart this life; while providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called *immortal*, am immediately to be hurried away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots, as it pleases God; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he said this, his pain was become violent.

* We have a mighty cry made here by some critics, as if the great Eusebius had on purpose falsified this account of Josephus, so as to make it agree with the parallel account in the Acts of the Apostles; because the present copies of his citation of it, Hist. Eccles. B. ii. ch. x. omit the words βȣβῶνα---ἐπὶ σχοινίȣ, τινος, i. e. *an owl—on a certain rope*, which Josephus's present copies retain, and only have the explicatory word ἄγγελον or *angel;* as if he meant that *angel of the Lord* which St. Luke mentions as smiting Herod, Acts, xii. 23, and not that owl which Josephus called an *angel* or *messenger formerly of good, but now of bad news*, to Agrippa. This accusation is a somewhat strange one in the case of the great Eusebius, who is known to have so accurately and faithfully produced a vast number of other ancient records, and particularly not a few out of our Josephus also, without any suspicion of prevarication. Now, not to allege how uncertain we are, whether Josephus's and Eusebius's copies of the fourth century were just like the present in this clause, which we have no distinct evidence of, the following words, preserved still in Eusebius, will not admit of any such exposition. "This [bird] (says Eusebius,) Agrippa presently perceived to be the cause of ill fortune, as it was once of good fortune to him;" which can only belong to that bird the *owl*, which, as it had formerly foreboded his happy deliverance from imprisonment, Antiq. b. xviii. ch. vi. sect. 7; so was it then foretold to prove afterward the unhappy forerunner of his death in five days time. If the improper word αιτιον, or *cause*, be changed for Josephus's proper word ἄγγελον *angel* or *messenger*, and the foregoing words, βȣβῶνα—ἐπὶ σχοινίȣ τινος, be inserted, Eusebius's text will truly represent that in Josephus. Had this imperfection been in some heathen author, that was in good esteem with our modern critics, they would have readily corrected these, as barely errors in the copies; but being in an ancient Christian writer, not so well relished by many of those critics, nothing will serve but the ill grounded supposal of *wilful corruption and prevarication.*

Accordingly he was carried into the palace; and the rumour went abroad every where, that he would certainly die in a little time. But the multitude presently sat in sackcloth, with their wives and children, after the law of their country, and besought God for the king's recovery. All places were also full of mourning and lamentation. Now the king rested in a high chamber, and as he saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, he could not himself forbear weeping. And when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his belly for five days, he departed this life, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign; for he reigned four years under Caius Cæsar, three of them were over Philip's tetrarchy only, and on the fourth he had that of Herod added to it: and he reigned, besides those, three years under the reign of Claudius Cæsar. In which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea. The revenues that he received out of them were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachmæ.* Yet did he borrow great sums from others: for he was so very liberal, that his expenses exceeded his incomes, and his generosity was boundless.†

3. But before the multitude were made acquainted with Agrippa's being expired, Herod, the king of Chalcis, and Helcias, the master of his horse, and the king's friend, sent Aristo, one of the king's most faithful servants, and slew Silas, who had been their enemy, as if it had been done by the king's own command.

## CHAP. IX.

*What Things were done after the Death of Agrippa; and how Claudius, on account of the Youth and Unskilfulness of Agrippa junior, sent Cuspius Fadus to be Procurator of Judæa and of that entire Kingdom.*

§ 1. And thus did king Agrippa depart this life. But he left behind him a son, Agrippa by name, a youth in the seventeenth year of his age, and three daughters; one of which, Bernice, was married to Herod her father's brother, and was sixteen years old: the other two, Mariamne and Drusilla, were still virgins; the former was ten years old, and Drusilla six. Now these his daughters were thus espoused by their father, Mariamne to Julius Archelaus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the son of Chelcias; and Drusilla to the king of Commagena. But when it was known that Agrippa was departed this life, the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste forgot the kindness he had bestowed on them, and acted the part of the bitterest enemies; for they cast such reproaches upon the deceased as are not fit to be spoken of; and so many of them as were then soldiers, which were a great number, went to his house, and hastily carried off the statues‡ of the king's daughters, and all at once carried them into the brothel houses, and when they had set them on the tops of those houses, they abused them to the utmost of their power, and did such things to them as are too indecent to be related. They also laid themselves down in public places, and celebrated general feastings, with garlands on their heads, and with ointments and libations to Charon, and drinking to one another for joy that the king was expired. Nay, they were not

* The sum of 12,000,000 drachmæ, which is equal to 3,000,000 shekels, i. e. at 2*s.* 10*d.* a shekel, equal to 425,000*l.* sterling, was Agrippa the Great's yearly income, or about three quarters of his grandfather Herod's income; he having abated the tax upon houses at Jerusalem, ch. vi. sect. 3, and was not so tyrannical as he had been to the Jews. See the note on Antiq. B. xvii. ch. xi. sect. 4. A large sum this! but not, it seems, sufficient for his extravagant expenses.

† Reland takes notice here, not improperly, that Josephus omits the reconciliation of this Herod Agrippa to the Tyrians and Sidonians, by the means of Blastus the king's chamberlain, mentioned Acts, xii. 20. Nor is there any history in the world so complete, as to omit nothing that other historians take notice of, unless the one be taken out of the other and accommodated to it.

‡ Photius, who made an extract out of this section, says, they were not the statues or images, but the ladies themselves, which were thus basely abused by the soldiers. Cod. ccxxxviii.

only unmindful of Agrippa, who had extended his liberality to them in abundance, but of his grandfather Herod also, who had himself rebuilt their cities, and had raised them havens and temples at vast expenses.

2. Now Agrippa, the son of the deceased, was at Rome, and brought up with Claudius Cæsar. And when Cæsar was informed that Agrippa was dead, and that the inhabitants of Sebaste and Cesarea had abused him, he was sorry for the first news, and was displeased at the ingratitude of those cities. He was therefore disposed to send Agrippa junior away presently to succeed his father in the kingdom, and was willing to confirm him in it by his oath. But those freedmen and friends of his, who had the greatest authority with him, dissuaded him from it, and said, that "it was a dangerous experiment to permit so large a kingdom to come under the government of so very young a man, and one hardly yet arrived at the years of discretion, who would not be able to take sufficient care of its administration; while the weight of a kingdom is heavy enough to a grown man." So Cæsar thought what they said to be reasonable. Accordingly he sent Cuspius Fadus to be procurator of Judea, and of the entire kingdom, and paid that respect to the deceased, as not to introduce Marcus, who had been at variance with him, into his kingdom. But he determined, in the first place, to send orders to Fadus, that he should chastise the inhabitants of Cesarea and Sebaste for those abuses they had offered to him that was deceased, and their madness towards his daughters that were still alive; and that he should remove that body of soldiers that were at Cesarea and Sebaste, with the five regiments, into Pontus, that they might do their military duty there, and that he should choose an equal number of soldiers out of the Roman legions that were in Syria, to supply their place. Yet were not those that had such orders actually removed; for by sending ambassadors to Claudius, they mollified him, and got leave to abide in Judea still; and these were the very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews in after times, and sowed the seeds of that war which began under Florus; whence it was, that when Vespasian had subdued the country, he removed them out of his province, as we shall relate hereafter.*

* This history is now wanting.

# BOOK XX.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF TWENTY-TWO YEARS.

*FROM FADUS THE PROCURATOR TO FLORUS.*

## CHAP. I.

*A Sedition of the Philadelphians against the Jews; and also concerning the Vestments of the High Priest.*

§ 1. Upon the death of king Agrippa, which we have related in the foregoing book, Claudius Cæsar sent Cassius Longinus, as successor to Marcus, out of regard to the memory of king Agrippa, who had often desired of him by letters, while he was alive, that he would not suffer Marcus to be any longer president of Syria. But Fadus, as soon as he was come procurator into Judea, found quarrelsome doings between the Jews that dwelt in Perea, and the people of Philadelphia, about their borders, at a village called Mia, that was filled with men of a warlike temper; for the Jews of Perea, had taken up arms without the consent of their principal men, and had destroyed many of the Philadelphians. When Fadus was informed of this procedure it provoked him very much that they had not left the determination of the matter to him, if they thought that the Philadelphians had done them any wrong, but had rashly taken up arms against them. So he seized upon three of their principal men, who were also the causes of this sedition, and ordered them to be bound, and afterward had one of them slain, whose name was Hannibal, and he banished the other two, Amram and Eleazar. Tholomy also, the arch-robber, was after some time brought to him bound, and slain, but not till he had done a world of mischief to Idumea and the Arabians. And indeed, from that time Judea was cleared of robberies by the care and providence of Fadus. He also at this time sent for the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem, and this at the commands of the emperor, and admonished them, that they should lay up the long garment, and the sacred vestment, which it is customary for nobody but the high priest to wear, in the tower of Antonia, that it might be under the power of the Romans, as it had been formerly. Now the Jews durst not contradict what he had said, but desired Fadus, however, and Longinus (which last was come to Jerusalem, and had brought a great army with him, out of a fear that the [rigid] injunctions of Fadus should force the Jews to rebel,) that they might, in the first place, have leave to send ambassadors to Cæsar to petition him, that they may have the holy vestments under their own power; and that, in the next place, they would tarry till they knew what answer Claudius would give to that their request. So they replied, that they would give them leave to send their ambassadors, provided they would give them their sons as pledges [for their peaceable behaviour.] And when they had agreed so to do, and had given them the pledges they desired, the ambassadors were sent accordingly. But when, upon their coming to Rome, Agrippa junior, the son of the deceased, understood the reason why they came (for he dwelt with Claudius Cæsar as we said before,) he besought Cæsar to grant the Jews their request about the holy vestments, and to send a message to Fadus accordingly.

2. Hereupon Claudius called for the ambassadors, and told them, that "he granted their request; and bade them to return their thanks to Agrippa for this

favour, which had been bestowed on them upon his entreaty. And, besides these answers of his, he sent the following letter by them: "Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting: Upon the representation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa, my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power; I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country; and this I do also because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod and Agrippa junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest good will to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as persons of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are Cornelius, the son of Cero, Trypho, the son of Theudio, Dorotheus, the son of Nathaniel, and John, the son of John. This letter is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls."

3. Herod also, the brother of the deceased Agrippa, who was then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Cæsar for the authority over the temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of the high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for. So that after that time this authority continued among all his descendants till the end of the war.* Accordingly Herod removed the last high priest, called *Cantheras*, and bestowed that dignity on his successor Joseph, the son of Camus.

## CHAP. II.

*How Helena, the Queen of Adiabene, and her Son Izates, embraced the Jewish Religion; and how Helena supplied the Poor with Corn, when there was a great Famine at Jerusalem.*

§ 1. About this time it was that Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates, changed their course of life, and embraced the Jewish customs, and this on the occasion following: Monobazus, the king of Adiabene, who had also the name of Bazeus, fell in love with his sister Helena, and took her to be his wife, and begat her with child. But as he was in bed with her one night, he laid his hand upon his wife's belly, and fell asleep, and seemed to hear a voice, which bid him take his hand off his wife's belly, and not hurt the infant that was therein, which by God's providence would be safely born, and have a happy end. This voice put him into disorder; so he awaked immediately, and told the story to his wife; and when his son was born, he called him *Izates*. He had indeed Monobazus, his elder brother, by Helena also, as he had other sons by other wives besides. Yet did he openly place all his affections on this his only begotten son† Izates, which was the origin of that envy which his other brethren, by the same father,

* Here is some error in the copies, or mistake in Josephus; for the power of appointing high priests, after Herod king of Chalcis was dead, and Agrippa junior was made king of Chalcis in his room, belonged to him, and he exercised the same all along till Jerusalem was destroyed, as Josephus elsewhere informs us, ch. viii. sect. 8, 11, ch. ix. sect. 1, 4, 6, 7.

† Josephus here uses the word μονογενη, an *only begotten son*, for no other than one *best beloved*, as does both the Old and New Testament, I mean where there were one or more sons besides, Gen. xxii. 2, Heb. xi. 17. See the note on B. i. ch. xiii. 1.

bore to him; while on this account they hated him more and more, and were all under great affliction that their father should prefer Izates before them. Now, although their father was very sensible of these their passions, yet did he forgive them, as not indulging those passions out of an ill disposition, but out of a desire each of them had to be beloved by their father. However, he sent Izates with many presents to Abennerig, the king of Charax Spasini, and that out of the great dread he was in about him, lest he should come to some misfortune, by the hatred his brethren bore him; and he committed his son's preservation to him. Upon which Abennerig gladly received the young man, and had a great affection for him, and married him to his own daughter, whose name was *Samacha;* he also bestowed a country upon him, from which he received large revenues.

2. But when Monobazus was grown old, and saw that he had but a little time to live, he had a mind to come to the sight of his son before he died. So he sent for him, and embraced him after the most affectionate manner, and bestowed on him the country called *Carræ;* it was a soil that bare amomum in great plenty; there are also in it the remains of that ark, wherein it is related that Noah escaped the deluge, and where they are still shown to such as are desirous to see them.* Accordingly Izates abode in that country until his father's death. But the very day that Monobazus died, queen Helena sent for all the grandees, and governors of the kingdom, and for those that had the armies committed to their command: and when they were come she made the following speech to them: "I believe you are not unacquainted that my husband was desirous Izates should succeed him in the government, and thought him worthy so to do. However, I wait your determination; for happy is he who receives a kingdom, not from a single person only, but from the willing suffrages of a great many." This she said in order to try those that were invited, and to discover their sentiments. Upon the hearing of which, they first of all paid their homage to the queen, as their custom was, and then they said, that "they confirmed the king's determination, and would submit to it; and they rejoiced that Izates's father had preferred him before the rest of his brethren, as being agreeable to all their wishes: but that they were desirous first of all to slay his brethren and kinsmen, that so the government might come securely to Izates; because if they were once destroyed, all that fear would be over which might arise from their hatred and envy to him." Helena replied to this, that "she returned them her thanks for their kindness to herself, and to Izates; but desired that they would however, defer the execution of this slaughter of Izates's brethren till he should be there himself, and give his approbation to it." So since these men had not prevailed with her, when they advised her to slay them, they exhorted her at least to keep them in bonds till he should come, and that for their own security; they also gave her council to set up some one whom she could put the greatest trust in, as a governor of the kingdom in the mean time. So queen Helena complied with this counsel of theirs, and set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's ring, with its signet; as also the ornament which they call *Sampser*, and exhorted him to administer the affairs of the kingdom till his brother should come; who came suddenly upon his hearing that his father was dead, and succeeded his brother Monobazus, who resigned up the government to him.

3. Now during the time Izates abode at Charax Spasini, a certain Jewish merchant, whose name was Ananias, got among the women that belonged to the king, and taught them to worship God according to the Jewish religion. He, moreover, by their means, became known to Izates, and persuaded him in like manner to embrace that religion; he also, at the earnest entreaty of Izates, accompanied him when he was sent for by his father to come to Adiabene: it also

* It is here very remarkable, that the remains of Noah's ark were believed to be still in being in the days of Josephus, See the note on B. i. ch. iii. sect. 5

happened, that Helena, about the same time was instructed by a certain other Jew, and went over to them. But when Izates had taken the kingdom, and was come to Adiabene, and there saw his brethren, and other kinsmen in bonds, he was displeased at it; and as he thought it an instance of impiety either to slay or to imprison them, but still thought it a hazardous thing for to let them have their liberty, with the remembrance of the injuries that had been offered them, he sent some of them and their children for hostages to Rome, to Claudius Cæsar, and sent the others to Artabanus, the king of Parthia, with the like intentions.

4. And when he perceived that his mother was highly pleased with the Jewish customs, he made haste to change, and to embrace them entirely; and as he supposed that he could not be thoroughly a Jew unless he were circumcised, he was ready to have it done. But when his mother understood what he was about, she endeavoured to hinder him from doing it, and said to him, that "this thing would bring him into danger; and that, as he was a king, he would thereby bring himself into great odium among his subjects, when they should understand that he was so fond of rites that were to them strange and foreign; and that they would never bear to be ruled over by a Jew." This it was that she said to him, and for the present persuaded him to forbear. And when he had related what she had said to Ananias, he confirmed what his mother had said, and when he had also threatened to leave him, unless he complied with him, he went away from him, and said, that "he was afraid lest such an action being once become public to all, he should himself be in danger of punishment, for having been the occasion of it, and having been the king's instructor in actions that were of ill reputation; and he said, that he might worship God without being circumcised, even though he did not resolve to follow the Jewish law entirely, which worship of God was of a superior nature to circumcision." He added, that "God would forgive him, though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity, and for fear of his subjects. So the king at that time complied with these persuasions of Ananias. But afterwards, as he had not quite left off his desire of doing this thing, a certain other Jew, that came out of Galilee, whose name was Eleazar, and who was esteemed very skilful in the learning of his country, persuaded him to do the thing; for as he entered into his palace to salute him, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said to him, "Thou dost not consider, O King, that thou unjustly breakest the principal of those laws, and art injurious to God himself [by omitting to be circumcised:] for thou oughtest not only to read them, but chiefly to practice what they enjoin thee. How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? But if thou hast not yet read the law about circumcision, and dost not know how great impiety thou art guilty of by neglecting it, read it now." When the king had heard what he said, he delayed the thing no longer, but retired to another room, and sent for a surgeon, and did what he was commanded to do. He then sent for his mother, and Ananias his tutor, and informed them that he had done the thing; upon which they were presently struck with astonishment and fear, and that to a great degree, lest the thing should be openly discovered and censured, and the king should hazard the loss of his kingdom, while his subjects would not bear to be governed by a man who was so zealous in another religion; and lest they should themselves run some hazard, because they would be supposed the occasion of his so doing. But it was God* himself who hindered what they feared from taking effect; for he preserved both Izates himself, and his sons, when they fell into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed to be impossible, and demonstrated thereby, that the fruit of piety does not perish as to those that have a regard to him, and fix their faith upon him only. But these events we shall relate hereafter.

5. But as to Helena, the king's mother, when he saw that the affairs of Izates's

* Josephus is very full and express in these three chapters, iii. iv. and v. in observing how carefully Divine Providence preserved this Izates, king of Adiabene and his sons, while he did what he thought was his bounden duty, notwithstanding the strongest political motives to the contrary.

kingdom were in peace, and that her son was a happy man, and admired among all men, and even among foreigners, by the means of God's providence over him, she had a mind to go to the city Jerusalem, in order to worship at that temple of God which was so very famous among all men, and to offer her thank-offerings there. So she desired her son to give her leave to go thither: upon which he gave his consent to what she desired very willingly, and made great preparation for her dismission, and gave her a great deal of money, and she went down to the city Jerusalem, her son conducting her on her journey a great way. Now her coming was of very great advantage to the people of Jerusalem; for whereas a famine did cppress them at that time, and many people died for want of what was necessary to procure food withal, queen Helena sent some of her servants to Alexandria with money to buy a great quantity of corn, and others of them to Cyprus, to bring a cargo of dried figs. And as soon as they were come back, and had brought those provisions, which was done very quickly, she distributed food to those that were in want of it, and left a most excellent memorial behind her of this benefaction, which she bestowed on our whole nation. And when her son Izates was informed of this famine, he sent great sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem. However, what favours this queen and king conferred upon our city Jerusalem shall be farther related hereafter.*

## CHAP. III.

*How Artabanus, the King of Parthia, out of Fear of the secret Contrivances of his Subjects against him, went to Izates, and was by him reinstated in his Government; as also how Bardanes his Son denounced War against Izates.*

§ 1. But now Artabanus, king of the Parthians, perceiving that the governors of the provinces had framed a plot against him, did not think it safe for him to continue among them, but resolved to go to Izates, in hopes of finding some way for his preservation by his means, and, if possible, for his return to his own dominions. So he came to Izates, and brought about a thousand of his kindred and servants with him, and met him upon the road, while he well knew Izates, but Izates did not know him. When Artabanus stood near him, and, in the first place, worshiped him, according to the custom, he then said to him: "O king, do not thou overlook me thy servant, nor do thou proudly reject the suit I make thee; for as I am reduced to a low estate, by the change of fortune, and of a king am become a private man, I stand in need of thy assistance. Have regard, therefore, unto the uncertainty of fortune, and esteem the care thou shalt take of me to be taken of thyself also: for if I be neglected, and my subjects go off unpunished, many other subjects will become the more insolent towards other kings also." And this speech Artabanus, made with tears in his eyes, and with a dejected countenance. Now as soon as Izates heard Artabanus's name, and saw him stand as a supplicant before him, he leaped down from his horse immediately, and said to him, "Take courage, O king, nor be disturbed at thy

* This farther account of the benefactions of Izates and Helena to the Jerusalem Jews, which Josephus here promises, is, I think, no where performed by him in his present works. But of this terrible famine itself in Judea, take Dr. Hudson's note here;—"This (says he) is that famine foretold by Agabus, Acts, xi. 28, which happened when Claudius was consul the fourth time; and not that other which happened when Claudius was consul the second time, and Cæsina was his colleague, as Scaliger says upon Eusebius, p. 174." Now when Josephus had said a little afterward, ch. v. sect. 2, that "Tiberius Alexander succeeded Cuspius Fadus as procurator," he immediately subjoins, "That under these procurators there happened a great famine in Judea." Whence it is plain that this famine continued for many years, on account of its duration under those two procurators. Now Fadus was not sent into Judea till after the death of king Agrippa, i. e. towards the latter end of the fourth year of Claudius: so that this famine foretold by Agabus, happened upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th years of Claudius, as says Valesius on Euseb. ii. 12. Of this famine also, and queen Helena's supplies, and her monument, see Moses Chorenensis, p. 144, 145, where it is observed in the notes, that Pausanias mentions that her monument also

present calamity, as if it were incurable; for the change of thy sad condition shall be sudden; for thou shalt find me to be more thy friend and thy assistant than thy hopes can promise thee; for I will either reestablish thee in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose my own."

2. When he had said this, he set Artabanus upon his horse, and followed him on foot, in honour of a king whom he owned as greater than himself; which when Artabanus saw, he was very uneasy at it, and sware, by his present fortune and honour, that he would get down from his horse, unless Izates would get upon his horse again, and go before him. So he complied with his desire, and leaped upon his horse; and when he had brought him to his royal palace, he showed him all sorts of respect when they sat together, and he gave him the upper place at festivals also, as regarding not his present fortune, but his former dignity, and that upon this consideration also, that the changes of fortune are common to all men. He also wrote to the Parthians, to persuade them to receive Artabanus again: and gave them his right hand and his faith, that he should forget what was past and done, and that he would undertake for this as a mediator between them. Now the Parthians did not themselves refuse to receive him again, but pleaded that it was not now in their power so to do; because they had committed the government to another person, who had accepted of it, and whose name was Cinnamus, and that they were afraid lest a civil war should arise on this account. When Cinnamus understood their intentions, he wrote to Artabanus himself, for he had been brought up by him, and was of a nature good and gentle also, and desired him to put confidence in him, and to come and take his own dominions again. Accordingly Artabanus trusted him, and returned home; when Cinnamus met him, worshiped him, and saluted him as king, and took the diadem off his own head, and put it on the head of Artabanus.

3. And thus was Artabanus restored to his kingdom again by the means of Izates, when he had lost it by the means of the grandees of the kingdom. Nor was he unmindful of the benefits he had conferred upon him, but rewarded him with such honours as were of greatest esteem among them; for he gave him leave to wear his tiara upright,* and to sleep upon a golden bed, which are privileges and marks of honour peculiar to the kings of Parthia. He also cut off a large and fruitful country from the king of Armenia, and bestowed it upon him. The name of the country is Nisibis, wherein the Macedonians had formerly built that city which they called Antioch of Mygdonia. And these were the honours that were paid Izates by the king of the Parthians.

4. But in no long time, Artabanus died, and left his kingdom to his son Bardanes. Now this Bardanes came to Izates, and would have persuaded him to join him with his army, and to assist him in the war he was preparing to make with the Romans; but he could not prevail with him. For Izates so well knew the strength and good fortune of the Romans, that he took Bardanes to attempt what was impossible to be done; and having besides sent his sons, five in number, and they but young also, to learn accurately the language of our nation, together with our learning, as well as he had sent his mother to worship at our temple, as I have said already, was the more backward to a compliance; and restrained Bardanes, telling him perpetually of the great armies and famous actions of the Romans, and thought thereby to terrify him, and desired thereby to hinder him from that expedition. But the Parthian king was provoked at this his behaviour, and denounced war immediately against Izates. Yet did he gain no advantage by this war, because God cut off all his hopes therein; for the Parthians, perceiving Bardanes's intentions, and how he had determined to make war with the Romans, slew him, and gave his kingdom to his brother Gotarzes. He also, in no long time, perished by a plot made against him, and Vologases, his brother, succeeded him, who committed two of his provinces to

* This privilege of wearing the tiara upright, or with the tip of the cone erect, is known to have been of old peculiar to (great) kings, from Xenophon and others, as Dr. Hudson observes here.

wo of his brothers, by the same father; that of the Medes to the elder, Pacorus nd Armenia to the younger, Tiridates.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Izates was betrayed by his own Subjects, and fought against by the Arabians, and how Izates, by the Providence of God, was delivered out of their Hands.*

§ 1. Now when the king's brother Monobazus, and his other kindred, saw how Izates, by his piety to God, was become greatly esteemed by all men, they also had a desire to leave the religion of their country, and to embrace the customs of the Jews; but that act of theirs was discovered by Izates's subjects. Whereupon the grandees were much displeased, and could not contain their anger at them; but had an intention, when they should find a proper opportunity, to inflict a punishment upon them. Accordingly they wrote to Abia, king of the Arabians, and promised him great sums of money, if he would make an expedition against their king; and they farther promised him, that, on the first onset, they would desert their king, because they were desirous to punish him, by reason of the hatred he had to their religious worship: then they obliged themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other, and desired that he would make haste in this design. The king of Arabia complied with their desires, and brought a great army into the field, and marched against Izates; and, in the beginning of the first onset, and before they came to a close fight, those grandees, as if they had a panic terror upon them, all deserted Izates, as they had agreed to do, and, turning their backs upon their enemies, ran away. Yet was not Izates dismayed at this; but when he understood that the grandees had betrayed him, he also retired into his camp, and made inquiry into the matter; and as soon as he knew who they were that had made this conspiracy with the king of Arabia, he cut off those that were found guilty; and renewing the fight on the next day, he slew the greatest part of his enemies, and forced all the rest to betake themselves to flight. He also pursued their king, and drove him into a fortress called *Arsamus*, and, following on the siege vigorously, he took that fortress. And when he had plundered it of all the prey that was in it, which was not small, he returned to Adiabene: yet did not he take Abia alive; because, when he found himself encompassed on every side, he slew himself.

2. But although the grandees of Adiabene had failed in their first attempt, as being delivered up by God into their king's hands, yet would they not even then be quiet, but wrote again to Vologases, who was then king of Parthia, and desired that he would kill Izates, and set over them some other potentate, who should be of a Parthian family; for they said, that "they hated their own king for abrogating the laws of their forefathers, and embracing foreign customs." When the king of Parthia heard this, he boldly made war upon Izates; and as he had no just pretence for this war, he sent to him, and demanded back those honourable privileges which had been bestowed on him by his father, and threatened, on his refusal, to make war upon him. Upon hearing of this, Izates was under no small trouble of mind as thinking it would be a reproach upon him to appear to resign those privileges that had been bestowed upon him, out of cowardice; yet because he knew, that though the king of Parthia should receive back those honours, yet would he not be quiet, he resolved to commit himself to God, his protector, in the present danger he was in of his life; and as he esteemed him to be his principal assistant, he entrusted his children and his wives to a very strong fortress, and laid up his corn in the citadels, and set the hay and the grass on fire. And when he had thus put things in order as well as he could, he awaited the coming of the enemy. And when the king of Parthia was come,

with a great army of footmen and horsemen, which he did sooner than was expected, (for he marched in great haste,) and had cast up a bank at the river that parted Adiabene from Media; Izates also pitched his camp not far off, having with him six thousand horsemen. But there came a messenger to Izates, sent by the king of Parthia, who told him "how large his dominions were, as reaching from the river Euphrates to Bactria, and enumerated that king's subjects: he also threatened him that he should be punished, as a person ungrateful to his lords; and said, that the God whom he worshiped could not deliver him out of the king's hands." When the messenger had delivered this his message, Izates replied, that "he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own; but that he knew also that God was much more powerful than all men." And when he had returned him this answer, he betook himself to make supplication* to God, and threw himself upon the ground, and put ashes upon his head, in testimony of his confusion, and fasted, together with his wives and children. When he called upon God, and said, "O Lord and Governor, if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings, come now to my assistance, and defend me from my enemies, not only on my own account, but on account of their insolent behaviour with regard to thy power, while they have not feared to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against thee." Thus did he lament and bemoan himself with tears in his eyes; whereupon God heard his prayer. And immediately that very night Vologases received letters, the contents of which were these, that a great band of Dahæ and Sahæ, despising him now he was gone so long a journey from home, had made an expedition, and laid Parthia waste; so that he [was forced to] retire back without doing any thing. And thus it was that Izates escaped the threatenings of the Parthians, by the providence of God.

3. It was not long ere Izates died, when he had completed fifty-five years of his life, and had ruled his kingdom twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four sons, and twenty-four daughters. However, he gave order that his brother Monobazus should succeed in the government, thereby requiting him, because while he was himself absent, after their father's death, he had faithfully preserved the government for him. But when Helena, his mother, heard of her son's death, she was in great uneasiness, as was but natural upon her loss of such a most dutiful son; yet was it a comfort to her, that she heard the succession came to her eldest son. Accordingly she went to him in haste; and when she was come into Adiabene, she did not long outlive her son Izates. But Monobazus sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave order that they should be buried at the pyramids,† which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant no more than three furlongs, from the city of Jerusalem. But for the actions of Monobazus the king, which he did during the rest of his life, we will relate them hereafter.‡

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning Theudas, and the Sons of Judas the Galilean; as also what Calamity fell upon the Jews on the Day of the Passover.*

§ 1. Now it came to pass, while Fadus was procurator of Judea, that a certain

* This mourning, and fasting, and praying, used by Izates, with prostration of his body, and ashes upon his head, are plain signs that he was become either a Jew, or an Ebionite Christian, who indeed differed not much from proper Jews. See chap. vi. sect. 1. However his supplications were heard, and he was providentially delivered from that imminent danger he was in.

† These pyramids or pillars, erected by Helena, queen of Adiabene, near Jerusalem, three in number, are mentioned by Eusebius in his Eccles. Hist. B. ii. ch. 12: for which Dr. Hudson refers us to Valesius's notes upon that place. They are also mentioned by Pausanias, as hath been already noted, chap. iv. sect. 6. Reland guesses that that now called *Absalom's pillar* may be one of them.

‡ This account is now wanting.

agician, whose name was Theudas,* persuaded a great part of the people to ke their effects with them, and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them was a prophet, and that he would, by his own command, divide the river, and ford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words. How- er, Fadus did not permit him to make any advantage of his wild attempt, but nt a troop of horsemen out against them; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, ew many of them, and took many of them alive. They also took Theudas alive, d cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem. This was what befell the Jews the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

2. Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of lexander the alabarch of Alexandria, which Alexander was a principal person nong all his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth: he was also more ninent for his piety than this his son Alexander, for he did not continue in the ligion of his country. Under these procurators that great famine happened in idea, in which queen Helena bought corn in Egypt at a great expense, and dis- buted it to those that were in want, as I have related already. And besides is, the sons of Judas of Galilee, were now slain; I mean of that Judas who used the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates the Jews, as we have showed in a foregoing book. The names of those sons ere James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified. But now erod, king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high iesthood, and made Ananias, the son of Nebedus, his successor. And now it as that Cumanus came a successor to Tiberius Alexander; as also that Herod, other of Agrippa the great king, departed this life, in the eighth year of the ign of Claudius Cæsar. He left behind him three sons, Aristobulus, whom he d by his first wife, with Bernictanus and Hircanus, both whom he had by ernice his brother's daughter. But Claudius Cæsar bestowed his dominions on grippa junior.

3. Now, while the Jewish affairs were under the administration of Cumanus, ere happened a great tumult at the city of Jerusalem, and many of the Jews rished therein. But I shall first explain the occasion whence it was derived. hen that feast which is called the Passover was at hand, at which time our cus- m is to use unleavened bread, and a great multitude was gathered together from parts to that feast, Cumanus was afraid, lest some innovation should then be ade by them; so he ordered that one regiment of the army should take their ms, and stand in the temple cloisters, to repress any attempts of innovation, if rchance any such should begin; and this was no more than what the former ocurators of Judea did at such festivals. But on the fourth day of the feast, a rtain soldier let down his breeches, and exposed his privy members to the mul- tude, which put those that saw him into a furious rage, and made them cry out, at this impious action was not done to reproach them, but God himself; nay, me of them reproached Cumanus, and pretended that the soldier was set on by m, which when Cumanus heard, he was also himself not a little provoked at ch reproaches laid upon him; yet did he exhort them to leave off such sedi- ous attempts, and not to raise a tumult at the festival. But when he could not duce them to be quiet, for they still went on in their reproaches to him, he gave der that the whole army should take their entire armour, and come to Antonia, hich was a fortress, as we have said already, which overlooked the temple; but hen the multitude saw the soldiers there, they were affrighted at them, and ran vay hastily; but as the passages out were but narrow, and as they thought their emies followed them, they were crowded together in their flight, and a great mber were pressed to death in those narrow passages; nor indeed was the mber fewer than twenty thousand that perished in this tumult. So instead of

* This Theudas, who arose under Fadus the procurator, about A. D. 45 or 46, could not be that Theudas ho arose in the days of the taxing, under Cyrenius; or about A. D. 7. Acts, v. 36, 37. Who that earlier heudas was, see the note on B. xvii. ch. x. sect. 5.

a festival they had at last a mournful day of it; and they all of them forgot the prayers and sacrifices, and betook themselves to lamentation and weeping; s great an affliction did the impudent obsceneness of a single soldier bring upo them.*

4. Now before this their first mourning was over, another mischief befell thei also: for some of those that raised the foregoing tumult, when they were trave ling along the public road, about a hundred furlongs from the city, robbed Ste phanus, a servant of Cæsar, as he was journeying, and plundered him of all tha he had with him. Which things when Cumanus heard of, he sent soldiers in mediately, and ordered them to plunder the neighbouring villages, and to brin the most eminent persons among them in bonds to him. Now as this devastatio was making, one of the soldiers seized the laws of Moses that lay in one of thos villages, and brought them out before the eyes of all present, and tore them t pieces; and this was done with reproachful language, and much scurrility Which things when the Jews heard of, they ran together, and that in great num bers, and came down to Cesarea, where Cumanus then was, and besought him that he would avenge, not themselves, but God himself, whose laws had been a fronted; for that they could not bear to live any longer, if the laws of their fore fathers must be affronted after this manner. Accordingly Cumanus, out of fea lest the multitude should go into a sedition, and by the advice of his friends also took care that the soldier who had offered the affront to the laws should be be headed, and thereby put a stop to the sedition which was ready to be kindled second time.

## CHAP. VI.

*How there happened a Quarrel between the Jews and the Samaritans, and how Claudius put an end to their Differences.*

§ 1. Now there arose a quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews on the oc casion following: it was the custom of the Galileans, when they came to the hol city at the festivals, to take their journeys through the country of the Samaritans; and at this time there lay, in the road they took, a village that was called *Ginea* which was situated in the limits of Samaria and the great plain, where certai persons thereto belonging fought with the Galileans, and killed a great many o them. But when the principal of the Galileans were informed of what had bee done, they came to Cumanus, and desired him to avenge the murder of those tha were killed; but he was induced by the Samaritans, with money, to do nothing i the matter: upon which, the Galileans were much displeased, and persuaded th multitude of the Jews to betake themselves to arms, and to regain their liberty saying that "slavery was in itself a bitter thing, but that when it was joined wit direct injuries, it was perfectly intolerable." And when their principal men en deavoured to pacify them, and promised to endeavour to persuade Cumanus t avenge those that were killed, they would not hearken to them, but took thei weapons, and entreated the assistance of Eleazar, the son of Dineus, a robbe who had many years made his abode in the mountains; with which assistanc they plundered many villages of the Samaritans. When Cumanus heard of thi action of theirs, he took the band of Sebaste, with four regiments of footmen, an

* This, and many more tumults and seditions, which arose at the Jewish festivals, in Josephus, illu trate that cautious procedure of the Jewish governors, when they said, Matt. xxvi. 5. "Let us not tak Jesus on the feast-day, lest there be an uproar among the people;" as Reland well observes on this plac Josephus also takes notice of the same thing, Of the War, B. i. ch. iv. sect. 3.

† This constant passage of the Galileans through the country of Samaria, as they went to Judea an Jerusalem, illustrates several passages in the gospel to the same purpose, as Dr. Hudson rightly observe See Luke, xvii. 11; John, iv. 4. See also Josephus in his own life, sect. 52, where that journey is d termined to three days.

armed the Samaritans, and marched out against the Jews, and caught them, and slew many of them, and took a great number of them alive; whereupon those that were the most eminent persons at Jerusalem, and that both in regard of the respect that was paid them and the families they were of, as soon as they saw to what a height things were gone, put on sackcloth and heaped ashes upon their heads; and by all possible means besought the seditious, and persuaded them that they would set before their eyes the utter subversion* of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children which would be the consequences of what they were doing; and would alter their minds, would cast away their weapons, and for the future be quiet, and return to their own homes. These persuasions of theirs prevailed upon them. So the people dispersed themselves, and the robbers went away again to their places of strength; and after this time all Judea was overrun with robberies.

2. But the principal of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, who at that time was at Tyre, and accused the Jews of setting their villages on fire, and plundering them; and said withal, that "they were not so much displeased at what they had suffered, as they were at the contempt thereby showed the Romans; while, if they had received any injury, they ought to have made them the judges of what had been done, and not presently to make such devastation, as if they had not the Romans for their governors; on which account they came to him, in order to obtain that vengeance they wanted." This was the accusation which the Samaritans brought against the Jews. But the Jews affirmed that the Samaritans were the authors of this tumult and fighting; and that, in the first place, Cumanus had been corrupted by their gifts, and passed over the murder of those that were slain in silence. Which allegations when Quadratus heard, he put off the hearing of the cause, and promised that he would give sentence when he should come into Judea, and should have a more exact knowledge of the truth of that matter. So these men went away without success. Yet was it not long ere Quadratus came to Samaria; where, upon hearing the cause, he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors of that disturbance. But, when he was informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives. From whence he went to a certain village called *Lydda*, which was not less than a city in largeness, and there heard the Samaritan cause a second time before his tribunal; and there learned from a certain Samaritan, that one of the chief of the Jews, whose name was *Dortus*, and some other innovators with him, four in number, persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans; whom Quadratus ordered to be put to death: but still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananus, the commander [of the temple,] in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Cæsar. He also ordered the principal men, both of the Samaritans and of the Jews, as also Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune, to go to Italy to the emperor, that he might hear their cause, and determine their differences one with another. But he came again to the city of Jerusalem, out of his fear that the multitude of the Jews should attempt some innovations; but he found the city in a peaceable state, and celebrating one of the usual festivals of their country to God. So he believed that they would not attempt any innovations, and left them at the celebration of the festival, and returned to Antioch.

3. Now Cumanus, and the principal of the Samaritans, who were sent to Rome, had a day appointed them by the emperor, whereon they were to have pleaded their cause about the quarrels they had done with another. But now Cæsar's freedmen and his friends were very zealous on the behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; and they had prevailed over the Jews, unless Agrippa junior, who

* Our Saviour had foretold that the Jews' rejection of his gospel would bring upon them, among other miseries, these three, which they themselves here show they expected would be the consequences of their present tumults and seditions; the utter subversion of their country, the conflagration of their temple, and the slavery of themselves, their wives, and children. See Luke, xxi. 6—24.

was then at Rome, had seen the principal of the Jews hard set, and had earnes ly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband to hear th cause, so as was agreeable to his justice, and to condemn those to be punishe who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government. Wher upon Claudius was so well disposed beforehand, that when he had heard the caus and found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders in those mischievous d ings, he gave order, that those who came up to him should be slain, and that C manus should be banished. He also gave order, that Celer the tribune should b carried back to Jerusalem, and should be drawn through the city in the sight c all the people, and then should be slain.

## CHAP. VII.

*Felix is made Procurator of Judea; as also concerning Agrippa junior and his Sisters.*

§ 1. So Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallans, to take care of the affairs c Judea; and when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign, h bestowed upon Agrippa the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, and added there Trachonitis, with Abila; which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he too from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years. And whe Agrippa had received these countries as the gift of Cæsar, he gave his siste Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, upon his consent to be circun cised; for Epiphanes, the son of king Antiochus, had refused to marry her, b cause, after he had promised her father formerly to come over to the Jewish r ligion, he would not now perform that promise. He also gave Mariamne in ma riage to Archelaus, the son of Helcias, to whom she had been betrothed former by Agrippa her father; from which marriage was derived a daughter, whos name was *Bernice*.

2. But for the marriage of Drusilla with Azizus, it was in no long time afte ward dissolved upon the following occasion: while Felix was procurator of Jude he saw this Drusilla, and fell in love with her; for she did indeed exceed a other women in beauty; and he sent to her a person whose name was Simon one of his friends, a Jew he was, and by birth a Cypriot, and one who pretende to be a magician, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake her present hu band, and marry him; and promised, that if she would not refuse him, he wou make her a happy woman. Accordingly she acted ill, and because she was d sirous to avoid her sister Bernice's envy, for she was very ill treated by her c

* This Simon, a friend of Felix, a Jew, born in Cyprus, though he pretended to be a magician, a seems to have been wicked enough, could hardly be that famous Simon the magician, in the Acts of t Aposties, viii. 9, &c. as some are ready to suppose. This Simon mentioned in the Acts was not pr perly a Jew, but a Samaritan, of the town of Gittæ, in the country of Samaria, as the Apostolical Co stitutions, vi. 7, the Recognitions of Clement, ii. 6, and Justin Martyr, himself born in the country of S maria, Apology, i. 34, informs us. He was also the author, not of any ancient Jewish, but of the fi Gentile heresies, as the forementioned authors assure us. So I suppose him a different person from t other. I mean this only upon the hypothesis, that Josephus was not misinformed as to his being a C priot Jew; for otherwise the time, the name, the profession, and the wickedness of them both wou strongly incline one to believe them the very same. As to that Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa junior, Josephus informs us here, and a Jewess, St. Luke informs us, Acts xxiv. 24, whom this Simon me tioned by Josephus persuaded to leave her former husband, Azizus, king of Emesa, a proselyte of justic and to marry Felix, the heathen procurator of Judea; Tacitus, Hist. v. 9, supposes her to be a heathe and the grand-daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, contrary both to St. Luke and Josephus. Now T citus lived somewhat too remote, both as to time and place, to be compared with either of those Jewi writers, in a matter concerning the Jews in Judea in their own days, and concerning a sister of Agrip junior, with which Agrippa Josephus was himself so well acquainted. It is probable that Tacitus m say true when he informs us that this Felix (who had in all three wives or queens, as Suetonius in Cla dius, sect. 28, assures us,) did once marry such a grandchild of Antonius and Cleopatra, and findi the name of one of them to have been Drusilla, he mistook her for that other wife, whose name he d act know.

ccount of her beauty, was prevailed upon to transgress the laws of her fore-
athers, and to marry Felix; and when he had a son by her, he named him
*Agrippa.* But after what manner that young man, with his wife, perished at the
onflagration* of the mountain Vesuvius, in the days of Titus Cæsar, shall be
elated hereafter.†

3. But as for Bernice, she lived a widow a long while after the death of Herod
king of Chalcis,] who was both her husband and her uncle; but, when the re-
ort went that she had criminal conversation with her brother [Agrippa junior,]
he persuaded Polemo, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry
er, as supposing, that by this means she should prove those calumnies upon her
) be false; and Polemo, was prevailed upon, and that chiefly on account of her
iches. Yet did not this matrimony endure long; but Bernice left Polemo, and,
s was said, with impure intentions. So he forsook at once this matrimony and
:e Jewish religion: and at the same time Mariamne put away Archelaus, and
'as married to Demetrius, the principal man among the Alexandrian Jews, both
)r his family and his wealth; and indeed he was then their alabarch. So she
amed her son, whom she had by him, *Agrippinus.* But of all these particulars
'e shall hereafter treat more exactly‡.

## CHAP. VIII.

*After what Manner, upon the Death of Claudius, Nero succeeded in the Government; as also what barbarous Things he did. Concerning the Robbers, Murderers, and Impostors, that arose while Felix and Festus were Procurators of Judea.*

1. Now Claudius Cæsar died when he had reigned thirteen years eight months
nd twenty days;§ and a report went about that he was poisoned by his wife
grippina. Her father was Germanicus, the brother of Cæsar. Her husband
as Domitius Ænobarbus, one of the most illustrious persons that was in the city
f Rome; after whose death, and her own long continuance in widowhood,
laudius took her to wife. She brought along with her a son, Domitius, of the
ıme name with his father. He had before this slain his wife Messalina out of
alousy, by whom he had his children Britannicus and Octavia; their eldest
ster was Antonia, whom he had by Pelina his first wife. He also married
ctavia to *Nero;* for that was the name that Cæsar gave him afterward, upon
is adopting him for his son.

2. But now Agrippina was afraid, lest, when Britannicus should come to man's
state, he should succeed his father in the government, and desired to seize upon
ıe principality beforehand for her own son [Nero;] upon which the report went,
'at she thence compassed the death of Claudius. Accordingly she sent Bur-
ıus, the general of the army, immediately, and with him the tribunes, and such
lso of the freedmen as were of the greatest authority, to bring Nero away into
ıe camp, and to salute him emperor. And when Nero had thus obtained the
overnment, he got Britannicus to be so poisoned that the multitude should not
erceive it; although he publicly put his own mother to death not long afterward,
aking her this requital, not only for being born of her, but for bringing it so

* This eruption of Vesuvius was one of the greatest we have in history. See Blanchini's curious
nd important observations on this Vesuvius, and its seven several great eruptions, with their remains
itrified, and still existing, in so many different *strata* under ground, till the diggers came to the ante-
iluvian waters, with their proportionable interstices, implying the deluge to have been above 2,500
ears before the Christian æra, accordingly to our exactest chronology.

† This is now wanting.

‡ This also is now wanting.

§ This duration of the reign of Claudius agrees with Dio, as Dr. Hudson here remarks; as he also
marks, that Nero's name, which was at first *L. Domitius Ænobarbus*, after Claudius had adopted him
ras *Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus.*

about by her contrivances, that he obtained the Roman empire. He also slew Octavia his own wife, and many other illustrious persons, under this pretence, that they plotted against him.

3. But I omit any farther discourse about these affairs; for there have been a great many who have composed the history of Nero; some of which have departed from the truth of facts out of favour, as having received benefits from him; while others out of hatred to him, and the great ill will which they bare him, have so impudently raved against him with their lies, that they justly deserve to be condemned. Nor do I wonder at such as have told lies of Nero, since they have not in their writings preserved the truth of history as to those facts that were earlier than his time, even when the actors could have no way incurred their hatred, since those writers lived a long time after them. But as to these that have no regard to truth, they may write as they please; for in that they take delight: but as to ourselves, who have made truth our direct aim, we shall briefly touch upon what only belongs remotely to this undertaking, but shall relate what hath happened to us Jews with great accuracy, and shall not grudge our pains in giving an account both of the calamities we have suffered, and of the crimes we have been guilty of. I will now therefore return to the relation of our own affairs.

4. For in the first year of the reign of Nero, upon the death of Azizus, king of Emesa, Sŏemus* his brother succeeded in his kingdom, and Aristobulus, the son of Herod, king of Chalcis, was intrusted by Nero with the government of the Lesser Armenia. Cæsar also bestowed on Agrippa a certain part of Galilee. Tiberias† and Taricheæ, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction. He gave him also Julias, a city of Perea, with fourteen villages that lay about it.

5. Now, as for the affairs of the Jews, they grew worse and worse continually, for the country was again filled with robberies, and impostors who deluded the multitude. Yet did Felix catch, and put to death, many of those impostors every day, together with the robbers. He also caught Eleazar, the son of Dineas, who had gotten together a company of robbers: and this he did by treachery, for he gave him assurance, that he should suffer no harm, and thereby persuaded him to come to him; but when he came he bound him, and sent him to Rome. Felix also bore an ill will to Jonathan the high priest, because he frequently gave him admonitions about governing the Jewish affairs better than he did, lest he should himself have complaints made of him by the multitude, since he it was who had desired Cæsar to send him as procurator of Judea. So Felix contrived a method whereby he might get rid of him, now he was become so continually troublesome to him; for such continual admonitions are grievous to those who are disposed to act unjustly. Wherefore Felix persuaded one of Jonathan's most faithful friends, a citizen of Jerusalem, whose name was Doras, to bring the robbers upon Jonathan. in order to kill him; and this he did by promising to give him a great deal of money for so doing. Doras complied with the proposal, and contrived matters so that the robbers might murder him after the following manner: certain of those robbers went up to the city, as if they were going to worship God, while they had daggers under their garments, and by thus mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew Jonathan,‡ and as this murder was never avenged, the

* This Sŏemus is elsewhere mentioned [by Josephus in his own Life, sect. 11, as also] by Dio Cassius and Tacitus, as Dr. Hudson informs us.

† This agrees with Josephus's frequent accounts elsewhere in his own Life, that Tiberias, and Taricheæ, and Gamala were under this Agrippa junior, till Justus, the son of Pistus, seized upon them for the Jews upon the breaking out of the war.

‡ This treacherous and barbarous murder of the good high priest Jonathan, by the contrivance of this wicked procurator Felix, was the immediate occasion of the ensuing murders by the Sicarii or ruffians, and one great cause of the following horrid cruelties and miseries of the Jewish nation, as Josephus here supposes, whose excellent reflection on the gross wickedness of that nation, as the direct cause of their terrible destruction, is well worthy the attention of every Jewish and of every Christian reader. And, since we are soon coming to the catalogue of the Jewish high priests, it may not be amiss, with Reland to insert this Jonathan among them, and to transcribe his particular catalogue of the last twenty-eigh high priests, taken out of Josephus, and begin with Ananelus, who was made by Herod the Great, See Antiq. B. xv. ch. ii. sect. 4, and the note there.

robbers went up with the greatest security at the festival after this time, and having weapons concealed in like manner as before, and mingling themselves among the multitude, they slew certain of their own enemies, and were subservient to other men for money, and slew others, not only in remote parts of the city, but in the temple itself also; for they had the boldness to murder men there, without thinking of the impiety of which they were guilty. And this seems to me to have been the reason why God, out of his hatred of these men's wickedness, rejected our city, and, as for the temple, he no longer esteemed it sufficiently pure for him to inhabit therein, but brought the Romans upon us, and threw a fire upon the city to purge it, and brought upon us, our wives, and children, slavery, as desirous to make us wiser by our calamities.

6. These works, that were done by the robbers, filled the city with all sorts of impiety. And now these impostors* and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, and pretended that they would exhibit manifest wonders and signs, that should be performed by the providence of God. And many that were prevailed on by them suffered the punishments of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and then punished them. Moreover, there came out of Egypt† about this time to Jerusalem, one that said he was a prophet, and advised the multitude of the common people to go along with him to the Mount of Olives, as it was called, which lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs. He said farther, that he would show them from hence, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall down; and he promised them, that he would procure them an entrance into the city through those walls, when they were fallen down. Now, when Felix was informed of these things, he ordered his soldiers to take their weapons, and came against them with a great number of horsemen and footmen from Jerusalem, and attacked the Egyptian, and the people that were with him. He also slew four hundred of them, and took two hundred alive. But the Egyptian himself escaped out of the fight, but did not appear any more. And again the robbers stirred up the people to make war with the Romans, and said, they ought not to obey them at all; and when any persons would not comply with them, they set fire to their villages, and plundered them.

7. And now it was that a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cesarea and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens; for the Jews claimed the preeminence, because Herod their king was the builder of Cesarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said, that Cesarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes,

1. Ananelus.
2. Aristobulus.
3. Jesus, the son of Fabus.
4. Simon, the son of Boethus.
5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
6. Joazar, the son of Boethus.
7. Eleazar, the son of Boethus.
8. Jesus, the son of Sie.
9. [Annas, or] Ananus, the son of Seth.
10. Ismael, the son of Fabus.
11. Eleazar, the son of Ananus.
12. Simon, the son of Camithus.
13. Josephus Caiaphas, the son-in-law to Ananus.
14. Jonathan, the son of Ananus.
15. Theophilus, his brother, and son of Ananus.
16. Simon, the son of Boethus.
17. Matthias, the brother of Jonathan, and son of Ananus.
18. Alioneus.
19. Josephus, the son of Camydus.
20. Ananias, the son of Nebedeus.
21. Jonathas.
22. Ismael, the son of Fabi.
23. Joseph Cabi, the son of Simon.
24. Ananus, the son of Ananus.
25. Jesus, the son of Damneus.
26. Jesus, the son of Gamaliel.
27. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
28. Phannias, the son of Samuel.

As for Ananus and Joseph Caiaphas, here mentioned about the middle of this catalogue, they are no other than those Annas and Caiaphas, so often mentioned in the four gospels; and that Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, was that high priest before whom St. Paul pleaded his own cause, Acts, xxiv.

* Of these Jewish impostors and false prophets, with many other circumstances and miseries of the Jews, till their utter destruction, foretold by our Saviour, see Lit. Accompl. of Proph. p. 58—75.

† Of this Egyptian impostor, and the number of his followers in Josephus, see Acts, xxi. 38.

and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time. But the Jewish citizens, depending on their wealth, and on that account despising the Syrians, reproached them again, and hoped to provoke them by such reproaches. However, the Syrians, though they were inferior in wealth, yet valuing themselves highly on this account, that the greatest part of the Roman soldiers that were there were either of Cesarea or of Sebaste, they also for some time used reproachful language to the Jews also; and thus it was, till at length they came to throwing stones at one another, and several were wounded, and fell on both sides, though the Jews were still the conquerors. But when Felix saw that this quarrel was become a kind of war, he came upon them on the sudden, and desired the Jews to desist; and when they refused so to do, he armed his soldiers, and sent them out upon them, and slew many of them, and took more of them alive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder some of the houses of the citizens, which were full of riches. Now those Jews that were more moderate, and of principal dignity among them, were afraid of themselves, and desired of Felix that he would sound a retreat to his soldiers, and spare them for the future, and afford them room for repentance, for what they had done; and Felix was prevailed upon to do so.

8. About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of which got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations, about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them, but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence* and boldness that had seized on the high priests, that they had the hardiness to send their servants into the threshing-floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests; insomuch that it so fell out, that the poorer sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice!

9. Now when Porcius Festus was sent as successor to Felix, by Nero, the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cesarea went up to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas, who was at that time had in the greatest honour by him. Two of the principal Syrians in Cesarea persuaded Burrhus, who was Nero's tutor, and secretary for his Greek epistles, by giving him a great sum of money, to disannul that equality of the Jewish privileges of citizens which they hitherto enjoyed. So Burrhus, by his solicitations, obtained leave of the emperor, that an epistle should be written to that purpose. This epistle became the occasion of the following miseries that befell our nation; for when the Jews of Cesarea were informed of the contents of this epistle to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, till a war was kindled.

10. Upon Festus's coming into Judea, it happened that Judea was afflicted by the robbers, while all the villages were set on fire, and plundered by them. And then it was that the Sicarii, as they were called, who were robbers, grew numerous. They made use of small swords, and much different in length from the Persian *acinacæ*, but somewhat crooked, and like the Roman *sicæ* [or sickles,] as they were called; and from those weapons these robbers got their denomination; and with those weapons they slew a great many: for they mingled themselves among the multitude at their festivals, when they were come up in crowds from all parts to the city to worship God, as we said before, and easily slew those that they had a mind to slay. They also came frequently upon the villages belonging to their enemies, with their weapons, and plundered them, and set them

* The wickedness here was very peculiar and extraordinary, that the high priests should so oppress their brethren the priests, as to starve the poorest of them to death. See the like presently, ch. ix. sect. 2. Such fatal crimes are covetousness and tyranny in the clergy, as well as in the laity, in all ages.

on fire. So Festus sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them, and those that were his followers also.

11. About the same time king Agrippa built himself a very large dining-room in the royal palace at Jerusalem, near to the portico. Now this palace had been erected of old by the children of Asamoneus, and was situated upon an elevation, and afforded a most delightful prospect to those that had a mind to take a view of the city, which prospect was desired by the king; and there he could lie down, and eat, and thence observe what was done in the temple; which thing when the chief men of Jerusalem saw, they were very much displeased at it; for it was not agreeable to the institutions of our country or law, that what was done in the temple should be viewed by others, especially what belonged to the sacrifices. They therefore erected a wall upon the uppermost building which belonged to the inner court of the temple towards the west: which wall when it was built, did not only intercept the prospect of the dining-room in the palace, but also of the western cloisters that belonged to the outer court of the temple also, where it was that the Romans kept guards for the temple at the festivals. At these doings both king Agrippa, and principally Festus the procurator, were much displeased; and Festus ordered them to pull the wall down again: but the Jews petitioned him to give them leave to send an embassage about this matter to Nero; for they said they could not endure to live if any part of the temple should be demolished; and when Festus had given them leave so to do, they sent ten of their principal men to Nero, as also Ismael the high priest, and Helcias the keeper of the sacred treasure. And when Nero had heard what they had to say, he not only forgave them* what they had already done, but also gave them leave to let the wall they had built stand. This was granted them in order to gratify Poppea, Nero's wife, who was a religious woman, and had requested these favours of Nero, and who gave orders to the ten ambassadors to go their way home; but retained Helcias and Ismael as hostages with herself. As soon as the king heard this news, he gave the high priesthood to Joseph, who was called *Cabi*, the son of Simeon, formerly high priest.

## CHAP. IX

### *Concerning Albinus, under whose Procuratorship James was slain; as also what Edifices were built by Agrippa.*

§ 1. And now Cæsar, upon hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus into Judea, as procurator. But the king deprived Joseph of the high priesthood, and bestowed the succession to that dignity on the son of Ananus, who was also himself called *Ananus*. Now the report goes, that this eldest Ananus proved a most fortunate man; for he had five sons, who had all performed the office of a high priest to God, and who had himself enjoyed that dignity a long time formerly, which had never happened to any other of our high priests. But this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent: he was also of the sect of the Sadducees,†

* We have here one eminent example of Nero's mildness and goodness in his government towards the Jews, during the first five years of his reign, so famous in antiquity; we have perhaps another in Josephus's own Life, sect. 3; and a third, though of a very different nature here, in sect. 9, just before. However, both the generous acts of kindness were obtained of Nero by his queen Poppea, who was a religious lady, and perhaps privately a Jewish proselyte, and so were not owing entirely to Nero's own goodness.

† It hence evidently appears, that Sadducees might be high priests in the days of Josephus, and that

who are very rigid in judging offenders above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when therefore Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority.] Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, whose name was *James*, and some others [or some of his companions.] And when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done; they also sent to the king [Agrippa,] desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done was not to be justified: nay, some of them went also to meet Albinus, as he was upon his journey from Alexandria, and informed him, that it was not lawful for Ananus to assemble a sanhedrim without his consent.* Whereupon Albinus complied with what they said, and wrote in anger to Ananus, and threatened that he would bring him to punishment for what he had done; on which account king Agrippa took the high priesthood from him, when he had ruled but three months, and made Jesus, the son of Damneus, high priest.

2. Now as soon as Albinus was come to the city of Jerusalem, he used all his endeavours and care that the country might be kept in peace, and this by destroying many of the Sicarii. But as for the high priest Ananias,† he increased in glory every day, and this to a great degree, and had obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens in a signal manner, for he was a great hoarder up of money; he therefore cultivated the friendship of Albinus, and of the high priest [Jesus,] by making them presents; he had also servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of the people, and went to the threshing-floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them. So the other high priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants, without any one's being able to prohibit them; so that [some of the] priests, that of old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food.

3. But now the Sicarii went into the city by night, just before the festival, which was now at hand, and took the scribe belonging to the governor of the temple, whose name was *Eleazar*, who was the son of Ananus [Ananias] the high priest, and bound him, and carried him away with them; after which they sent to Ananias, and said, that they would send the scribe to him, if he would persuade Albinus to release ten of those prisoners which he had caught of their party; so Ananias was plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and gained his request of him. This was the beginning of greater calamities, for the robbers perpetually contrived to catch some of Ananias's servants, and when they had taken them alive, they would not let them go, till they thereby recovered some of their

these Sadducees were usually very severe and inexorable judges, while the Pharisees were much milder, and more merciful, as appears by Reland's instances in his note on this place, and on Josephus's Life, sect. 34; and those taken from the New Testament, from Josephus himself, and from the rabbins; nor do we meet with any Sadducees later than this high priest in all Josephus.

* Of this condemnation of James the Just, and its causes, as also that he did not die till long afterwards, see Prim. Christ. Revived, vol. iii. ch. 43—46. The sanhedrim condemned our Saviour, but could not put him to death without the approbation of the Roman procurator; nor could therefore Ananias and his sanhedrim do more here, since they never had Albinus's approbation for the putting this James to death.

† This Ananias was not the son of Nebedeus, as I take it, but he who was called Annas, or Ananus the elder, the 9th in the catalogue, and who had been esteemed high priest for a long time, and, besides Caiaphas his son-in-law, had five of his own sons high priests after him, which were those of numbers 11, 14, 15, 17, 24, in the foregoing catalogue. Nor ought we to pass slightly over what Josephus here says of this Annas or Ananias, that he was high priest a long time before his children were so; he was the son of Seth, and is set down first for high priest in the foregoing catalogue, under number 9. He was made by Quirinus, and continued till Ismael, the 10th in number, for about twenty-three years, which long duration of high priesthood, joined to the succession of his son-in-law, and five children of his own, made him a sort of perpetual high priest, and was perhaps the occasion that former high priests kept their titles ever afterwards; for I believe it is hardly met with before him.

own Sicarii. And as they were again become no small number, they grew bold, and were a great affliction to the whole county.

4. About this time it was that king Agrippa built Cesarea Philippi larger than it was before, and, in honour of Nero, named it *Neronias*. And when he had built a theatre at Berytus, with vast expenses, he bestowed on them shows, to be exhibited every year, and spent therein many ten thousand [drachmæ:] he also gave the people a largess of corn, and distributed oil among them, and adorned the entire city with statues of his own donation, and with original images made by ancient hands; nay, he almost transferred all that was most ornamental in his own kingdom thither. This made him more than ordinarily hated by his subjects; because he took those things away that belonged to them, to adorn a foreign city. And now Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, became the successor of Jesus, the son of Damneus, in the high priesthood, which the king had taken from the other; on which account a sedition arose between the high priests, with regard to one another; for they got together bodies of the boldest sort of the people, and frequently came from reproaches to throwing of stones at each other. But Ananias was too hard for the rest by his riches, which enabled him to gain those that were most ready to receive. Costobarus also, and Saulus, did themselves get together a multitude of wicked wretches, and this because they were of the royal family; and so they obtained favour among them, because of their kindred to Agrippa: but still they used violence with the people, and were very ready to plunder those that were weaker than themselves. And from that time it principally came to pass, that our city was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse among us.

5. But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he was desirous to appear to do somewhat that might be grateful to the people of Jerusalem; so he brought out all those prisoners who seemed to him to be the most plainly worthy of death, and ordered them to be put to death accordingly. But as to those who had been put into prison on some trifling occasions, he took money of them, and dismissed them; by which means the prisons were indeed emptied, but the country was filled with robbers.

6. Now as many of the Levites,* which is a tribe of ours, as were singers of hymns, persuaded the king to assemble a sanhedrim, and to give them leave to wear linen garments, as well as the priests; for they said, that this would be a work worthy the times of his government, that he might have a memorial of such a novelty, as being his doing. Nor did they fail of obtaining their desire; for the king, with the suffrages of those that came into the sanhedrim, granted the singers of hymns this privilege, that they might lay aside their former garments, and wear such a linen one as they desired; and as a part of this tribe ministered in the temple, he also permitted them to learn those hymns as they had besought him for. Now all this was contrary to the laws of our country, which whenever they have been transgressed, we have never been able to avoid the punishment of such transgressions.

7. And now it was that the temple† was finished. So when the people saw that the workmen were unemployed, who were above eighteen thousand, and that they, receiving no wages, were in want, because they had earned their bread by their labours about the temple; and while they were unwilling to keep by them the treasures that were there deposited, out of fear of [their being carried away by] the Romans; and while they had a regard to the making provision for the workmen, they had a mind to expend those treasures upon them; for if any one of them did but labour for a single hour, he received his pay immediately; so they

* This insolent petition of some of the Levites, to wear the sarcerdotal garments when they sung hymns to God in the temple, was very probably owing to the great depression and contempt the haughty high priest had now brought their brethren the priests into; of which see ch. viii. sect. 8; and ch. ix. sect. 2.

† Of this finishing, not of the Ναος, or *holy-house*, but of the ιερον, or courts, about it, called in general the *temple*, see the note on B. xvii. ch. x. sect. 2.

persuaded him to rebuild the eastern cloisters. These cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached four hundred cubits [in length,] and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was twenty cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of king Solomon,* who first of all built the entire temple. But king Agrippa, who had the care of the temple committed to him by Claudius Cæsar, considering that it is easy to demolish any building, but hard to build it up again, and that it was particularly hard to do it to these cloisters, which would require a considerable time, and great sums of money, he denied the petitioners their request about that matter: but he did not obstruct them when they desired the city might be paved with white stone. He also deprived Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, of the high priesthood, and gave it to Matthias, the son of Theophilus, under whom the Jews' war with the Romans took its beginning.

## CHAP. X.

### *An Enumeration of the High Priests.*

§ 1. And now I think it proper and agreeable to this history, to give an account of our high priests; how they began, and who those are which are capable of that dignity, and how many of them there had been at the end of the war. In the first place, therefore, history informs us, that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated to God as a high priest, and that after his death his sons succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them to all their posterity. Whence it is the custom of our country, and that no one should take the high priesthood of God, but he who is of the blood of Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood. Accordingly, the number of all the high priests from Aaron, of whom we have spoken already, as of the first of them, until Phanas, who was made high priest during the war by the seditious, was eighty-three; of whom thirteen officiated as high priests in the wilderness, from the days of Moses, while the tabernacle was standing, until the people came into Judea, when king Solomon erected the temple to God: for at the first they held the high priesthood till the end of their life, although afterward they had successors while they were alive. Now these thirteen, who were the descendants of two of the sons of Aaron, received this dignity by succession, one after another; for their form of government was an aristocracy, and after that a monarchy, and in the third place the government was regal. Now the number of years during the rule of these thirteen, from the day when our fathers departed out of Egypt, under Moses their leader, until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected at Jerusalem, were six hundred and twelve. After those thirteen high priests, eighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made an expedition against that city and burnt the temple, and removed our nation into Babylon, and then took Josedek the high priest captive; the times of these high priests was four hundred sixty-six years six months and ten days, while the Jews were still under the regal government. But after the term of the seventy years' captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon to their own land again, and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josedek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now he and his posterity, who were in all fifteen, until king Antiochus Eupator, were under a democratical government for four hundred and fourteen years; and then

* Of these cloisters of Solomon, see the description of the temple, ch. xiii. They seem, by Josephus's words, to have been built from the bottom of the valley.

the forementioned Antiochus, and Lysias the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also named Menelaus, of the high priesthood, and slew him at Berea, and, driving away the son [of Onias the third,] put Jacimus into the place of the high priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of the family of Onias. On which account Onias, who was the nephew of Onias that was dead, and bore the same name with his father, came into Egypt, and got into the friendship of Ptolemy Philometer, and of Cleopatra his wife, and persuaded them to make him the high priest of that temple which he built to God in the prefecture of Heliopolis, and this in imitation of that at Jerusalem; but as for that temple which was built in Egypt, we have spoken of it frequently already. Now when Jacimus had retained the high priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest; but then the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus, who had the government of the nation conferred upon them, when they had beaten the Macedonians in war, appointed Jonathan to be their high priest, who ruled over them seven years. And when he had been slain by the treacherous contrivance of Trypho, as we have related somewhere, Simon his brother took the high priesthood; and when he was destroyed at a feast by the treachery of his son-in-law, his own son, whose name was Hyrcanus, succeeded him, after he had held the high priesthood one year longer than his brother. This Hyrcanus enjoyed that dignity thirty years, and died an old man, leaving the succession to Judas, who was also called Aristobulus, whose brother Alexander was his heir; which Judas died of a sore distemper, after he had kept the priesthood, together with the royal authority, for this Judas was the first that put on his head a diadem, for one year. And when Alexander had been both king and high priest twenty-seven years, he departed this life, and permitted his wife Alexandra to appoint him that should be high priest; so she gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, but retained the kingdom herself nine years, and then departed this life. The like duration [and no longer] did her son Hyrcanus enjoy the high priesthood; for after her death his brother Aristobulus fought against him, and beat him, and deprived him of his principality; and he did himself both reign, and perform the office of high priest to God. But when he had reigned three years and as many months, Pompey came upon him, and not only took the city of Jerusalem by force, but put him and his children in bonds, and sent them to Rome. He also restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, and made him governor of the nation, but forbade him to wear a diadem. This Hyrcanus ruled, besides his first nine years, twenty-four years more, when Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the generals of the Parthians, passed over Euphrates, and fought with Hyrcanus, and took him alive, and made Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, king; and when he had reigned three years and three months, Sosius and Herod besieged him, and took him, when Antony had him brought to Antioch, and slain there. Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the family of Asamoneus; but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but barely of those that were priests, excepting that he once gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for when he had made this Aristobulus, the grandson of that Hyrcanus who was taken by the Parthians, and had taken his sister Mariamne to wife, he thereby aimed to win the good will of the people, who had a kind remembrance of Hyrcanus [his grandfather.] Yet did he afterward, out of his fear lest they should all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death, and that by contriving how to have him suffocated, as he was swimming at Jericho, as we have already related that matter; but after this man he never intrusted the high priesthood to the posterity of the sons of Asamoneus. Archelaus also, Herod's son, did like his father in the appointment of the high priests, as did the Romans also, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterward. Accordingly the number of the high priests, from the days of Herod until the day when Titus took the temple and the city, and burned them, were in all twenty-eight; the time also

that belonged to them was a hundred and seven years. Some of these were the political governors of the people under the reign of Herod, and under the reign of Archelaus his son, although after their death the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were intrusted with a dominion over the nation. And thus much may suffice to be said concerning our high priests.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Florus the Procurator, who necessitated the Jews to take up Arms against the Romans. The Conclusion.*

§ 1. Now Gessius Florus, who was sent as successor to Albinus by Nero, filled Judea with abundance of miseries. He was by birth of the city Clazomenæ, and brought along with him his wife Cleopatra (by whose friendship with Poppea, Nero's wife, he obtained this government,) who was no way different from him in wickedness. This Florus was so wicked, and so violent in the use of his authority, that the Jews took Albinus to have been [comparatively] their benefactor; so excessive were the mischiefs that he brought upon them. For Albinus concealed his wickedness, and was careful that it might not be discovered to all men; but Gessius Florus, as though he had been sent on purpose to show his crimes to every body, made a pompous ostentation of them to our nation, as never omitting any sort of violence, nor any unjust sort of punishment; for he was not to be moved by pity, and never was satisfied with any degree of gain that came in his way; nor had he any more regard to great than to small acquisitions, but became a partner with the robbers themselves. For a great many fell then into that practice without fear, as having him for their security, and depending on him, that he would save them harmless in their particular robberies; so that there were no bounds set to the nation's miseries; but the unhappy Jews, when they were not able to bear the devastations which the robbers made among them, were all under a necessity of leaving their own habitations, and of flying away, as hoping to dwell more easily any where else in the world among foreigners [than in their own country.] And what need I say any more upon this head? since it was this Florus who necessitated us to take up arms against the Romans, while we thought it better to be destroyed at once, than by little and little. Now this war began in the second year of the government of Florus, and the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. But then what actions we were forced to do, or what miseries we were enabled to suffer, may be accurately known by such as will peruse those books which I have written about the Jewish War.

2. I shall now, therefore, make an end here of my Antiquities; after the conclusion of which events, I began to write that account Of the War; and these Antiquities contain what hath been delivered down to us from the original creation of man, until the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, as to what hath befallen us Jews, as well in Egypt as in Syria, and in Palestine, and what we have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians, and what afflictions the Persians and Macedonians, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us; for I think I may say that I have composed this history with sufficient accuracy in all things. I have attempted to enumerate those high priests that we have had during the interval of two thousand years; I have also carried down the succession of our kings, and related their actions, and political administration, without [considerable] errors, as also the power of our monarchs; and all according to what is written in our sacred books; for this it was that I promised to do in the beginning of this history. And I am so bold as to say, now I have so completely perfected the work I proposed to myself to do, that no other person, whether he were a Jew or a foreigner, had he ever so great an inclination to it, could so accu-

rately deliver these accounts to the Greeks as is done in these books. For those of my own nation freely acknowledge, that I far exceed them in the learning belonging to Jews; I have also taken a great deal of pains to obtain the learning of the Greeks, and understand the elements of the Greek language, although I have so long accustomed myself to speak our own tongue that I cannot pronounce Greek with sufficient exactness; for our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations, and so adorn their discourses with the smoothness of their periods; because they look upon this sort of accomplishment as common, not only to all sorts of freemen, but to as many of the servants as please to learn them. But they give him the testimony of being a wise man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning; on which account, as there have been many who have done their endeavours with great patience to obtain this learning, there have yet hardly been so many as two or three that have succeeded therein, who were immediately well rewarded for their pains.

3. And now it will not be perhaps an invidious thing, if I treat briefly of my own family, and of the actions of my own life, while there are still living such as can either prove what I say to be false, or can attest that it is true; with which accounts I shall put an end to these Antiquities; which are contained in twenty books, and sixty thousand verses. And if God* permit me, I will briefly run over this war again, with what befell us therein to this very day, which is the thirteenth year of the reign of Cæsar Domitian, and the fifty-sixth year of my own life. I have also an intention to write three books concerning our Jewish opinions about God and his essence, and about our laws; why, according to them, some things are permitted us to do, and others are prohibited.

* What Josephus here declares his *intention* to do, *if God permitted*, to give the public *again an abridgment of the Jewish War*, and to add, *what befell them farther to that very day*, the 13th of Domitian, or A. D. 93, is not, that I have observed, taken distinct notice of by any; nor do we ever hear of it elsewhere, whether he performed what he now intended or not. Some of the reasons of this design of his might possibly be his observation of the many errors he had been guilty of in the two first of those seven books of the War, which were written when he was comparatively young, and less acquainted with the Jewish Antiquities than he now was, and in which abridgment we might have hoped to find those many passages which himself, as well as those several passages which others refer to, as written by him, but which are not extant in his present works. However, since many of his own references to what he had written elsewhere, as well as most of his own errors, belong to such early times as could not well come into this abridgment of the Jewish war; and since none of those that quote things not now extant in his works, including himself as well as others, ever cite any such abridgment, I am forced rather to suppose that he never did publish any such work at all, I mean as distinct from his own life, written by himself, for an Appendix to these Antiquities, and this at least above seven years after these Antiquities were finished. Nor indeed does it appear to me, that Josephus ever published that other work here mentioned, as intended by him for the public also. I mean the three or four books *concerning God and his essence*, and concerning *the Jewish laws; why, according to them, some things were permitted the Jews, and others prohibited;* which last seems to be the same work which Josephus had also promised, *if God permitted*, at the conclusion of his preface to these Antiquities; nor do I suppose that he ever published any of them. The death of all his friends at court, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and the coming of those he had no acquaintance with to the crown, I mean Nerva and Trajan, together with his removal from Rome to Judea, with what followed it, might easily interrupt such his intentions, and prevent his publication of those works.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

§ 1. The family from which I am derived is not an ignoble one, but hath descended all along from the priests; and as nobility among several people is of a different origin, so, with us, to be of the sacerdotal dignity is an indication of the splendour of a family. Now I am not only sprung from a sacerdotal family in general, but from the first of the twenty-four courses :* and as among us there is not only a considerable difference between one family of each course and another, I am of the chief family of that first course also; nay, farther, by my mother I am of the royal blood; for the children of Asamoneus, from whom that family was derived, had both the office of the high priesthood, and the dignity of a king, for a long time together. I will accordingly set down my progenitors in order. My grandfathers's father was named Simon, with the addition of Psellus: he lived at the same time with that son of Simon the high priest, who first of all the high priests was named Hyrcanus. This Simon Psellus had nine sons, one of which was Matthias, called Ephlias; he married the daughter of Jonathan the high priest, which Jonathan was the first of the sons of Asamoneus, who was high priest, and was the brother of Simon the high priest also. This Matthias had a son called Matthias Curtus, and that in the first year of the government of Hyrcanus; his son's name was Joseph, born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra: his son Matthias was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; as was I born to Matthias on the first year of the reign of Caius Cæsar. I have three sons; Hyrcanus the eldest was born on the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, as was Justus born on the seventh, and Agrippa on the ninth. Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the public records,† and so bid adieu to those who calumniate me [as of a lower original.]

2. Now my father Matthias was not only eminent on account of his nobility, but had a higher commendation on account of his righteousness, and was in great reputation in Jerusalem, the greatest city we have. I was myself brought up with my brother, whose name was Matthias, for he was my own brother, by both father and mother; and I made mighty proficiency in the improvements of my learning, and appeared to have both a great memory and understanding.

* We may hence correct the error of the Latin copy of the second book against Apion, sect. 7, 8 (for the Greek is there lost,) which says, there were then only four tribes or courses of the priests, instead of twenty-four. Nor is this testimony to be disregarded, as if Josephus there contradicted what he had affirmed here; because even the account there given better agrees to twenty-four than to four courses; while he says, that each of those courses contained above 5000 men, which, multiplied by only four, will make not many more than 20,000 priests; whereas the number 120,000, as multiplied by twenty-four, seems much the most probable, they being about one tenth of the whole people, even after the captivity. See Ezra, ii. 36—39, Nehem. vii. 33—42; 1 Esd. v. 24, 25; with Ezra, ii. 64; Nehem. vii. 66; 1 Esd. v. 41. Nor will this common reading or notion of but four courses of priests agree with Josephus's own farther assertion elsewhere, Antiq. B. vii. ch. xiv. sect. 7, that David's partition of the priests into twenty-four courses had continued to that day.

† An eminent example of the care of the Jews about their genealogies, especially as to the priests. See Contr. Ap. B. i. chap. vii.

Moreover, when I was a child, and about fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for the love I had to learning; on which account, the high priests, and principal men of the city came then frequently to me together, in order to know my opinion about the accurate understanding of points of the law. And when I was about sixteen years old, I had a mind to make trial of the several sects that were among us. These sects are three: the first is that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essens, as we have frequently told you; for I thought that by this means I might choose the best, if I were once acquainted with them all: so I contented myself with hard fare, and underwent great difficulties, and went through them all.* Nor did I content myself with these trials only, but when I was informed that one, whose name was Banus, lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and by day, in order to preserve his chastity, I imitated him in those things, and continued with him three years.* So when I had accomplished my desires, I returned back to the city, being now nineteen years old, and began to conduct myself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is of kin to the sect of the Stoics, as the Greeks call them.

3. But when I was in the twenty-sixth year of my age, it happened that I took a voyage to Rome, and this on the occasion which I shall now describe. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of my acquaintance, and very excellent persons they were, whom on a small and trifling occasion he had put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. These I was desirous to procure deliverance for, and that especially because I was informed that they were not unmindful of piety towards God even under their afflictions, but supported themselves with figs and nuts.† Accordingly I came to Rome, though it were through a great number of hazards by sea: for, as our ship was drowned in the Adriatic sea, we that were in it, being about six hundred in number,‡ swam for our lives all the night; when upon the first appearance of the day, and upon our sight of a ship of Cyrene, I and some others, eighty in all, by God's providence, prevented the rest, and were taken up into the other ship. And when I had thus escaped, and was come to Dicearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I became acquainted with Aliturius, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth; and through his interest became known to Poppea, Cæsar's wife, and took care as soon as possible to intreat her to procure, that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again.

4. And now I perceived innovations were already begun, and that there were a great many very much elevated in hopes of a revolt from the Romans. I therefore endeavoured to put a stop to these tumultuous persons, and persuaded them to change their minds; and laid before their eyes against whom it was that they were going to fight, and told them that they were inferior to the Romans, not only in martial skill, but also in good fortune; and desired them not rashly, and after the most foolish manner, to bring on the dangers of the most terrible mischiefs

* When Josephus here says, that from sixteen to nineteen, or for three years, he made trial of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essens, and yet says presently, in all our copies, that he stayed besides with one particular ascetic, called *Banus παὰ αὐτῳ, with him*, and this still before he was nineteen, there is little room left for his trial of the three other sects. I suppose, therefore, that for *παὰ αὐτῳ, with him*, the old reading might be *παὰ αὐτοις, with them*; which is a very small emendation, and takes away the difficulty before us. Nor is Dr. Hudson's conjecture, hinted at by Mr. Hall, in his preface to the Doctor's edition of Josephus, at all improbable, that this Banus, by this his description, might well be a follower of John the Baptist, and that from him Josephus might easily imbibe such notions as afterwards prepared him to have a favourable opinion of Jesus Christ himself, who was attested to by John the Baptist.

† We may note here, that religious men among the Jews, or at least those that were priests, were sometimes ascetics also, and like Daniel and his companions in Babylon, Dan. i. 8—16. ate no flesh, but *figs and nuts*, &c. only. This was like the ξηροφαγια, or austere diet of the Christian ascetics in passion week. Constitut. v. 18.

‡ It hath been thought the number of Paul and his companions on shipboard, Acts, xxvii. 38, which are two hundred and seventy-six in our copies, are too many; whereas we find here that Josephus and his companions, a very few years after the other, were about six hundred.

upon their country, upon their families, and upon themselves. And this I said with vehement exhortations, because I foresaw that the end of such a war would be most unfortunate to us. But I could not persuade them; for the madness of desperate men was quite too hard for me.

5. I was then afraid, lest by inculcating these things so often, I should incur their hatred and their suspicions, as if I were of our enemies' party, and should run into the danger of being seized by them and slain, since they were already possessed of Antonia, which was the citadel; so I retired into the inner court of the temple. Yet did I go out of the temple again, after Manahem and the principal of the band of robbers were put to death, when I abode among the high priests and the chief of the Pharisees. But no small fear seized upon us when we saw the people in arms, while we ourselves knew not what we should do, and were not able to restrain the seditious. However, as the danger was directly upon us, we pretended that we were of the same opinion with them, but only advised them to be quiet for the present, and to let the enemy go away, still hoping that Gessius [Florus] would not be long ere he came, and that with great forces, and so put an end to these seditious proceedings.

6. But upon his coming and fighting, he was beaten, and a great many of those that were with him fell. And this disgrace which Gessius [with Cestius] received, became the calamity of our whole nation; for those that were fond of the war were so far elevated with this success, that they had hopes of finally conquering the Romans. Of which war another occasion was ministered, which was this: Those that dwelt in the neighbouring cities of Syria seized upon such Jews as dwelt among them, with their wives and children, and slew them, when they had not the least occasion of complaint against them; for they did neither attempt any innovation or revolt from the Romans, nor had they given any marks of hatred or treacherous designs towards the Syrians. But what was done by the inhabitants of Scythopolis was the most impious and most highly criminal of all;* for, when the Jews their enemies came upon them from without, they forced the Jews that were among them to bear arms against their own countrymen, which it is unlawful for us to do;† and, when, by their assistance, they had joined battle with those who attacked them, and had beaten them, after that victory, they forgot the assurances they had given these their fellow citizens and confederates, and slew them all, being in number many ten thousands [13,000.] The like miseries were undergone by those Jews that were the inhabitants of Damascus. But we have given a more accurate account of these things in the books of the Jewish War. I only mention them now, because I would demonstrate to my readers, that the Jews' war with the Romans was not voluntary, but that, for the main, they were forced by necessity to enter into it.

7. So when Gessius had been beaten, as we have said already, the principal men of Jerusalem, seeing that the robbers and innovators had arms in great plenty, and fearing lest they, while they were unprovided of arms, should be in subjection to their enemies, which also came to be the case afterward; and, being informed that all Galilee had not yet revolted from the Romans, but that some part of it was still quiet, they sent me and two others of the priests, who were men of excellent characters, Joazar and Judas, in order to persuade the ill men there to lay down their arms, and to teach them this lesson, that it were better to have those arms reserved for the most courageous men that the nation had [than to be kept there;] for that it had been resolved, that those our best men should always have their arms ready against futurity, but still so, that they should wait to see what the Romans would do.

* See Of the War, B. ii. ch. xviii. sect. 3.

† The Jews might collect this unlawfulness of fighting against their brethren from that law of Moses, Levit. xix. 16, "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour;" and that, ver. 17, "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" as well as from many other places in the Psalms and Prophets. See Antiq. B. xvii. ch. viii. sect. 3.

8. When I had, therefore, received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it, on account of the friendship they had with the Romans, and because they had given their right hand, and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. But I delivered them all out of the fear they were in, and persuaded the multitude to deal kindly with them, and permitted them to send to those that were their own hostages with Gessius, to Dora, which is a city of Phœnicia, as often as they pleased; though I still found the inhabitants of Tiberias ready to take arms, and that on the occasion following:

9. There were three factions in this city. The first was composed of men of worth and gravity; of these Julius Capellus was the head. Now he, as well as all his companions, Herod the son of Miarus, and Herod the son of Gamalus, and Compsus the son of Compsus (for as to Compsus's brother Crispus, who had once been governor of the city under the great king* [Agrippa,] he was beyond Jordan in his own possessions;) all these persons beforenamed gave their advice that the city should then continue in their allegiance to the Romans and to the king. But Pistus, who was guided by his son Justus, did not acquiesce in that resolution; otherwise he was himself naturally of a good and virtuous character. But the second faction was composed of the most ignoble persons, and was determined for war. But as for Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous of innovation, as supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs. He therefore came into the midst of them, and endeavoured to inform the multitude, that "the city Tiberias had ever been a city of Galilee, and that in the days of Herod the tetrarch, who had built it, it had obtained the principal place, and that he had ordered that the city Sepphoris should be subordinate to the city Tiberias; that they had not lost this preeminence even under Agrippa the father, but had retained it until Felix was procurator of Judea. But he told them, that now they had been so unfortunate as to be made a present by Nero to Agrippa junior; and that, upon Sepphoris's submission of itself to the Romans, that was become the capital city of Galilee, and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from them." When he had spoken these things, and a great many more, against king Agrippa, in order to provoke the people to a revolt, he added, that "this was the time for them to take arms, and join with the Galileans as their confederates (whom they might command, and who would now willingly assist them, out of the hatred they bare to the people of Sepphoris, because they preserved their fidelity to the Romans,) and to gather a great number of forces in order to punish them." And, as he said this, he exhorted the multitude [to go to war;] for his abilities lay in making harangues to the people, and in being too hard in his speeches for such as opposed him, though they advised what was more to their advantage, and this by his craftiness and his fallacies; for he was not unskilful in the learning of the Greeks, and in dependence on that skill it was, that he undertook to write a history of these affairs, as aiming by this way of haranguing to disguise the truth. But as to this man, and how ill were his character and conduct of life, and how he and his brother were, in great measure, the authors of our destruction, I shall give the reader an account in the progress of my narration. So when Justus had, by his persuasions, prevailed with the citizens of Tiberias to take arms; nay, and had forced a great many so to do against their wills, he went out, and set the villages that belonged to Gadara and Hippos on fire: which villages were situated on the borders of Tiberias and of the region of Scythopolis.

10. And this was the state Tiberias was now in. But as for Gischala, its affairs were thus: When John, the son of Levi, saw some of the citizens much

* That this Herod Agrippa, the father, was of old called a *Great King*, as here, appears by his coins still remaining, to which Havercamp refers us.

elevated upon their revolt from the Romans, he laboured to restrain them, and entreated them, that they would keep their allegiance to them. But he could not gain his purpose, although he did his endeavours to the utmost; for the neighbouring people of Gadara, and Gabara, and Sogana, with the Tyrians, got together a great army, and fell upon Gischala, and took Gischala by force, and set it on fire; and when they had entirely demolished it, they returned home. Upon which John was so enraged, that he armed all his men, and joined battle with the people forementioned, and rebuilt Gischala after a manner better than before, and fortified it with walls for its future security.

11. But Gamala persevered in its allegiance to the Romans, for the reason following: Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was their governor under king Agrippa, had been unexpectedly preserved when the royal palace at Jerusalem had been besieged; but, as he fled away, had fallen into another danger, and that was of being killed by Manahem, and the robbers that were with him; but certain Babylonians, who were of his kindred, and were then in Jerusalem, hindered the robbers from executing their design. So Philip staid there four days, and fled away on the fifth, having disguised himself with fictitious hair, that he might not be discovered; and when he was come to one of the villages to him belonging, but one that was situated at the borders of the citadel of Gamala, he sent to some of those that were under him, and commanded them to come to him. But God himself hindered that his intention, and this for his own advantage also; for had it not so happened, he had certainly perished. For, a fever having seized upon him immediately, he wrote to Agrippa and Bernice, and gave them to one of his freedmen to carry them to Varus, who at this time was procurator of the kingdom, which the king and his sister had intrusted him withal, while they were gone to Berytus with an intention of meeting Gessius. When Varus had received these letters of Philip, and had learned that he was preserved, he was very uneasy at it, as supposing that he should appear useless to the king and his sister, now Philip was come. He therefore produced the carrier of the letters before the multitude, and accused him of forging the same; and said, that he spake falsely, when he related that Philip was at Jerusalem fighting among the Jews against the Romans. So he slew him. And when this freedman of Philip did not return again, Philip was doubtful what should be the occasion of his stay, and sent a second messenger with letters, that he might, upon his return, inform him what had befallen the other that had been sent before, and why he tarried so long. Varus accused this messenger also, when he came of telling a falsehood, and slew him. For he was puffed up by the Syrians that were at Cesarea, and had great expectations; for they said, that Agrippa would be slain by the Romans for the crimes which the Jews had committed, and that he should himself take the government, as derived from their kings; for Varus was, by the confession of all, of the royal family, as being a descendant of Sohemus, who had enjoyed a tetrarchy about Libanus; for which reason it was that he was puffed up, and kept the letters to himself. He contrived also that the king should not meet with those writings, by guarding all the passes, lest any one should escape and inform the king what had been done. He moreover slew many of the Jews, in order to gratify the Syrians of Cesarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea, and to take up arms and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana: for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cesarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana, and inform their countrymen who dwelt there, that Varus hath heard that "you intend to march against the king; but, not believing that report, he hath sent us to persuade you to lay down your arms, and that this compliance will be a sign, that he did well not to give credit to those that raised the report concerning you." He also enjoined them to send seventy of their principal men to make a defence for them as to the accusation laid against them. So when the twelve messengers came to their coun-

trymen at Ecbatana, and found that they had no designs of innovation at all, they persuaded them to send the seventy men also; who, not at all suspecting what would come, sent them accordingly. So these seventy* went down to Cesarea, together with the twelve* ambassadors, where Varus met them with the king's forces, and slew them all, together with the [twelve] ambassadors, and made an expedition against the Jews of Ecbatana. But one there was of the seventy who escaped, and made haste to inform the Jews of their coming; upon which they took their arms, with their wives and children, and retired to the citadel of Gamala, leaving their own villages full of all sorts of good things, and having many ten thousands of cattle therein. When Philip was informed of these things, he also came to the citadel of Gamala; and when he was come, the multitude cried aloud, and desired him to resume the government, and to make an expedition against Varus, and the Syrians of Cesarea; for it was reported that they had slain the king. But Philip restrained their zeal, and put them in mind of the benefits the king had bestowed upon them; and told them how powerful the Romans were, and said it was not for their advantage to make war with them; and at length he prevailed with them. But now, when the king was acquainted with Varus's design, which was to cut off the Jews of Cesarea, being many ten thousands, with their wives and children, and all in one day, he called to him Equiculus Modius, and sent him to be Varus's successor, as we have elsewhere related. But still Philip kept possession of the citadel of Gamala, and of the country adjoining to it, which thereby continued in their allegiance to the Romans.

12. Now as soon as I was come into Galilee, and had learned this state of things by the information of such as told me of them, I wrote to the sanhedrim at Jerusalem about them, and required their direction what I should do. Their direction was, that I should continue there, and that, if my fellow legates were willing, I should join with them in the care of Galilee. But those my fellow legates, having gotten great riches from those tithes, which as priests were their dues, and were given to them, determined to return to their own country. Yet when I desired them to stay so long, that we might first settle the public affairs, they complied with me. So I removed, together with them, from the city of Sepphoris, and came to a certain village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias; and thence I sent messengers to the senate of Tiberias, and desired that the principal men of the city would come to me: and when they were come, Justus himself being also with them, I told them, that I was sent to them by the people of Jerusalem as a legate, together with these other priests, in order to persuade them to demolish that house which Herod the tetrarch had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures; and I desired, that they would give us leave so to do immediately. But for a good while Capellus, and the principal men belonging to the city, would not give us leave, but were at length entirely overcome by us, and were induced to be of our opinion. So Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of those whom we have already mentioned as the leader of a seditious tumult of mariners and poor people, prevented us, and took with him certain Galileans, and set the entire palace on fire, and thought he should get a great deal of money thereby, because he saw some of the roofs gilt with gold. They also plundered a great deal of the furniture, which was done without our approbation; for, after we had discoursed with Capellus and the principal men of the city, we departed from Bethmaus, and went into the Upper Galilee. But Jesus and his party slew all the Greeks that were inhabitants of Tiberias, and as many others as were their enemies before the war began.

13. When I understood this state of things, I was greatly provoked, and went down to Tiberias, and took all the care I could of the royal furniture, to recover

* The famous Jewish numbers of twelve and seventy are here remarkable.

all that could be recovered from such as had plundered it. They consisted of candlesticks made of Corinthian brass, and of royal tables, and of a great quantity of uncoined silver; and I resolved to preserve whatsoever came to my hand for the king. So I sent for ten of the principal men of the senate, and for Capellus, the son of Antyllus, and committed the furniture to them, with this charge, that they should part with it to nobody else but to myself. From thence I and my fellow legates went to Gischala to John, as desirous to know his intentions, and soon saw that he was for innovations, and had a mind to the principality; for he desired me to give him authority to carry off that corn which belonged to Cæsar, and lay in the villages of Upper Galilee; and he pretended that he would expend what it came to in building the walls of his own city. But when I perceived what he endeavoured at, and what he had in his mind, I said I would not permit him so to do; for that I thought either to keep it for the Romans, or for myself, now I was intrusted with the public affairs there by the people of Jerusalem. But, when he was not able to prevail with me, he betook himself to my fellow legates; for they had no sagacity in providing for futurity, and were very ready to take bribes. So he corrupted them with money to decree, that all that corn which was within his province should be delivered to him; while I, who was but one, was outvoted by two, and held my tongue. Then did John introduce another cunning contrivance of his; for he said, that those Jews who inhabited Cesarea Philippi, and were shut up by the order of the king's deputy there, had sent him to desire him, that since they had no oil that was pure for their use, he would provide a sufficient quantity of such oil that came from the Greeks, and thereby transgress their own laws. Now this was said by John, not out of his regard to religion, but out of his most flagrant desire of gain; for he knew, that two sextaries were sold with them of Cesarea for one drachma, but that at Gischala fourscore sextaries were sold for four sextaries. So he gave order, that all the oil which was there should be carried away, as having my permission for so doing; which yet I did not grant him voluntarily, but only out of fear of the multitude, since, if I had forbidden him, I should have been stoned by them. When I had therefore permitted this to be done by John, he gained vast sums of money by this his knavery.

14. But when I had dismissed my fellow legates, and sent them back to Jerusalem, I took care to have arms provided, and the cities fortified. And when I had sent for the most hardy among the robbers, I saw that it was not in my power to take their arms from them; but I persuaded the multitude to allow them money as pay, and told them, it was better for them to give them a little willingly, rather than to [be forced to] overlook them when they plundered their goods from them. And when I had obliged them to take an oath not to come into that country, unless they were invited to come, or else when they had not their pay given them, I dismissed them, and charged them neither to make an expedition against the Romans, nor against those their neighbours that lay round about them; for my first care was to keep Galilee in peace. So I was willing to have the principal of the Galileans, in all seventy, as hostages for their fidelity, but still under the notion of friendship. Accordingly I made them my friends and companions as I journeyed, and set them to judge causes; and with their approbation it was that I gave my sentences, while I endeavoured not to mistake what justice required, and to keep my hands clear of all bribery in those determinations.

15. I was now about the thirtieth year of my age; in which time of life it is a hard thing for any one to escape the calumnies of the envious, although he restrain himself from fulfilling any unlawful desires, especially where a person is in great authority. Yet did I preserve every woman free from injuries; and, as to what presents were offered me, I despised them, as not standing in need of them. Nor indeed would I take those tithes, which were due to me as a priest, from those that brought them. Yet do I confess, that I took part of the spoils of those Syrians which inhabited the cities that adjoined to us, when I had con-

quered them, and that I sent them to my kindred at Jerusalem; although, when I twice took Sepphoris by force, and Tiberias four times, and Gadara once, and when I had subdued and taken John, who often laid treacherous snares for me, I did not punish [with death] either him or any of the people forenamed, as the progress of this discourse will show. And on this account I suppose it was that God,* who is never unacquainted with those that do as they ought to do, delivered me still out of the hands of these my enemies, and afterwards preserved me when I fell into those many dangers which I shall relate hereafter.

16. Now the multitude of the Galileans had that great kindness for me, and fidelity to me, that when their cities were taken by force, and their wives and children carried into slavery, they did not so deeply lament for their own calamities, as they were solicitous for my preservation. But when John saw this, he envied me, and wrote to me, desiring that I would give him leave to come down, and make use of the hot baths at Tiberias for the recovery of the health of his body. Accordingly I did not hinder him, as having no suspicion of any wicked designs of his; and I wrote to those to whom I had committed the administration of the affairs of Tiberias, by name, that they should provide a lodging for John, and for such as should come with him, and should procure him what necessaries soever he should stand in need of. Now at this time my abode was in a village of Galilee, which is named *Cana*.

17. But when John was come to the city of Tiberias, he persuaded the men to revolt from their fidelity to me, and to adhere to him; and many of them gladly received that invitation of his, as ever fond of innovations, and by nature disposed to changes, and delighting in seditions: but they were chiefly Justus and his father Pistus, that were earnest for their revolt from me, and their adherence to John. But I came upon them, and prevented them; for a messenger had come to me from Silas, whom I had made governor of Tiberias, as I have said already, and had told me of the inclinations of the people of Tiberias, and advised me to make haste thither: for that, if I made any delay, the city would come under another's jurisdiction. Upon the receipt of this letter of Silas, I took two hundred men along with me, and travelled all night, having sent before a messenger to let the people of Tiberias know that I was coming to them. When I came near to the city, which was early in the morning, the multitude came out to meet me; and John came with them, and saluted me, but in a most disturbed manner, as being afraid that my coming was to call him to an account for what I was now sensible he was doing. So he in great haste went to his lodging. But when I was in the open place of the city, having dismissed the guards I had about me, excepting one, and ten armed men that were with him, I attempted to make a speech to the multitude of the people of Tiberias; and, standing on a certain elevated place, I entreated them not to be so hasty in their revolt; for that such a change in their behaviour would be to their reproach, and that they would then justly be suspected by those that should be their governors hereafter, as if they were not likely to be faithful to them neither.

18. But, before I had spoken all I designed, I heard one of my own domestics bidding me come down; for that it was not a proper time to take care of retaining the good will of the people of Tiberias, but to provide for my own safety, and escape my enemies there; for John had chosen the most trusty of those armed men that were about him, out of those thousand that he had with him, and had given them orders, when he sent them, to kill me, having learned that I was alone, excepting some of my domestics. So those that were sent came as they were ordered; and they had executed what they came about, had I not leaped down from the elevation I stood on, and with one of my guards, whose

* Our Josephus shows, both here and everywhere, that he was a most religious person, and one that had a deep sense of God and his providence upon his mind, and ascribed all his numerous and wonderful escapes and preservations, in times of danger, to God's blessing him, and taking care of him, and this on account of his acts of piety, justice, humanity, and charity to the Jews his brethren.

name was James, been carried [out of the crowd] upon the back of one Herod of Tiberias, and guided by him down to the lake, where I seized a ship, and got into it, and escaped my enemies unexpectedly, and came to Taricheæ.

19. Now as soon as the inhabitants of that city understood the perfidiousness of the people of Tiberias, they were greatly provoked at them. So they snatched up their arms, and desired me to be their leader against them; for they said they would avenge their commander's cause upon them. They also carried the report of what had been done to me to all the Galileans, and eagerly endeavoured to irritate them against the people of Tiberias, and desired that vast numbers of them would get together, and come to them, that they might act in concert with their commander what should be determined as fit to be done. Accordingly the Galileans came to me in great numbers from all parts with their weapons, and besought me to assault Tiberias, to take it by force, and to demolish it, till it lay even with the ground, and then to make slaves of its inhabitants, with their wives and children. Those that were Josephus's friends also, and had escaped out of Tiberias, gave him the same advice. But I did not comply with them, thinking it a terrible thing to begin a civil war among them; for I thought, that this contention ought not to proceed farther than words: nay, I told them that it was not for their own advantage to do what they would have me to do, while the Romans expected no other than that we should destroy one another by our mutual seditions. And by saying this I put a stop to the anger of the Galileans.

20. But now John was afraid for himself, since his treachery had proved unsuccessful. So he took the armed men that were about him, and removed from Tiberias to Gischala, and wrote to me to apologize for himself concerning what had been done, as if it had been done without his approbation, and desired me to have no suspicion of him to his disadvantage. He also added oaths and certain horrible curses upon himself, and supposed he should be thereby believed in the points he wrote about to me.

21. But now another great number of the Galileans came together again with their weapons, as knowing the man, how wicked and how sadly perjured he was; and desired me to lead them against him, and promised me that they would utterly destroy both him and Gischala. Hereupon I professed that I was obliged to them for their readiness to serve me, and that I would more than requite their good will to me. However, I entreated them to restrain themselves, and begged of them to give me leave to do what I intended, which was to put an end to these troubles without bloodshed; and when I had prevailed with the multitude of the Galileans to let me do so, I came to Sepphoris.

22. But the inhabitants of this city, having determined to continue in their allegiance to the Romans, were afraid of my coming to them, and tried, by putting me upon another action, to divert me, that they might be freed from the terror they were in. Accordingly they sent to Jesus, the captain of those robbers, who were in the confines of Ptolemais, and promised to give him a great deal of money, if he would come with those forces he had with him, which were in number eight hundred, and fight with us. Accordingly he complied with what they desired, upon the promises they had made him, and was desirous to fall upon us when we were unprepared for him, and knew nothing of his coming beforehand. So he sent to me, and desired that I would give him leave to come and salute me. When I had given him that leave, which I did without the least knowledge of his treacherous intentions beforehand, he took his band of robbers, and made haste to come to me. Yet did not this his knavery succeed well at last; for, as he was already nearly approaching, one of those with him deserted him, and came to me and told me what he had undertaken to do. When I was informed of this, I went into the market-place, and pretended to know nothing of his treacherous purpose. I took with me many Galileans that were armed, as also some of those of Tiberias: and, when I had given orders that all the roads should be carefully guarded

charged the keepers of the gates to give admittance to none but to Jesus, when he came with the principal of his men, and to exclude the rest; and in case they aimed to force themselves in, to use stripes [in order to repel them.] Accordingly, those that had received such a charge did as they were bidden, and Jesus came in with a few others; and when I had ordered him to throw down his arms immediately, and told him, that if he refused so to do, he was a dead man, he, seeing armed men standing all round about him, was terrified, and complied; and as for those of his followers that were excluded, when they were informed that he was seized, they ran away. I then called Jesus to me by himself, and told him, that "I was not a stranger to that treacherous design he had against me, nor was I ignorant by whom he was sent for; that, however, I would forgive what he had done already, if he would repent of it, and be faithful to me hereafter." And thus upon his promise to do all that I desired, I let him go, and gave him leave to get those whom he formerly had with him together again. But I threatened the inhabitants of Sepphoris, that, if they would not leave off their ungrateful treatment of me, I would punish them sufficiently.

23. At this time it was that two great men, who were under the jurisdiction of the king [Agrippa,] came to me out of the region of Trachonitis, bringing their horses and their arms, and carrying with them their money also; and when the Jews would force them to be circumcised, if they would stay among them, I would not permit them to have any force put upon them, but said to them,* "Every one ought to worship God according to his own inclinations, and not to be constrained by force; and that these men, who had fled to us for protection ought not to be so treated as to repent of their coming hither." And when I had pacified the multitude, I provided for the men that were come to us whatsoever it was they wanted, according to their usual way of living, and that in great plenty also.

24. Now king Agrippa sent an army to make themselves masters of the citadel of Gamala, and over it Equicolus Modius; but the forces that were sent were not enough to encompass the citadel quite round, but lay before it in the open places and beseiged it. But when Ebutius the decurion, who was intrusted with the government of the great plain, heard that I was at Simonias, a village situated in the confines of Galilee, and was distant from him sixty furlongs, he took a hundred horsemen that were with him by night, and a certain number of footmen, about two hundred, and brought the inhabitants of the city Gibea along with him as auxiliaries, and marched in the night, and came to the village where I abode. Upon this, I pitched my camp over against him, which had a great number of forces in it: but Ebutius tried to draw us down into the plain, as greatly depending on his horsemen; but we would not come down: for when I was satisfied of the advantage that his horse would have if we came down into the plain, while we were all footmen, I resolved to join battle with the enemy where I was. Now Ebutius and his party made a courageous opposition for some time; but when he saw that his horse were useless to him in that place, he retired back to the city Gibea, having lost three of his men in the fight. So I followed him directly with two thousand armed men; and when I was at the city Besara, that lay in the confines of Ptolemais, but twenty furlongs from Gibea where Ebutius abode, I placed my armed men on the outside of th village, and gave orders that they should guard the passes with great care, that the enemy might not disturb us, until we should have carried off the corn, a great quantity of which lay there: it belonged to Bernice the queen, and had been gathered together out of the neighbouring villages into Besara; so I loaded my camels and asses, a great number of which I had brought along with me, and sent the corn into Galilee. When I had done this, I offered Ebutius battle; but when he would not accept of the

* Josephus's opinion is here well worth noting, that every one is to be permitted to worship God according to his own conscience, and is not to be compelled in matters of religion; as one may here observe on the contrary, that the rest of the Jews were still for obliging all those who married Jews to be circumcised, and become Jews, and were ready to destroy all that would not submit to do so. See sect. 31, and Luke, ix. 54.

offer, for he was terrified at our readiness and courage, I altered my rout, and marched towards Neopolitanus, because I had heard that the country about Tiberias was laid waste by him. This Neopolitanus was captain of a troop of horse and had the custody of Scythopolis intrusted to his care by the enemy; and when I had hindered him from doing any further mischief to Tiberias, I set myself to make provision for the affairs of Galilee.

25. But when John, the son of Levi, who, as we before told you, abode at Gischala, was informed how all things had succeeded to my mind, and that I was much in favour with those that were under me; as also that the enemy were greatly afraid of me, he was not pleased with it, as thinking my prosperity tended to his ruin. So he took up a bitter envy and enmity against me; and hoping, that if he could inflame those that were under me to hate me, he should put an end to the prosperity I was in, he tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris (and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind with the others,) which were the greatest cities of Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me, and to be of his party; and told them that he would command them better than I did. As for the people of Sepphoris, who belonged to neither of us, because they had chosen to be in subjection to the Romans, they did not comply with his proposal; and for those of Tiberias, they did not indeed so far comply as to make a revolt from under me, but they agreed to be his friends, while the inhabitants of Gabara did go over to John; and it was Simon that persuaded them so to do; one who was both the principal man in the city, and a particular friend and companion of John. It is true, these did not openly own the making a revolt, because they were in great fear of the Galileans, and had frequent experience of the good will they bore to me; yet did they privately watch for a proper opportunity to lay snares for me; and indeed I thereby came into the greatest danger, on the occasion following:

26. There were some bold young men of the village Dabaritta, who observed that the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, was to make a progress over the great plain with a mighty attendance, and with some horsemen that followed, as a guard to them, and this out of a country that was subject to the king and queen, into the jurisdiction of the Romans; and fell upon them on the sudden, and obliged the wife of Ptolemy to fly away, and plundered all the carriages. They also came to me to Taricheæ, with four mules loading of garments, and other furniture; and the weight of the silver they brought was not small, and there were five hundred pieces of gold also. Now I had a mind to preserve these spoils for Ptolemy, who was my countryman; and it is prohibited us by our laws even to spoil our enemies:* so I said to those that brought these spoils, that they ought to be kept in order to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem with them, when they came to be sold. But the young men took it very ill that they did not receive a part of those spoils for themselves, as they expected to have done; so they went among the villages, in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, and told the people, that I was going to betray their country to the Romans, and that I used deceitful language to them, when I said, that what had been thus gotten by rapine should be kept for the rebuilding of the walls of the city of Jerusalem; although I had resolved to restore these spoils again to their former owner. And indeed they were herein not mistaken as to my intentions; for when I had gotten clear of them, I sent for two of the principal men, Dassion, and Janneus the son of Levi, persons that were among

* How Josephus could say here that the Jewish laws forbade them to "spoil even their enemies," while yet, a little before his time, our Saviour had mentioned it as then a current maxim with them, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy," Matt. v. 43, is worth our inquiry. I take it that Josephus, having been now for many years an Ebionite Christian, had learned this interpretation of the law of Moses from Christ, whom he owned for the true Messiah, as it follows in the succeeding verses, which, though he might not read in St. Matthew's gospel, yet might he have read much the same exposition in their own Ebionite or Nazarene gospel itself; of which improvements made by Josephus, after he was become a Christian, we have already had several examples in this his life, sect. 3, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23: and shall have many more therein before its conclusion, as well as we have them elsewhere in all his later writings.

he chief friends of the king, and commanded them to take the furniture that had een plundered, and to send it to him; and I threatened that I would order them o be put to death by way of punishment, if they discovered this my command to ny other person.

27. Now when all Galilee was filled with this rumour, that their country was bout to be betrayed by me to the Romans, and when all men were exasperated gainst me, and ready to bring me to punishment, the inhabitants of Taricheæ did lso themselves suppose that what the young men said was true, and persuaded ny guards and armed men to leave me when I was asleep, and to come presently o the hippodrome, in order there to take counsel against me their commander. nd when they had prevailed with them, and they were gotten together, they ound there a great company assembled already, who all joined in one clamour, o bring the man, who was so wicked to them as to betray them, to his due pun- shment; and it was Jesus the son of Sapphias, who principally set them on. He as ruler in Tiberias, a wicked man, and naturally disposed to make disturbances n matters of consequence; a seditious person he was indeed, and an innovator eyond every body else. He then took the laws of Moses into his hands, and ame into the midst of the people, and said, "O my fellow-citizens, if you are ot disposed to hate Josephus on your own account, have regard however to these aws of your country, which your commander in chief is going to betray; hate him herefore on both these accounts, and bring the man who hath acted thus inso- ently to his deserved punishment.

28. When he had said this, and the multitude had openly applauded him for hat he had said, he took some of the armed men, and made haste away to the ouse in which I lodged, as if he would kill me immediately, while I was wholly nsensible of all till this disturbance happened; and, by reason of the pains I had een taking, was fallen fast asleep. But Simon, who was intrusted with the care f my body, and was the only person that stayed with me, and saw the violent ncursions the citizens made upon me, he awaked me, and told me of the danger was in, and desired me to let him kill me, that I might die bravely and like a eneral, before my enemies came in, and forced me [to kill myself,] or killed me hemselves. Thus did he discourse to me; but I committed the care of my life o God, and made haste to go out to the multitude. Accordingly I put on a black arment, and hung my sword at my neck, and went by such a different way to he hippodrome, wherein I thought that none of my adversaries would meet me; o I appeared among them on the sudden, and fell down flat on the earth, and edewed the ground with my tears: then I seemed to them all an object of com- assion. And when I perceived the change that was made in the multitude, I ried to divide their opinions, before the armed men should return from my ouse: so I granted them that I had been as wicked as they supposed me to be, ut still I entreated them to let me first inform them for what use I had kept that noney which arose from the plunder, and that they might then kill me if they leased; and upon the multitude's ordering me to speak, the armed men came pon me, and when they saw me, they ran to kill me: but when the multitude bid hem hold their hands, they complied, and expected that as soon as I should wn to them that I kept the money for the king, it would be looked on as a con- ession of my treason, and they should then be allowed to kill me.

29. When therefore silence was made by the whole multitude, I spake thus o them: "O my countrymen, I refuse not to die, if justice so require. How- ever, I am desirous to tell you the truth of this matter before I die; for as I know hat this city of yours [Taricheæ] was a city of great hospitality, and filled with bundance of such men as have left their own countries, and are come hither to be partakers of your fortune whatever it be, I had a mind to build walls about it, out of this money, for which you are so angry with me, while yet it was to be expended in building your own walls." Upon my saying this, the people of Ta- richeæ and the strangers cried out, that "they gave me thanks, and desired me

to be of good courage." Although the Galileans and the people of Tiberias continued in their wrath against me, insomuch that there arose a tumult among them, while some threatened to kill me, and some bid me not to regard them; but when I promised them that I would build them walls at Tiberias, and at other cities that wanted them, they gave credit to what I promised, and returned every one to his own home. So I escaped the forementioned danger, beyond all my hopes, and returned to my own house, accompanied with my friends, and twenty armed men also.

30. However, those robbers and other authors of this tumult, who were afraid on their own account, lest I should punish them for what they had done, took six hundred armed men, and came to the house where I abode, in order to set it on fire. When this their insult was told me, I thought it indecent for me to run away, and I resolved to expose myself to danger, and to act with some boldness; so I gave order to shut the doors, and went up into an upper room, and desired that they would send some of their men in to receive the money [from the spoils;] for I told them they would then have no occasion to be angry with me; and when they had sent in one of the boldest men of them all, I had him whipped severely, and I commanded that one of his hands should be cut off, and hung about his neck; and in this case was he put out to those that sent him. At which procedure of mine they were greatly affrighted, and in no small consternation, and were afraid that they should themselves be served in like manner, if they stayed there: for they supposed that I had in the house more armed men than they had themselves; so they ran away immediately, while I, by the use of this stratagem escaped this their second treacherous design against me.

31. But there were still some that irritated the multitude against me, and said, that those great men that belonged to the king ought not to be suffered to live, if they would not change their religion to the religion of those to whom they fled for safety: they spake reproachfully of them also, and said, that they were wizards,* and such as called in the Romans upon them. So the multitude was soon deluded by such plausible pretences as were agreeable to their own inclinations, and were prevailed on by them. But when I was informed of this, I instructed the multitude again, that those that fled to them for refuge ought not to be persecuted; I also laughed at the allegation about witchcraft,* and told them that the Romans would not maintain so many ten thousand soldiers, if they could overcome their enemies by wizards. Upon my saying this, the people assented for a while; but they returned again afterward, as irritated by some ill people against the great men: nay, they once made an assault upon the house in which they dwelt at Taricheæ, in order to kill them; which when I was informed of, I was afraid lest so horrid a crime should take effect, and nobody else would make that city their refuge any more. I therefore came myself, and some others with me, to the house where these great men lived, and locked the doors, and had a trench drawn from their house leading to the lake, and sent for a ship, and embarked therein with them, and sailed to the confines of Hippos; I also paid them the value of their horses, nor in such a flight could I have their horses brought to them. I then dismissed them, and begged of them earnestly that they would courageously bear this distress which befell them. I was also myself greatly displeased that I was compelled to expose those that had fled to me to go again into an enemy's country; yet did I think it more eligible that they should perish among the Romans, if it should so happen, than in the country that was under my jurisdiction. However, they escaped at length, and king Agrippa forgave them their offences. And this was the conclusion of what concerned these men.

32. But as for the inhabitants of the city of Tiberias, they wrote to the king, and desired him to send them forces sufficient to be a guard to their country; for that

* Here we may observe the vulgar Jewish notion of witchcraft; but that our Josephus was too wise to give any countenance to it.

hey were desirous to come over to him this was what they wrote to him. But vhen I came to them: they desired me to build their walls, as I had promised hem to do: for they had heard that the walls of Taricheæ were already built: I greed to their proposal accordingly. And when I had made preparation for their ntire building, I gave order to the architects to go to work; but on the third day, vhen I was gone to Taricheæ, which was thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, t so fell out, that some Roman horsemen were discovered on their march, not far rom the city, which made it to be supposed that the forces were come from the king; upon which they shouted, and lifted up their voices in commendations of he king, and in reproaches against me. Hereupon one came running to me, and old me what their dispositions were, and that they had resolved to revolt from me; pon hearing which news I was very much alarmed; for I had already sent a- vay my armed men from Taricheæ to their own homes, because the next day vas our Sabbath; for I would not have the people of Taricheæ be disturbed [on hat day] by a multitude of soldiers; and indeed, whenever I so journed at that city, I never took any particular care for a guard about my own body, because I had had frequent instances of the fidelity its inhabitants bore to me. I had now about me no more than seven armed men, besides some friends, and was doubtful what to do; for to send to recall my own forces I did not think proper, because the present day was almost over, and had those forces been with me, I could not take up arms on the next day, because our laws forbid us so to do, even though our necessity should be very great; and if I should permit the people of Taricheæ, and the strangers with them, to guard the city, I saw that they would not be sufficient for that purpose, and I perceived that I should be obliged to de- lay my assistance a great while; for I thought with myself that the forces that came from the king would prevent me, and that I should be driven out of the city. I considered, therefore, how to get clear of these forces by a stratagem; so I immediately placed those my friends of Taricheæ, on whom I could best con- fide, at the gates, to watch those very carefully who went out to those gates; I also called to me the heads of families, and bid every one of them to seize upon a ship,* to go on board it, and to take a master with them, and follow him to the city of Tiberias. I also myself went on board one of those ships, with my friends, and the seven armed men already mentioned, and sailed for Tiberias.

33. But now, when the people of Tiberias perceived that there were no forces come from the king, and yet saw the whole lake full of ships, they were in fear what would become of their city, and were greatly terrified, as supposing that the ships were full of men on board; so they then changed their minds, and threw down their weapons and met me with their wives and children, and made acclamations to me, with great commendations; for they imagined that I did not know their former inclinations [to have been against me]; so they persuaded me to spare the city. But when I was come near enough, I gave order to the masters of the ships to cast anchor a good way off the land, that the people of Tiberias might not perceive that the ships had no men on board; but I went nearer to the people in one of the ships, and rebuked them for their folly, and that they were so fickle as, without any just occasion in the world, to revolt from their fidelity to me. However, I assured them that I would entirely forgive them for the time to come, if they would send ten of the ringleaders of the multitude to me; and when they complied readily with this proposal, and sent me the men foremen- tioned, I put them on board a ship, and sent them away to Taricheæ, and ordered them to be kept in prison.

34. And by this stratagem it was that I gradually got all the senate of Tibe- rias into my power, and sent them to the city formentioned, with many of the prin- cipal men among the populace; and those not fewer in number than the other.

* In this section, as well as sect. 13, and sect. 33, those small vessels that sailed on the sea of Gali- lee, are called by Josephus Νῆες, and Πλοῖα, and Σκάφη, *i. e.* plainly, *ships*, so that we need not won- der at our Evangelists, who still call them *ships*, nor ought we to render them *boats*, as some do. Their number was in all 230, as we learn from our author elsewhere, Of the War, B. ii. chap. xxi. sect. 8

But when the multitude saw into what great miseries they had brought themselves, they desired me to punish the author of this sedition; his name was *Clitus*, a young man, bold and rash in his undertakings. Now, since I thought it not agreeable to piety to put one of my own people to death, and yet fonnd it necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my own guards, to go to him, and cut off one of Clitus's hands; but as he that was ordered to do this was afraid to go out of the ship alone, among so great a multitude, I was not willing that the timorousness of the soldier should appear to the people of Tiberias. So I called to Clitus himself, and said to him, "Since thou deservest to lose both thine hands, for thy ingratitude to me, be thou thine own executioner, lest if thou refusest so to do, thou undergo a worse punishment." And, when he earnestly begged of me to spare him one of his hands, it was with difficulty that I granted it. So in order to prevent the loss of both his hands, he willingly took his sword, and cut off his own left hand; and this put an end to the sedition.

35. Now the men of Tiberias, after I was gone to Taricheæ, perceived what stratagem I had used against them, and they admired how I had put an end to their foolish sedition, without shedding of blood. But now, when I had sent for some of those multitudes of the people of Tiberias out of prison, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, I made them to sup with me, and during our supper time I said to them, that I knew the power of the Romans was superior to all others, but did not say so [publicly] because of the robbers. So I advised them to do as I did, and to wait for a proper opportunity, and not to be uneasy at my being their commander; for that they could not expect to have another who would use the like moderation that I had done. I also put Justus in mind how the Galileans had cut off his brother's hands, before ever I came to Jerusalem upon an accusation laid against him, as if he had been a rogue, and had forged some letters; as also how the people of Gamala, in a sedition they raised against the Babylonians, after the departure of Philip, slew Chares, who was a kinsman of Philip, and withal how they had wisely punished Jesus, his brother Justus's sister's husband [with death.] When I had said this to them during supper time, I in the morning ordered Justus, and all the rest that were in prison, to be loosed out of it, and sent away.

36. But before this it happened, that Philip, the son of Jacimus, went out of the citadel of Gamala upon the following occasion: when Philip had been informed that Varus was put out of his government by king Agrippa, and that Modius Equicolus, a man that was of old his friend and companion, was come to succeed him, he wrote to him, and related what turns of fortune he had had, and desired him to forward the letters he sent to the king and queen. Now when Modius had received these letters, he was exceeding glad, and sent the letters to the king and queen, who were then about Berytus. But when king Agrippa knew that the story about Philip was false (for it had been given out, that the Jews had begun a war with the Romans, and that this Philip had been their commander in that war,) he sent some horsemen to conduct Philip to him, and, when he was come, he saluted him very obligingly, and showed him to the Roman commanders, and told them that this was the man of whom the report had gone about as if he had revolted from the Romans. He also bid him take some horsemen with him, and to go quickly to the citadel of Gamala, and to bring out thence all his domestics, and to restore the Babylonians to Batanea again. He also gave it him in charge to take all possible care that none of his subjects should be guilty of making any innovation. Accordingly, upon these directions from the king, he made haste to do what he was commanded.

37. Now there was one Joseph, the son of a female physician, who excited a great many young men to join with him. He also insolently addressed himself to the principal persons at Gamala, and persuaded them to revolt from the king, and take up arms, and gave them hopes that they should, by his means, recover their liberty. And some they forced into the service, and those that

would not acquiesce in what they had resolved on, they slew. They also slew Chares, and with him Jesus, one of his kinsmen, and a brother of Justus of Tiberias, as we have already said. Those of Gamala also wrote to me, desiring me to send them an armed force, and workmen to raise up the walls of their city; nor did I reject either of their requests. The region of Gaulonitis did also revolt from the king, as far as the village Solyma. I also built a wall about Seleucia and Soganni, which are villages naturally of very great strength. Moreover, I in like manner walled several villages of Upper Galilee, though they were very rocky of themselves. Their names are Jamnia, and Meroth, and Achabare. I also fortified, in the Lower Galilee, the cities Taricheæ, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and the villages, the cave of Arbela, Bersobe, Selamin, Jotapata, Capharecchо, and Sigo, and Japha, and Mount Tabor.* I also laid up a great quantity of corn in these places, and arms withal, that might be for their security afterward.

38. But the hatred that John, the son of Levi, bore to me, grew now more violent, while he could not bear my prosperity with patience. So he proposed to himself, by all means possible, to make away with me, and built the walls of Gischala, which was the place of his nativity. He then sent his brother Simon, and Jonathan, the son of Sisenna, and about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon the son of Gamaliel,† in order to persuade him to induce the commonalty of Jerusalem to take from me the government over the Galileans, and to give their suffrages for conferring that authority upon him. This Simon was of the city Jerusalem, and of a very noble family, of the sect of the Pharisees, which are supposed to excel others in the accurate knowledge of the laws of their country. He was a man of great wisdom and reason, and capable of restoring public affairs by his prudence, when they were in an ill posture. He was also an old friend and companion of John; but at that time he had a difference with me. When therefore he had received such an exhortation, he persuaded the high priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, and some others of the same seditious faction, to cut me down, now I was growing so great, and not to overlook me while I was aggrandizing myself to the height of glory; and he said, that it would be for the advantage of the Galileans, if I were deprived of my government there. Ananus also, and his friends, desired them to make no delay about the matter, lest I should get the knowledge of what was doing too soon, and should come and make an assault upon the city with a great army. This was the counsel of Simon; but Ananus the high priest demonstrated to them, that this was not an easy thing to be done, because many of the high priests, and of the rulers of the people, bore witness that I had acted like an excellent general, and that it was the work of ill men to accuse one against whom they had nothing to say.

39. When Simon heard Ananus say this, he desired that the messengers would conceal the thing, and not let it come among many, for that he would take care to have Josephus removed out of Galilee very quickly. So he called for John's brother [Simon,] and charged him, that they should send presents to Ananus and his friends: for, as he said, they might probably by that means persuade them to change their minds. And indeed Simon did at length thus compass what he aimed at, for Ananus, and those with him, being corrupted by bribes, agreed to expel me out of Galilee, without making the rest of the citizens acquainted with what they were doing. Accordingly they resolved to send men of distinction as to their families, and of distinction as to their learning also. Two of these were

* Part of these fortifications on Mount Tabor may be those still remaining, and which were seen lately by Mr. Maundrel. See his Travels, p. 112.

† This Gamaliel may be the very same that is mentioned by the rabbins in the Mishna, in Juchasin, and in Porta Mosis, as is observed in the Latin notes. He might be also that Gamaliel II. whose grandfather was Gamaliel I. who is mentioned Acts, v. 34, and at whose feet St. Paul *was brought up*, Acts, xxii. 3. See Prid. at the year 446.

of the populace, Jonathan* and Ananias, by sect Pharisees; while the third Jozar, was of the stock of the priests, and a Pharisee also; and Simon, the last of them, was of the youngest of the high priests. These had it given them in charge, that, when they were come to the multitude of the Galileans, they should ask them what was the reason of their love to me? and if they said, that it was because I was born at Jerusalem, that they should reply, that they four were all born at the same place; and if they should say, it was because I was well versed in their law, they should reply, that neither were they unacquainted with the practices of their country; but if, besides these, they should say, they loved me because I was a priest, they should reply, that two of these were priests also.

40. Now, when they had given Jonathan and his companions these instructions, they gave them forty thousand [drachmæ] out of the public money: but when they heard that there was a certain Galilean that then sojourned at Jerusalem, whose name was Jesus, who had about him a band of six hundred armed men, they sent for him, and gave him three months' pay, and gave him orders to follow Jonathan and his companions, and be obedient to them. They also gave money to three hundred men that were citizens of Jerusalem, to maintain them all, and ordered them also to follow the ambassadors; and when they had complied, and were gotten ready for the march, Jonathan and his companions went out with them, having along with them John's brother, and a hundred armed men. The charge that was given them by those that sent them was this, that if I would voluntarily lay down my arms, they should send me alive to the city Jerusalem: but that in case I opposed them, they should kill me, and fear nothing: for that it was their command for them so to do. They also wrote to John to make all ready for fighting me, and gave orders to the inhabitants of Sepphoris, and Gabara, and Tiberias, to send auxiliaries to John.

41. Now as my father wrote me an account of this (for Jesus, the son of Gamala, who was present in that council, a friend and companion of mine, told him of it,) I was very much troubled, as discovering thereby, that my fellow citizens proved so ungrateful to me, as, out of envy, to give order that I should be slain; my father earnestly pressed me also in his letter to come to him, for that he longed to see his son before he died. I informed my friends of these things, and that in three days' time I should leave the country, and go home. Upon hearing this they were all very sorry, and desired me, with tears in their eyes, not to leave them to be destroyed; for so they thought they should be, if I were deprived of the command over them: but as I did not grant their request, but was taking care of my own safety, the Galileans, out of their dread of the consequences of my departure, that they should then be at the mercy of the robbers, sent messengers over all Galilee to inform them of my resolution to leave them. Whereupon, as soon as they heard it, they got together in great numbers, from all parts, with their wives and children; and this they did, as it appeared to me, not more out of their affection to me, than out of their fear on their own account; for while I staid with them, they supposed that they should suffer no harm. So they all came into the great plain, wherein I lived, the name of which was *Asochis*.

42. But wonderful it was what a dream I saw that very night; for when I had betaken myself to my bed, as grieved and disturbed at the news that had been written to me, it seemed to me, that a certain person stood by me,* and said "O Josephus! leave off to afflict thy soul, and put away all fear; for what now grieves thee will render thee very considerable, and in all respects most happy; for thou shalt get over not only these difficulties, but many others, with great success. However, be not cast down, but remember that thou art to fight with

* This Jonathan is also taken notice of in the Latin notes, as the same that is mentioned by the rabbins in Porta Mosis.

* This I take to be the first of Josephus's remarkable or divine dreams, which were predictive of the great things that afterwards came to pass: of which see more in the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 9. The other is in the War, B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 3. 9.

ne Romans." When I had seen this dream, I got up with an intention of going down to the plain. Now when the whole multitude of the Galileans, among whom were the women and children, saw me, they threw themselves down upon their faces, and, with tears in their eyes, besought me not to leave them exposed to their enemies, nor to go away and permit their country to be injured by them. But when I did not comply with their entreaties, they compelled me to take an oath, that I would stay with them: they also cast abundance of reproaches upon the people of Jerusalem, that they would not let their country enjoy peace.

43. When I heard this, and saw what sorrow the people were in, I was moved with compassion to them, and thought it became me to undergo the most manifest hazards for the sake of so great a multitude; so I let them know I would stay with them. And when I had given order that five thousand of them should come to me armed, and with provisions for their maintenance, I sent the rest away to their own homes; and when those five thousand were come, I took them, together with three thousand of the soldiers that were with me before, and eighty horsemen, and marched to the village of Chabolo, situated in the confines of Ptolemais, and there kept my forces together, pretending to get ready to fight with Placidus, who was come with two cohorts of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, and was sent thither by Cestius Gallus, to burn those villages of Galilee that were near Ptolemais. Upon whose casting up a bank before the city Ptolemais, I also pitched my camp at about the distance of sixty furlongs from that village. And now we frequently brought out our forces as if we would fight, but proceeded no farther than skirmishes at a distance; for when Placidus perceived that I was earnest to come to a battle, he was afraid, and avoided it. Yet did he not remove from the neighbourhood of Ptolemais.

44. About this time it was that Jonathan and his fellow legates came. They were sent, as we have said already, by Simon, and Ananus the high priest. And Jonathan contrived how he might catch me by treachery; for he durst not make any attempt upon me openly. So he wrote me the following epistle: "Jonathan, and those that are with him, and are sent by the people of Jerusalem to Josephus, send greeting. We are sent by the principal men of Jerusalem, who have heard that John of Gischala hath laid many snares for thee, to rebuke him, and to exhort him to be subject to thee hereafter. We are also desirous to consult with thee about our common concerns, and what is fit to be done. We therefore desire thee to come to us quickly, and to bring only a few men with thee, for this village will not contain a great number of soldiers." Thus it was that they wrote, as expecting one of these two things, either that I should come without armed men, and then they should have me wholly in their power; or, if I came with a great number, they should judge me to be a public enemy. Now it was a horseman who brought the letter, a man at other times bold, and one that had served in the army under the king. It was the second hour of the night that he came, when I was feasting with my friends, and the principal of the Galileans. This man, upon my servant's telling me, that a certain horseman of the Jewish nation was come, he was called in at my command, but did not so much as salute me at all, but held out a letter and said, "This letter is sent thee by those that are come from Jerusalem. Do thou write an answer to it quickly, for I am obliged to return to them very soon." Now my guests could not but wonder at the boldness of the soldier. But I desired him to sit down and sup with us; but when he refused so to do, I held the letter in my hands as I received it, and fell a talking with my guests about other matters. But a few hours afterwards I got up, and, when I had dismissed the rest to go to their beds, I bid only four of my intimate friends to stay, and ordered my servant to get some wine ready. I also opened the letter so that nobody could perceive it; and, understanding thereby presently the purport of the writing, I sealed it up again, and appeared as if I had not yet read it, but only held it in my hands. I ordered twenty drachmæ should be given the soldier, for the charges of his

journey; and when he took the money, and said he thanked me for it. I perceived that he loved money, and that he was to be caught chiefly by that means, and I said to him, "If thou wilt but drink with us, thou shalt have a drachmæ for every glass thou drinkest." So he gladly embraced this proposal, and drank a great deal of wine, in order to get the more money, and was so drunk, that at last he could not keep the secrets he was intrusted with, but discovered them, without my putting questions to him, viz. that a treacherous design was contrived against me, and that I was doomed to die by those that sent him. When I heard this, I wrote back this answer: "Josephus, to Jonathan and those that are with him, sendeth greeting. Upon the information that you are come in health into Galilee, I rejoice, and this especially, because I can now resign the care of public affairs here into your hands, and return into my native country, which is what I have desired to do a great while; and I confess I ought not only to come to you as far as Xaloth, but farther, and this without your commands. But I desire you to excuse me, because I cannot do it now, since I watch the motions of Placidus, who hath a mind to go up into Galilee; and this I do here at Chabolo. Do you therefore, on the receipt of this epistle, come hither to me. Fare you well."

45. When I had written thus, and given the letter to be carried by the soldier, I sent along with him thirty of the Galileans of the best characters, and gave them instructions to salute those ambassadors, but to say nothing else to them. I also gave orders to as many of those armed men, whom I esteemed most faithful to me, to go along with the others, every one with him whom he was to guard, lest some conversation might pass between those whom I sent and those that were with Jonathan. So these men went [to Jonathan.] But, when Jonathan and his partners had failed in this their first attempt, they sent me another letter, the contents whereof were as follows: "Jonathan and those with him to Josephus send greeting. We require thee to come to us to the village Gabaroth, on the third day, without any armed men, that we may hear what thou hast to lay to the charge of John [of Gischala."] When they had written this letter, they saluted the Galileans whom I sent, and came to Japha, which was the largest village of all Galilee, and encompassed with very strong walls, and had a great number of inhabitants in it. There the multitude of men with their wives and children met them, and exclaimed loudly against them, and desired them to be gone, and not to envy them the advantage of an excellent commander. With these clamours Jonathan and his partners were greatly provoked, although they durst not show their anger openly: so they made them no answer, but went to other villages. But still the same clamours met them from all the people, who said, "Nobody should persuade them to have any other commander besides Josephus." So Jonathan and his partners went away from them without success, and came to Sepphoris, the greatest city of all Galilee. Now the men of that city who inclined to the Romans in their sentiments, met them indeed, but neither praised nor reproached me; and when they were gone down from Sepphoris to Asochis, the people of that place made a clamour against them, as those of Japha had done. Whereupon they were able to contain themselves no longer, but ordered the armed men that were with them to beat those that made the clamour with their clubs. And when they came to Gabara, John met them, with three thousand armed men; but, as I understood by their letter, that they had resolved to fight against me, I arose from Chabolo, with three thousand armed men also, but left in my camp one of my fastest friends, and came to Jotapata, as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than forty furlongs. Whence I wrote thus to them: "If you are very desirous that I should come to you, you know there are two hundred and forty cities and villages in Galilee, I will come to any of them which you please, excepting Gabara and Gischala; the one of which is John's native city, and the other in confederacy and friendship with him."

46. When Jonathan and his partners had received this letter they wrote me

no more answers, but called a council of their friends together, and taking John into their consultation, they took counsel together by what means they might attack me. John's opinion was, that they should write to all the cities and villages that were in Galilee; for that there must be certainly one or two persons in every one of them that was at variance with me, and that they should be invited to come to oppose me as an enemy. He would also have them send this resolution of theirs to the city Jerusalem, that its citizens, upon the knowledge of my being adjudged to be an enemy by the Galileans, might themselves also confirm that determination. He said also, that when this was done, even those Galileans who were well affected to me would desert me out of fear. When John had given them this counsel, what he had said was very agreeable to the rest of them. I was also made acquainted with these affairs about the third hour of the night, by the means of one Saccheus, who had belonged to them, but now deserted them and came over to me, and told me what they were about; so I perceived that no time was to be lost. Accordingly I gave command to Jacob, an armed man of my guard, whom I esteemed faithful to me, to take two hundred men, and to guard the passages that led from Gabara to Galilee, and to seize upon the passengers, and send them to me, especially such as were caught with letters about them: I also sent Jeremias himself, one of my friends, with six hundred armed men, to the borders of Galilee, in order to watch the roads that led from this country to the city Jerusalem, and gave him charge to lay hold of such as travelled with letters about them, to keep the men in bonds upon the place, but to send me the letters.

47. When I had laid these commands upon them, I gave them orders, and bid them to take their arms and bring three days provision with them, and be with me the next day. I also parted those that were about me into four parts, and ordained those of them that were most faithful to me to be a guard to my body. I also set over them centurions, and commanded them to take care that not a soldier which they did not know should mingle himself among them. Now on the fifth day following, when I was in Gabaroth, I found the entire plain that was before the village full of armed men, who were come out of Galilee to assist me; many others of the multitude also, out of the village, ran along with me. But as soon as I had taken my place, and began to speak to them, they all made an acclamation, and called me the benefactor and saviour of the country. And when I had made them my acknowledgments, and thanked them [for their affection to me,] I also advised them to fight* with nobody, nor to spoil the country; but to pitch their tents in the plain, and be content with their sustenance they had brought with them; for I told them that I had a mind to compose these troubles without shedding any blood. Now it came to pass, that on the very same day those who were sent by John with letters, fell among the guards whom I had appointed to watch the roads; so the men were themselves kept upon the place, as my orders were, but I got the letters, which were full of reproaches and lies; and I intended to fall upon these men without saying a word of these matters to any body.

48. Now as soon as Jonathan and his companions heard of my coming, they took all their own friends, and John with them, and retired to the house of Jesus, which indeed was a large castle, and no way unlike a citadel; so they privately laid a band of armed men therein, and shut all the other doors but one, which they kept open; and they expected that I should come out of the road to them, to salute them. And indeed they had given orders to the armed men, that when I came they should let nobody besides me come in, but should exclude others; as supposing that, by this means, they should easily get me under their power: but they were deceived in their expectation; for I perceived what snares they had laid for

* Josephus's directions to his soldiers here are much the same that John the Baptist gave, Luke, iii 14. "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages." Whence Dr Hudson confirms this conjecture, that Josephus, in some things, was, even now, a follower of John the Baptist; which is no way improbable. See the note on sect. 2.

me. Now as soon as I was got off my journey, I took up my lodgings over against them, and pretended to be asleep; so Jonathan and his party thinking that I was really asleep, and at rest, made haste to go down into the plain, to persuade the people that I was an ill governor. But the matter proved otherwise, for upon their appearance, there was a cry made by the Galileans immediately, declaring their good opinion of me as their governor; and they made a clamour against Jonathan and his partners, for coming to them when they had suffered no harm, and as though they would overturn their happy settlement; and desired them by all means to go back again, for that they would never be persuaded to have any other to rule over them but myself. When I heard of this, I did not fear to go down into the midst of them; I went therefore myself down presently to hear what Jonathan and his companions said. As soon as I appeared, there was immediately an acclamation made to me by the whole multitude, and a cry in my commendation by them, who confessed their thanks were owing to me for my good government of them.

49. When Jonathan and his companions heard this, they were in fear of their own lives, and in danger lest they should be assaulted by the Galileans on my account; so they contrived how they might run away. But as they were not able to get off, for I desired them to stay, they looked down with concern at my words to them. I ordered therefore the multitude to restrain entirely their acclamations, and placed the most faithful of my armed men upon the avenues, to be a guard to us, lest John should unexpectedly fall upon us; and I encouraged the Galileans to take their weapons, lest they should be disturbed at their enemies, if any sudden insult should be made upon them. And then, in the first place, I put Jonathan and his partners in mind of their [former] letter, and after what manner they had written to me, and declared they were sent by the common consent of the people of Jerusalem, to make up the differences I had with John, and how they had desired me to come to them; and as I spake thus, I publicly showed that letter they had written, till they could not at all deny what they had done, the letter itself convicting them. I then said, "O Jonathan, and you that are sent with him as his colleagues, if I were to be judged as to my behaviour, compared with that of John's, and had brought no more than two* or three witnesses, good men and true, it is plain you had been forced, upon the examination of their characters beforehand, to discharge the accusations: that therefore you may be informed that I have acted well in the affairs of Galilee, I think three witnesses too few to be brought by a man that hath done as he ought to do; so I give you all these for witnesses. Inquire of them† how I have lived, and whether I have not behaved myself with all decency, and after a virtuous manner among them. And I further conjure you, O Galileans, to hide no part of the truth, but to speak before these men as before judges, whether I have in any thing acted otherwise than well."

50. While I was thus speaking, the united voices of all the people joined together, and called me their benefactor and saviour, and attested to my former behaviour, and exhorted me to continue so to do hereafter; and they all said, upon their oaths, that their wives had been preserved free from injuries, and that no one had ever been aggrieved by me. After this, I read to the Galileans two of those epistles which had been sent by Jonathan and his colleagues, and which those whom I had appointed to guard the road had taken, and sent to me. These were full of reproaches and of lies, as if I had acted more like a tyrant than a governor against them, with many other things besides therein contained, which

* We here learn the practice of the Jews, in the days of Josephus, to inquire into the characters of witnesses, before they were admitted, and that their number ought to be three, or two at the least, also exactly as in the law of Moses, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. ii. ch. xxxvii. See Horeb Covenant Revived, page 97, 98.

† This appeal to the whole body of the Galileans by Josephus, and the testimony they gave him of integrity in his conduct, as their governor, is very like that appeal and testimony in the case of the prophet Samuel. 1 Sam. xii. 1—5, and perhaps was done by Josephus in imitation of him.

were no better indeed than impudent falsities. I also informed the multitude how I came by these letters, and that those who carried them delivered them up voluntarily; for I was not willing that my enemies should know any thing of the guards I had set, lest they should be afraid, and leave off writing hereafter.

51. When the multitude heard these things, they were greatly provoked at Jonathan, and his colleagues that were with him, and were going to attack them and kill them; and this they had certainly done, unless I had restrained the anger of the Galileans, and said, That "I forgave Jonathan and his colleagues what was past, if they would repent, and go to their own country, and tell those who sent them the truth, as to my conduct." When I had said this, I let them go, although I knew they would do nothing of what they had promised. But the multitude were very much enraged against them, and entreated me to give them leave to punish them for their insolence; yet did I try all methods to persuade them to spare the men; for I knew that every instance of sedition was pernicious to the public welfare. But the multitude were too angry with them to be dissuaded, and all of them went immediately to the house in which Jonathan and his colleagues abode. However, when I perceived that their rage could not be restrained, I got on horseback, and ordered the multitude to follow me to the village Sogane, which was twenty furlongs off Gabara; and, by using this stratagem, I so managed myself, as not to appear to begin a civil war among them.

52. But when I was come near Sogane, I caused the multitude to make a halt, and exhorted them not to be so easily provoked to anger, and to the inflicting such punishments as could not be afterwards recalled: I also gave order, that a hundred men who were already in years, and were principal men among them, should get themselves ready to go to the city Jerusalem, and should make a complaint before the people, of such as raised seditions in the country. And I said to them, that "in case they be moved with what you say, you shall desire the community to write to me, and to enjoin me to continue in Galilee, and to order Jonathan and his colleagues to depart out of it." When I had suggested these instructions to them, and while they were getting themselves ready as fast as they could, I sent them on this errand the third day after they had been assembled; I also sent five hundred armed men with them [as a guard.] I then wrote to my friends in Samaria, to take care that they might safely pass through the country: for Samaria was already under the Romans, and it was absolutely necessary for those that go quickly [to Jerusalem] to pass through that country; for in that road you may, in three days time, go from Galilee to Jerusalem. I also went myself, and conducted the old men as far as the bounds of Galilee, and set guards in the roads, that it might not be easily known by any one that these men were gone. And when I had thus done, I went and abode at Japha.

53. Now Jonathan and his colleagues having failed of accomplishing what they would have done against me, they sent John back to Gischala, but went themselves to the city Tiberias, expecting it would submit itself to them; and this was founded on a letter which Jesus, their then governor, had written them, promising, that if they came, the multitude would receive them, and choose to be under their government; so they went their ways with this expectation. But Silas, who, as I said, had been left curator of Tiberias by me, informed me of this, and desired me to make haste thither. Accordingly I complied with his advice immediately, and came thither; but found myself in danger of my life, from the following occasion: Jonathan and his colleagues had been at Tiberias, and had persuaded a great many of such as had a quarrel with me to desert me; but when they heard of my coming they were in fear for themselves, and came to me, and when they had saluted me, they said, that I was a happy man in having behaved myself so well in the government of Galilee; and they congratulated me upon the honours that were paid me: for they said, that my glory was a credit to them, since they had been my teachers and fellow-citizens; and they said farther, that it was but just that they should prefer my friendship to them rather than

John's, and that they would have immediately gone home, but that they staid that they might deliver up John into my power; and when they said this they took their oaths of it, and those such as are most tremendous amongst us, and such as I did not think fit to disbelieve. However, they desired me to lodge somewhere else, because the next day was the Sabbath, and that it was not fit the city of Tiberias should be disturbed [on that day.]

54. So I suspected nothing, and went away to Tarichеæ; yet did I withal leave some to make inquiry in the city how matters went, and whether any thing was said about me; I also set many persons all the way that led from Tarichеæ to Tiberias, that they might communicate from one to another, if they learned any news from those that were left in the city. On the next day, therefore, they all came into the Proseucha;* it was a large edifice, and capable of receiving a great number of people: thither Jonathan went in, and though he durst not openly speak of a revolt, yet did he say that their city stood in need of a better governor than it then had. But Jesus, who was the ruler, made no scruple to speak out, and said openly, "O fellow citizens! it is better for you to be in subjection to four than to one; and those such as are of high birth, and not without reputation for their wisdom;" and pointed to Jonathan and his colleagues. Upon his saying this, Justus came in and commended him for what he had said, and persuaded some of the people to be of his mind also. But the multitude were not pleased with what was said, and had certainly gone into a tumult, unless the sixth hour which was now come had dissolved the assembly, at which hour our law requires us to go to dinner on Sabbath days: so Jonathan and his colleagues put off their council till the next day, and went off without success. When I was informed of these affairs, I determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Accordingly, on the next day, about the first hour of the day, I came from Tarichеæ and found the multitude already assembled in the Proseucha; but on what account they had gotten together, those that were assembled did not know. But when Jonathan and his colleagues saw me there unexpectedly, they were in disorder; after which they raised a report of their own contrivance, that Roman horsemen were seen at a place called Union, in the borders of Galilee, thirty furlongs distance from the city. Upon which report Jonathan and his colleagues cunningly exhorted me not to neglect this matter, nor to suffer the land to be spoiled by the enemy. And this they said with a design to remove me out of the city, under the pretence of the want of extraordinary assistance, while they might dispose the city to be my enemy.

55. As for myself, although I knew of their design, yet did I comply with what they proposed, lest the people of Tiberias, should have occassion to suppose, that I was not careful of their security. I therefore went out: but when I was at the place, I found not the least footsteps of any enemy, so I returned as fast as ever I could, and found the whole council assembled, and the body of the people gotten together, and Jonathan and his colleagues bringiug vehement accusations against me, as one who had no concern to ease them of the burdens of war, and as one that lived luxuriously. And as they were discoursing thus, they produced four letters as written to them, from some people that lived at the borders of Galilee, imploring that they would come to their assistance, for that there was an army of Romans, both horsemen and footmen, who would come and lay waste the country on the third day; they desired them also to make haste, and not to overlook them. When the people of Tiberias heard this, they thought they speak truth, and made a clamour against me, and said, I ought not to sit still, but to go : way to the assistance of their countrymen. Hereupon I said (for I understood the meaning of Jonathan and his colleagues,) that I was ready to comply with

* It is worth noting here, that there was now a great Proseucha, or place of prayer, in the city Tiberias itself, though such Proseucha used to be out of cities, as the synagogues were within them; of them see Le Moyne on Polycarp's epistle, page 76. It is also worth our remark that the Jews in the days of Josephus used to dine at the sixth hour or noon; and that in obedience to their notions of the the law of Moses also.

what they proposed, and without delay to march to the war which they speak of yet did I advise them, at the same time, that since these letters declared that the Romans would make their assault in four several places, they should part their forces into five bodies, and make Jonathan and his colleagues generals of each body of them, because it was fit for brave men, not only to give counsel, but to take the place of leaders, and assist their countrymen when such a necessity pressed them; for, said I, it is not possible for me to lead more than one party. This advice of mine greatly pleased the multitude; so they compelled them to go forth to the war. But their designs were put into very much disorder, because they had not done what they designed to do, on account of my stratagem, which was opposite to their undertakings.

56. Now there was one, whose name was Ananias, a wicked man he was, and very mischievous: he proposed that a general religious fast* should be appointed the next day, for all the people, and gave order that at the same hour they should come to the same place without any weapons, to make it manifest before God, that while they obtained his assistance they thought all these weapons useless. This he said, not out of piety, but that they might catch me and my friends unarmed. Now I was hereupon forced to comply, lest I should appear to despise a proposal that tended to piety. As soon, therefore, as we were gone home, Jonathan and his colleagues wrote to John, to come to them in the morning, and desiring him to come with as many soldiers as he possibly could, for that they should then be able easily to get me into their hands, and to do all they desired to do. When John had received this letter, he resolved to comply with it. As for myself, on the next day, I ordered two of the guards of my body, whom I esteemed the most courageous, and most faithful, to hide daggers under their garments, and to go along with me, that we might defend ourselves, if any attack should be made upon us by our enemies. I also myself took my breast-plate, and girded on my sword, so that it might be, as far as it was possible, concealed, and came into the Proseucha.

57. Now Jesus, who was the ruler, commanded that they should exclude all that came with me, for he kept the door himself, and suffered none but his friends to go in. And while we were engaged in the duties of the day, and had betaken ourselves to our prayers, Jesus got up, and inquired of me what was become of the vessels that were taken out of the king's palace, when it was burnt down, [and] of that uncoined silver; and in whose possession they now were? This he said, in order to drive away time till John should come. I said that Capellus, and the ten principal men of Tiberias, had them all; and I told him that they might ask them whether I told a lie or not. And when they said they had them, he asked me, what is become of those twenty pieces of gold which thou didst receive upon the sale of a certain weight of uncoined money? I replied, that I had given them to those ambassadors of theirs, as a maintenance for them, when they were sent by them to Jerusalem. So Jonathan and his colleagues said, that I had not done well to pay the ambassadors out of the public money. And when the multitude were very angry at them for this, for they perceived the wickedness of the men, I understood that a tumult was going to arise; and being desirous to provoke the people to a greater rage against the men, I said, "But if I have not done well in paying our ambassadors out of the public stock, leave off your anger at me, for I will repay the twenty pieces of gold myself."

58. When I had said this, Jonathan and his colleagues held their peace; but the people were still more irritated against them, upon their openly showing their unjust ill will to me. When Jesus saw this change in the people, he ordered them to depart, but desired the senate to stay; for that they could not examine things of such a nature in a tumult; and, as the people were crying out that they

* One may observe here, that this lay Pharisee Ananias, as we have seen he was, sect. 39, took upon him to appoint a fast at Tiberias, and was obeyed; though indeed it was not out of religion, but knavish policy.

would not leave me alone, there came one and told Jesus and his friends privately, that John and his armed men were at hand; whereupon Jonathan and his colleagues, being able to contain themselves no longer, (and perhaps the providence of God hereby procuring my deliverance; for, had not this been so, I had certainly been destroyed by John,) said, "O you people of Tiberias, leave off this inquiry about the twenty pieces of gold; for Josephus hath not deserved to die for them, but he hath deserved it by his desire of tyrannizing, and by cheating the multitude of the Galileans with his speeches, in order to gain the dominion over them." When he had said this, they presently laid hands upon me, and endeavoured to kill me; but, as soon as those that were with me saw what they did, they drew their swords, and threatened to smite them, if they offered any violence to me. The people also took up stones, and were about to throw them at Jonathan; and so they snatched me from the violence of my enemies.

59. But, as I was gone out a little way, I was just upon meeting John, who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him and turned aside, and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized on a ship, and embarked in it, and sailed over to Taricheæ. So, beyond my expectation, I escaped this danger. Whereupon I presently sent for the chief of the Galileans, and told them after what manner, against all faith given, I had been very near to destruction from Jonathan and his colleagues, and the people of Tiberias. Upon which the multitude of the Galileans were very angry, and encouraged me to delay no longer to make war upon them, but to permit them to go against John, and utterly to destroy him, as well as Jonathan and his colleagues. However, I restrained them, though they were in such a rage, and desired them to tarry awhile, till we should be informed what orders those ambassadors that were sent by them to the city of Jerusalem, should bring thence: for I told them that it was best for them to act according to their determination: whereupon they were prevailed on. At which time also, John, when the snares he had laid did not take effect, returned back to Gischala.

60. Now in a few days those ambassadors whom we had sent, came back again and informed us, that the people were greatly provoked at Ananus, and Simon the son of Gamaliel, and their friends; that, without any public determination, they had sent to Galilee, and had done their endeavours that I might be turned out of the government. The ambassadors said farther, that the people were ready to burn their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the chief men of Jerusalem, at the earnest petition of the people, confirmed me in the government of Galilee, and enjoined Jonathan and his colleagues to return home quickly. When I had gotten these letters, I came to the village Arbela, where I procured an assembly of the Galileans to meet, and bid the ambassadors declare to them the anger of the people of Jerusalem at what had been done by Jonathan and his colleagues, and how much they hated their wicked doings, and how they had confirmed me in the government of their country; as also what related to the order they had in writing for Jonathan and his colleagues to return home. So I immediately sent them the letter, and bid him that carried it to inquire, as well as he could, how they intended to act [on this occasion.]

61. Now when they had received that letter, and were thereby greatly disturbed, they sent for John, and for the senators of Tiberias, and for the principal men of the Gabarens, and proposed to hold a council, and desired them to consider what was to be done by them. However, the governors of Tiberias were greatly disposed to keep the government to themselves; for they said it was not fit to desert their city now it was committed to their trust, and that otherwise I should not delay to fall upon them; for they pretended falsely that so I had threatened to do. Now John was not only of their opinion, but advised them that two of them should go to accuse me before the multitude [at Jerusalem,] that I do not manage the affairs of Galilee as I ought to do, and that they would easily persuade the people, because of their dignity, and because the whole mul-

titude are very mutable. When therefore it appeared that John had suggested the wisest advice to them, they resolved that two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, should go to the people of Jerusalem, and the other two [Simon and Joazar] should be left behind to tarry at Tiberias. They also took along with them a hundred soldiers for their guard.

62. However, the governors of Tiberias took care to have their city secured with walls, and commanded their inhabitants to take their arms. They also sent for a great many soldiers from John to assist them against me, if there should be occasion for them. Now John was at Gischala. Jonathan therefore, and those that were with him, when they were departed from Tiberias, and as soon as they were come to Dabaritta, a village that lay in the utmost parts of Galilee, in the great plain, they about midnight fell among the guards I had set, who both commanded them to lay aside their weapons, and kept them in bonds upon the place, as I had charged them to do. This news was written to me by Levi, who had the command of that guard committed to him by me. Hereupon I said nothing of it for two days; and, pretending to know nothing about it, I sent a message to the people of Tiberias, and advised them to lay their arms aside, and to dismiss their men, that they might go home. But supposing that Jonathan, and those that were with him, were already arrived at Jerusalem, they made reproachful answers to me; yet was I not terrified thereby, but contrived another stratagem against them; for I did not think it agreeable with piety to kindle the fire of war against the citizens. As I was desirous to draw those men away from Tiberias, I chose out ten thousand of the best of my armed men and divided them into three bodies, and ordered them to go privately, and lie still as an ambush in the villages. I also led a thousand into another village, which lay indeed in the mountains, as did the others, but only four furlongs distant from Tiberias, and gave orders, that when they saw my signal, they should come down immediately: while I myself lay with my soldiers in the sight of every body. Hereupon the people of Tiberias, at the sight of me, came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly. Nay, their madness was come to that height, that they made a decent bier for me, and standing about it, they mourned over me in the way of jest and sport; and I could not but be myself in a pleasant humour upon the sight of this madness of theirs.

63. And now, being desirous to catch Simon by a wile, and Joazar with him, I sent a message to them, and desired them to come a little way out of the city, with many of their friends to guard them; for I said I would come down to them, and make a league with them, and divide the government of Galilee with them. Accordingly Simon was deluded on account of his imprudence, and out of the hopes of gain, and did not delay to come; but Joazar suspecting snares were laid for him, staid behind. So when Simon was come out, and his friends with him for his guard, I met him, and saluted him with great civility, and professed that I was obliged to him for his coming up to me; but a little while afterward I walked along with him, as though I would say something to him by himself, and, when I had drawn him a good way from his friends, I took him about the middle, and gave him to my friends that were with me, to carry him into a village; and, commanding my armed men to come down, I with them made an assault upon Tiberias. Now as the fight grew hot on both sides, and the soldiers belonging to Tiberias were in fair way to conquer me (for my armed men were already fled away,) I saw the posture of my affairs; and encouraging those that were already conquerors, into the city. I also sent another band of soldiers into the city by the lake, and gave them orders to set on fire the first house they could seize upon. When this was done, the people of Tiberias thought that their city was taken by force, and so threw down their arms for fear, and implored, they, their wives and children, that I would spare their city. So I was over-persuaded by their entreaties, and restrained the soldiers from the vehemency with which they pursued them; while I myself, upon the coming on of the evening, returned

back with my soldiers, and went to refresh myself. I also invited Simon to sup with me, and comforted him on occasion of what had happened; and I promised that I would send him safe and secure to Jerusalem, and withal would give him provisions for his journey thither.

64. But on the next day I brought ten thousand armed men with me, and came to Tiberias. I then sent for the principal men of the multitude into the public place, and enjoined them to tell me who were the authors of the revolt; and when they had told me who the men were, I sent them bound to the city Jotapata. But as to Jonathan and Ananias, I freed them from their bonds, and gave them provisions for their journey, together with Simon and Joazar, and five hundred men who should guard them, and so I sent them to Jerusalem. The people of Tiberias also came to me again, and desired that I would forgive them for what they had done, and they said they would amend what they had done amiss with regard to me, by their fidelity for the time to come; and they besought me to preserve what spoils remained upon the plunder of the city, for those that had lost them. Accordingly I enjoined those that had got them to bring them all before us: and when they did not comply for a great while, and I saw one of the soldiers that were about me with a garment on that was more splendid than ordinary, I asked him whence he had it? and when he replied, that he had it out of the plunder of the city, I had him punished with stripes; and I threatened all the rest to inflict a severer punishment upon them, unless they produced before us whatsoever they had plundered; and when a great many spoils were brought together, I restored to every one of Tiberias what they claimed to be their own.

65. And now I am come to this part of my narration, I have a mind to say a few things to Justus, who hath himself written a history concerning these affairs; as also to others who profess to write history, but have little regard to truth, and are not afraid, either out of ill will or good will to some persons, to relate falsehoods. These men do, like those who compose forged deeds and conveyances; and because they are not brought to the like punishment with them, they have no regard to truth. When therefore Justus undertook to write about these facts, and about the Jewish war, that he might appear to have been an industrious man, he falsified in what he related about me, and could not speak truth even about his own country; whence it is, that being belied by him, I am under a necessity to make my defence; and so I shall say what I have concealed till now. And let no one wonder that I have not told the world these things a great while ago. For although it be necessary for an historian to write the truth, yet is such a one not bound severely to animadvert on the wickedness of certain men; not out of any favour to them, but out of an author's own moderation. How then comes it to pass, O Justus, thou most sagacious of writers (that I may address myself to him as if he were here present,) for so thou boastest of thyself, that I and the Galileans have been the authors of that sedition which thy country engaged in, both against the Romans and against the king [Agrippa junior?] For before ever I was appointed governor of Galilee by the community of Jerusalem, both thou, and all the people of Tiberias, had not only taken up arms, but had made war with Decapolis of Syria. Accordingly, thou hadst ordered their villages to be burnt, and a domestic servant of thine fell in the battle. Nor is it I only who say this; but so it is written in the commentaries of Vespasian the emperor, as also how the inhabitants of Decapolis came clamouring to Vespasian at Ptolemais, and desired that thou, who wast the author [of that war] mightest be brought to punishment. And thou hadst certainly been punished at the command of Vespasian, had not king Agrippa, who had power given him to have thee put to death, at the earnest entreaty of his sister Bernice, changed the punishment of death into a long imprisonment. Thy political administration of affairs afterwards does also clearly discover both thy other behaviour in life, and that thou wast the occasion of thy

country's revolt from the Romans; plain signs of which I shall produce presently. I have also a mind to say a few things to the rest of the people of Tiberias on thy account, and to demonstrate to those that light upon this history, that you bear no good will neither to the Romans, nor to the king. To be sure, the greatest cities of Galilee, O Justus, were Sepphoris, and thy country Tiberias. But Sepphoris, situated in the very midst of Galilee, and having many villages about it, and able with ease to have been bold and troublesome to the Romans, if they had so pleased, yet did it resolve to continue faithful to those their masters, and at the same time excluded me out of their city, and prohibited all their citizens from joining with the Jews in the war, and that they might be out of danger from me, they by a wile got leave of me to fortify their city with walls: they also, of their own accord, admitted of a garrison of Roman legions, sent them by Cestus Gallus, who was then president of Syria, and so had me in contempt, though I was then very powerful, and all were greatly afraid of me; and at the same time that the greatest of our cities, Jerusalem, was besieged, and that temple of ours, which belonged to us all, was in danger of falling under the enemy's power, they sent no assistance thither, as not willing to have it thought they would bear arms against the Romans. But as for thy country, O Justus, situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty, and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction, a hundred and twenty; when there was no Jewish city near, it might easily have preserved its fidelity [to the Romans,] if it had so pleased them to do; for the city and its people had plenty of weapons. But, as thou sayst, I was *then* that author [of their revolt.] And pray, O Justus, who was the author *afterwards*? For thou knowest that I was in the power of the Romans before Jerusalem was besieged, and before the same time Jotapata was taken by force, as well as many other fortresses, and a great many of the Galileans fell in the war. It was therefore then a proper time, when you were certainly freed from any fear on my account, to throw away your weapons, and to demonstrate to the king and to the Romans, that it was not of choice, but as forced by necessity, that you fell into the war against them; but you staid till Vespasian came himself as far as your walls, with his whole army; and then you did indeed lay aside your weapons out of fear, and your city had for certain been taken by force, unless Vespasian had complied with the king's supplication for you, and had excused your madness. It was not I, therefore, who was the author of this, but your own inclinations to war. Do not you remember how often I got you under my power, and yet put none of you to death? nay, you once fell into a tumult one against another, and slew one hundred and eighty-five of your citizens, not on account of your good will to the king and to the Romans, but on account of your own wickedness, and this while I was besieged by the Romans in Jotapata. Nay indeed, were there not reckoned up two thousand of the people of Tiberias, during the siege of Jerusalem, some of which were slain, and the rest caught and carried captives? But thou wilt pretend that thou didst not engage in the war, since thou didst flee to the king. Yes, indeed, thou didst flee to him; but I say it was out of fear of me. Thou sayst indeed, that it is I who am a wicked man. But then, for what reason was it that king Agrippa, who procured thee thy life when thou wast condemned to die by Vespasian, and who bestowed so much riches upon thee, did twice afterward put thee into bonds, and as often obliged thee to run away from thy country, and, when he had once ordered thee to be put to death, he granted thee a pardon at the earnest desire of Bernice? and, when (after so many of thy wicked pranks) he had made thee his secretary, he caught thee falsifying his epistles, and drove thee away from his sight. But I shall not inquire accurately into these matters of scandal against thee. Yet cannot I but wonder at thy impudence, when thou hast the assurance to say that thou hast better related these affairs [of the war] than have all the others that have written about them, whilst thou didst not know what was done in Galilee;

for thou wast then at Berytus with the king: nor didst thou know how much the Romans suffered at the siege of Jotapata, or what miseries they brought upon us; nor couldst thou learn by inquiry what I did during that siege myself; for all those that might afford such information were quite destroyed in that siege. But perhaps thou wilt say, thou hast written of what was done against the people of Jerusalem exactly. But how should that be? for neither wast thou concerned in that war, nor hast thou read the commentaries of Cæsar; of which we have evident proof, because thou hast contradicted those commentaries of Cæsar in thy history. But if thou art so hardy as to affirm that thou hast written that history better than all the rest, why didst thou not publish thy history while the emperors Vespasian and Titus, the generals in that war, as well as king Agrippa and his family, who were men very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks, were all alive? for thou hast had it written these twenty years, and then mightest thou have had the testimony of thy accuracy. But now when these men are no longer with us, and thou thinkest thou canst not be contradicted, thou venturest to publish it. But then I was not in like manner afraid of my own writing, but I offered my books to the emperors themselves, when the facts were almost under men's eyes; for I was conscious to myself, that I had observed the truth of the facts; and as I expected to have their attestation to them, so I was not deceived in such expectation. Moreover, I immediately presented my history to many other persons, some of which were concerned in the war, as was king Agrippa, and some of his kindred. Now the emperor Titus was so desirous that the knowledge of these affairs should be taken from the books alone, that he subscribed his own hand to them, and ordered that they should be published; and for king Agrippa, he wrote me sixty-two letters, and attested to the truth of what I had therein delivered; two of which letters I have here subjoined, and thou mayest thereby know their contents. "King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. I have read over thy book with great pleasure, and it appears to me, that thou hast done it much more accurately, and with greater care, than have the other writers. Send me the rest of these books. Farewell, my dear friend." "King Agrippa to Josephus, his dear friend, sendeth greeting. It seems by what thou hast written, that thou standest in need of no instruction, in order to our information from the beginning. However, when thou comest to me, I will inform thee of a great many things which thou dost not know." So when this history was perfected, Agrippa, neither by way of flattery, which was not agreeable to him nor by way of irony, as thou wilt say (for he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind,) but he wrote thus by way of attestation to what was true, as all that read histories may do. And so much shall be said concerning Justus,* which I am obliged to add by way of digression.

6. Now when I had settled the affairs of Tiberias, and had assembled my friends as a Sanhedrim, I consulted what I should do as to John. Whereupon it

* The character of this history of Justus of Tiberias, the rival of our Josephus, which is now lost, with its only remaining fragment, are given us by a very able critic, Photius, who read that history. It is in the 33rd code of his Bibliotheca, and runs thus. "I have read (says Photius) the chronology of Justus of Tiberias, whose title is this, [*The chronology of*] *the Kings of Judah, which succeeded one another*. This [Justus] came out of the city Tiberias in Galilee. He begins his history from Moses, and ends it not till the death of Agrippa, the seventh [ruler] of the family of Herod, and the last king of the Jews; who took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and still more augmented by Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan, where also his history ends. He is very concise in his language, and slightly passes over those affairs that were most necessary to be insisted on; and being under the Jewish prejudices, as indeed he was himself also a Jew by birth, he makes not the least mention of the appearance of Christ, or what things happened to him, or of the wonderful works that he did. He was the son of a certain Jew whose name was *Pistus*. He was a man, as he is described by Josephus, of a most profligate character; a slave both to money and to pleasures. In public affairs he was opposite to Josephus; and it is related, that he laid many plots against him, but that Josephus, though he had his enemy frequently under his power, did only reproach him in words, and so let him go without farther punishment. He says also, that the history which this man wrote is, for the main, fabulous, and chiefly as to those parts where he describes the Roman war with the Jews, and the taking of Jerusalem."

ppeared to be the opinion of all the Galileans, that I should arm them all, and narch against John, and punish him as the author of all the disorders that had appened. Yet was I not pleased with their determination; as purposing to ompose these troubles without bloodshed. Upon this I exhorted them to use the tmost care to learn the names of all that were under John; which when they ad done, and I thereby was apprized who the men were, I published an edict, herein I offered security and my right hand to such of John's party as had a ind to repent; and I allowed twenty days time to such as would take this most dvantageous course for themselves. I also threatened, that unless they threw own their arms, I would burn their houses, and expose their goods to public sale. When the men heard of this, they were in no small disorder, and deserted John; nd, to the number of four thousand, threw down their arms, and came to me. So hat no others staid with John but his own citizens, and about fifteen hundred trangers that came from the metropolis of Tyre: and, when John saw that he had een outwitted by my stratagem, he continued afterward in his own country, and vas in great fear of me.

67. But about this time it was that the people of Sepphoris grew insolent, and ook up arms, out of a confidence they had in the strength of their walls, and ecause they saw me engaged in other affairs also. So they sent to Cestius Gallus, who was president of Syria, and desired that he would either come quickly o them, and take their city under his protection, or send them a garrison. Accordingly Gallus promised them to come, but did not send word when he would ome: and, when I had learned so much, I took the soldiers that were with me, nd made an assault upon the people of Sepphoris, and took the city by force. The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for howing their hatred to them, since they bore ill will to that city also. They hen exerted themselves, as if they would destroy them all utterly, with those that ojourned there also. So they ran upon them, and set their houses on fire, as inding them without inhabitants; for the men out of fear ran together to the citadel. So the Galileans carried off every thing, and omitted no kind of desolation which they could bring upon their countrymen. When I saw this, I was exceedingly troubled at it, and commanded them to leave off, and put them in mind that t was not agreeable to piety to do such things to their countrymen: but since hey neither would hearken to what I exhorted, nor to what I commanded them o do (for the hatred they bore to the people there was too hard for my exhortaions to them,) I bid those my friends, who were most faithful to me, and were about ne, to give out reports, as if the Romans were falling upon the other part of the ity with a great army; and this I did, that, by such a report being spread abroad, might restrain the violence of the Galileans, and preserve the city of Sepphoris. nd at length this stratagem had its effect; for, upon hearing this report, they ere in fear for themselves, and so they left off plundering, and ran away; and his more especially, because they saw me, their general, do the same also; for, hat I might cause this report to be believed, I pretended to be in fear as well as hey. Thus were the inhabitants of Sepphoris unexpectedly preserved by this ontrivance of mine.

68. Nay indeed, Tiberias had like to have been plundered by the Galileans also pon the following occasion: the chief men of the senate wrote to the king, and esired that he would come to them, and take possession of their city. The king romised to come, and wrote a letter in answer to theirs, and gave it to one of is bed-chamber, whose name was *Crispus*, and who was by birth a Jew, to carry to Tiberias. When the Galileans knew that this man carried such a letter, hey caught him, and brought him to me; but as soon as the whole multitude eard of it, they were enraged, and betook themselves to their arms. So a great nany of them got together from all quarters the next day, and came to the city sochis, where I then lodged, and made heavy clamours, and called the city Tierias a traitor to them, and a friend to the king; and desired leave of me to go

down and utterly destroy it; for they bore the like ill will to the people of Tiberias, as they did to those of Sepphoris.

69. When I heard this, I was in doubt what to do, and hesitated by what means I might deliver Tiberias from the rage of the Galileans; for I could not deny that those of Tiberias had written to the king, and had invited him to come to them, for his letters to them in answer thereto would fully prove the truth of that. So I sat a long time musing with myself, and then said to them, "I know well enough that the people of Tiberias have offended; nor shall I forbid you to plunder the city. However, such things ought to be done with discretion; for they of Tiberias have not been the only betrayers of our liberty, but many of the most eminent patriots of the Galileans, as they pretended to be, have done the same. Tarry therefore till I shall thoroughly find out those authors of our danger, and then you shall have them all at once under your power, with all such as you shall yourselves bring in also." Upon my saying this I pacified the multitude, and they left off their anger, and went their ways; and I gave orders that he who brought the king's letters should be put into bonds; but in a few days I pretended that I was obliged, by a necessary affair of my own, to go out of the kingdom. I then called Crispus privately, and ordered him to make the soldier that kept him drunk, and to run away to the king. So when Tiberias was in danger of being utterly destroyed a second time, it escaped the danger by my skilful management, and the care that I had for its preservation.

70. About this time it was that Justus, the son of Pistus, without my knowledge, ran away to the king; the occasion of which I will here relate. Upon the beginning of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the people of Tiberias resolved to submit to the king, and not to revolt from the Romans; while Justus tried to persuade them to betake themselves to their arms, as being himself desirous of innovations, and having hopes of obtaining the government of Galilee, as well as of his own country [Tiberias] also. Yet did he not obtain what he hoped for; because the Galileans bore ill will to those of Tiberias, and this on account of their anger at what miseries they had suffered from them before the war; thence it was, that they would not endure that Justus should be their governor. I myself also, who had been entrusted by the community of Jerusalem with the government of Galilee, did frequently come to that degree of rage at Justus, that I had almost resolved to kill him, as not able to bear his mischievous disposition. He was therefore much afraid of me, lest at length my passion should come to extremity; so he went to the king, as supposing that he should dwell better, and more safely with him.

71. Now when the people of Sepphoris had, in so surprising a manner, escaped their first danger, they sent to Cestius Gallus, and desired him to come to them immediately, and take possession of their city, or else to send forces sufficient to repress all their enemies' incursions upon them; and at the last they did prevail with Gallus to send them a considerable army, both of horse and foot, which came in the night-time, and which they admitted into the city. But when the country round about it was harassed by the Roman army, I took those soldiers that were about me, and came to Garisme; where I cast up a bank, a good way off the city Sepphoris; and when I was at twenty furlongs distance, I came upon it by night, and made an assault upon its walls with my forces; and when I had ordered a considerable number of my soldiers to scale them with ladders, I became master of the greater part of the city. But soon after, our unacquaintedness with the places forced us to retire, after we had killed twelve of the Roman footmen, and two horsemen, and a few of the people of Sepphoris, with the loss of only a single man of our own. And when it afterwards came to a battle in the plain against the horsemen, and we had undergone the dangers of it courageously for a long time, we were beaten; for upon the Romans encompassing me about, my soldiers were afraid, and fled back. There fell in that battle one of those that had been entrusted to guard my body; his name was *Justus*, who at this time had the same

post with the king. At the same time also, there came forces, both horsemen and footmen, from the king, and Sylla their commander, who was the captain of this guard; this Sylla pitched his camp at five furlongs distance from Julias, and set a guard upon the roads, both that which led to Cana, and that which led to the fortress Gamala, that he might hinder their inhabitants from getting provisions out of Galilee

72. As soon as I had gotten intelligence of this, I sent two thousand armed men, and a captain over them, whose name was *Jeremiah*, who raised a bank a furlong off Julias, near to the river Jordan, and did no more than skirmish with the enemy; till I took three thousand soldiers myself, and came to them. But on the next day, when I had laid an ambush in a certain valley, not far from the banks, I provoked those that belonged to the king to come to a battle, and gave orders to my own soldiers to turn their backs upon them, until they should have drawn the enemy away from their camp, and brought them out into the field, which was done accordingly; for Sylla, supposing that our party did really run away, was ready to pursue them, when our soldiers that lay in ambush took them on their backs, and put them all into great disorder. I also immediately made a sudden turn with my own forces, and met those of the king's party, and put them to flight. And I had performed great things that day, if a certain fate had not been my hinderance; for the horse on which I rode, and upon whose back I fought, fell into a quagmire, and threw me on the ground, and I was bruised on my wrist, and carried into a village named *Cepharnome* or *Capernaum*. When my soldiers heard of this, they were afraid I had been worse hurt than I was; and so they did not go on with their pursuit any farther, but returned in very great concern for me. I therefore sent for the physicians, and while I was under their hand, I continued feverish that day; and, as the physicians directed, I was at night removed to Taricheæ.

73. When Sylla and his party were informed what had happened to me, they took courage again; and understanding that the watch was negligently kept in our camp, they by night placed a body of horsemen in ambush beyond Jordan, and when it was day they provoked us to fight; and as we did not refuse it, but came into the plain, their horsemen appeared out of that ambush in which they had lain, and put our men into disorder, and made them run away; so they slew six men of our side. Yet did they not go off with the victory at last; for when they heard that some armed men were sallied from Taricheæ to Julias they were afraid and retired.

74. It was not now long before Vespasian came to Tyre, and king Agrippa with him; but the Tyrians began to speak reproachfully of the king, and called him an enemy to the Romans. For they said, that Philip, the general of his army, had betrayed the royal palace, and the Roman forces that were in Jerusalem, and that it was done by his command. When Vespasian heard this report, he rebuked the Tyrians, for abusing a man who was both a king, and a friend to the Romans; but he exhorted the king to send Philip to Rome, to answer for what he had done before Nero. But when Philip was sent thither, he did not come into the sight of Nero, for he found him very near death on account of the troubles that then happened, and a civil war; and so he returned to the king. But when Vespasian was come to Ptolemais, the chief men of Decapolis of Syria made a clamour against Justus of Tiberias, because he had set their villages on fire: so Vespasian delivered him to the king, to be put to death by those under the king's jurisdiction; yet did the king [only] put him into bonds, and concealed what he had done from Vespasian, as I have before related. But the people of Sepphoris met Vespasian, and saluted him, and had forces sent them, with Placidus their commander: he also went up with them, as I also followed them, till Vespasian came into Galilee. As to which coming of his, and after what manner it was ordered, and how he fought his first battle with me near the village of Taricheæ, and how from thence they went to Jotapata, and how I

was taken alive and bound, and how I was afterwards loosed, with all that was done by me in the Jewish war, and during the siege of Jerusalem, I have accurately related them in the books concerning the War of the Jews. However, it will, I think, be fit for me to add now an account of those actions of my life, which I have not related in that book of the Jewish War.

75. For when the siege of Jotapata was over, and I was among the Romans, I was kept with much care, by means of the great respect that Vespasian showed me. Moreover, at his command I married a virgin,* who was from among the captives of that country: yet did she not live with me long, but was divorced, upon my being freed from my bonds, and my going to Alexandria. However, I married another wife at Alexandria, and was thence sent, together with Titus, to the siege of Jerusalem, and was frequently in danger of being put to death: while both the Jews were very desirous to get me under their power, in order to have me punished; and the Romans also, whenever they were beaten, supposed that it was occasioned by my treachery, and made continual clamours to the emperors, and desired that they would bring me to that punishment, as a traitor to them: but Titus Cæsar was well acquainted with the uncertain fortune of war, and returned no answer to the soldiers' vehement solicitations against me. Moreover, when the city of Jerusalem was taken by force, Titus Cæsar persuaded me frequently to take whatsoever I would out of the ruins of my country, and said, that he gave me leave so do. But when my country was destroyed, I thought nothiag else to be of any value, which I could take and keep as a comfort under my calamities; so I made this request to Titus, that my family might have their liberty; I had also the holy books† by Titus's concession. Nor was it long after that I asked of him the life of my brother, and of fifty friends with him, and was not denied. When I also went once to the temple, by the permission of Titus, where there were a great multitude of captive women and children, I got all those that I remembered as among my own friends and acquaintance to be set free, being in number about one hundred and ninety; and so I delivered them without their paying any price of redemption, and restored them to their former fortune. And when I was sent by Titus Cæsar with Cerealius, and a thousand horsemen, to a certain village called *Thecoa*, in order to know whether it were a place fit for a camp, as I came back, I saw many captives crucified, and remembered three of them as my former acquaintance. I was very sorry at this in my mind, and went with tears in my eyes to Titus, and told him of them; so he immediately commanded them to be taken down, and to have the greatest care taken of them in order to their recovery; yet two of them died under the physician's hands, while the third recovered.

76. But when Titus had composed the troubles in Judea, and conjectured that the lands which I had in Judea would bring me in no profit, because a garrison to guard the country was afterwards to pitch there, he gave me another country in the plain. And when he was going away to Rome, he made choice of me to sail along with him, and paid me great respect: and when we were come to Rome, I had great care taken of me by Vespasian; for he gave me an apartment in his own house, which he lived in before he came to the empire. He also honoured me with the privilege of a Roman citizen; and gave me an annual pension; and continued to respect me to the end of his life, without any abatement of his kindness to me; which very thing made me envied, and brought me into danger; for a certain Jew, whose name was Jonathan, who had raised a tumult in Cyrene, and had persuaded two thousand men of that country to join with him,

* Here Josephus, a priest, honestly confesses that he did that at the command of Vespasian, which he had before told us was not lawful for a priest to do by the law of Moses, Antiq. B. iii. ch. xii. sect. 2. I mean the taking a captive woman to wife. See also against Apion, B. i. ch. vii. But he seems to have been quickly sensible that his compliance with the command of an emperor would not excuse him, for he soon put her away, as Reland justly observes here.

† Of this most remarkable clause, and its most important consequences, see Essay on the Old Testament, page 193—195

was the occasion of their ruin. But when he was bound by the governor of that country, he told him, that I had sent him both weapons and money. However, he could not conceal his being a liar from Vespasian, who condemned him to die; according to which sentence he was put to death. Nay, after that, when those that envied my good fortune did frequently bring accusations against me, by God's providence I escaped them all. I also received from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift in Judea; about which time I divorced my wife also, as not pleased with her behaviour, though not till she had been the mother of three children, two of which are dead, and one, whom I named *Hyrcanus*, is alive. After this I married a wife who had lived at Crete, but a Jewess by birth; a woman she was of eminent parents, and such as were the most illustrious in all the country, and whose character was beyond that of most other women, as her future life did demonstrate. By her I had two sons, the elder was named *Justus*, and the next *Simonides*, who was also named *Agrippa*. And these were the circumstances of my domestic affairs. However, the kindness of the emperor to me continued still the same: for when Vespasian was dead, Titus, who succeeded him in the government, kept up the same respect for me which I had from his father; and when I had frequent accusations laid against me, he would not believe them. And Domitian, who succeeded, still augmented his respects to me: for he punished those Jews that were my accusers, and gave command that a servant of mine, who was an eunuch, and my accuser, should be punished. He also made that country I had in Judea, tax free; which is a mark of the greatest honour to him who hath it; nay, Domitia, the wife of Cæsar, continued to do me kindnesses. And this is the account of the actions of my whole life: and let others judge of my character by them as they please. But to thee, O Epaphroditus,* thou most excellent of men, do I dedicate all this treatise of our Antiquities, and so for the present, I here conclude the whole.

* Of this Epaphroditus, see the note on the Preface to the Antiquities.

# THE JEWISH WAR:

OR,

# THE HISTORY

OF

# THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

## PREFACE.

§ 1.* WHEREAS the war which the Jews made with the Romans hath been the greatest of all those not only that have been in our times, but in a manner of those that ever were heard of; both of those wherein cities have fought against cities, or nations against nations; while some men, who were not concerned in the affairs themselves, have gotten together vain and contradictory stories by hearsay, and have written them down after a sophistical manner; and while those that were there present have given false accounts of things, and this either out of a humour of flattery to the Romans, or of hatred towards the Jews; and while their writings contain sometimes accusations, and sometimes encomiums but nowhere the accurate truth of the facts; I have proposed to myself; for the sake of such as live under the government of the Romans, to translate those books into the Greek tongue, which I formerly composed in the language of our country, and sent to the Upper Barbarians :† I Joseph, the son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew, a priest also, and one who at first fought against the Romans myself, and was forced to be present at what was done afterwards [am the author of this work.]

2. Now at the time when this great concussion of affairs happened, the affairs of the Romans were themselves in great disorder. Those Jews also who were for innovations then arose when the times were disturbed; they were also in a flourishing condition for strength and riches, insomuch that the affairs of the east were then exceedingly tumultuous, while some hoped for gain, and others were afraid of loss in such troubles; for the Jews hoped that all of their nation which were beyond Euphrates would have raised an insurrection together with them. The Gauls also, in the neighbourhood of the Romans, were in motion, and the Celtæ were not quiet; but all was in disorder after the death of Nero. And the opportunity now offered induced many to aim at the royal power; and the sol

* I have already observed more than once, that this history of the Jewish war was Josephus's first work and published about A. D. 75, when he was but 38 years of age: and that when he wrote it, he was not thoroughly acquainted with several circumstances of history, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, with which it begins, till nearly his own times, contained in the first and former part of the second book and so committed many involuntary errors therein. That he published his Antiquities 18 years afterward, in the 13th year of Domitian, A. D. 93, when he was much more completely acquainted with those ancient times, and after he had perused those most authentic histories, the first book of Maccabees, and the chronicles of the priesthood of John Hyrcanus, &c. That, accordingly, he then reviewed those parts of this work, and gave the public a more faithful, complete, and accurate account of the facts therein related, and honestly corrected the errors he had before run into.

† Who these Upper Barbarians, remote from the sea, were, Josephus himself will inform us, sect. 2, viz. the Parthians and Babylonians, and remotest Arabians [or the Jews among them;] besides the Jews beyond Euphrates, and the Adiabeni or Assyrians. Whence we also learn that these Parthians, Babylonians, the remotest Arabians [or at least the Jews among them,] as also the Jews beyond Euphrates, and the Adiabeni or Assyrians, understood Josephus's Hebrew, or rather Chaldaic books of the Jewish War, before they were put into the Greek language.

diery affected change, out of the hopes of getting money. I thought it, therefore, an absurd thing to see the truth falsified in affairs of such great consequence, and to take no notice of it; but to suffer those Greeks and Romans that were not in the wars to be ignorant of these things, and to read either flatteries or fictions, while the Parthians, and Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means knew accurately both whence the war begun, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended.

3. It is true, these writers have the confidence to call their accounts *histories*, wherein yet they seem to me to fail of their own purpose, as well as to relate nothing that is sound. For they have a mind to demonstrate the greatness of the Romans, while they still diminish and lessen the actions of the Jews; as not discerning how it cannot be that those must appear to be great, who have only conquered those that were little. Nor are they ashamed to overlook the length of the war, the multitude of the Roman forces who so greatly suffered in it, or the might of the commanders, whose great labours about Jerusalem will be deemed inglorious, if what they achieved be reckoned but a small matter.

4. However, I will not go into the other extreme, out of opposition to these men who extol the Romans, nor will I determine to raise the actions of my countrymen too high; but I will prosecute the actions of both parties with accuracy. Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe; and must be allowed to indulge some lamentations upon the miseries undergone by my own country: for that it was a seditious temper of our own that destroyed it, and that they were the tyrants among the Jews who brought the Roman power upon us, who unwillingly attacked us, and occasioned the burning of our holy temple, Titus Cæsar, who destroyed it, is himself a witness who, during the entire war, pitied the people who were kept under by the seditious, and did often voluntarily delay the taking of the city, and allowed time to the siege, in order to let the authors have opportunity for repentance. But if any one makes an unjust accusation against us, when we speak so passionately about the tyrants or the robbers, or sorely bewail the misfortunes of our country, let him indulge my affections herein, though it be contrary to the rules for writing history; because it had so come to pass that our city Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government, and yet at last fell into the sorest of calamities again. Accordingly, it appears to me, that the* misfortunes of all men, from the beginning of the world, if they be compared to these of the Jews, are not so considerable as they were; while the authors of them were not foreigners neither. This makes it impossible for me to contain my lamentations. But if any one be inflexible in his censures of me, let him attribute the facts themselves to the historical part, and the lamentations to the writer himself only.

5. However, I may justly blame the learned men among the Greeks, who when such great actions have been done in their own times, which upon the comparison quite eclipse the old wars, do yet sit as judges of those affairs, and pass bitter censures upon the labours of the best writers of antiquity; which moderns, although they may be superior to the old writers in eloquence, yet are they inferior to them in the execution of what they intended to do: while these also write new histories about the Assyrians and Medes, as if the ancient writers had not described their affairs as they ought to have done, although these be as far inferior to them in abilities, as they are different in their notions from them: for of old every one took upon them to write what happened in his own time; where their immediate concern in the actions made their promises of value: and where

* That these calamities of the Jews, who were our Saviour's murderers, were to be the greatest that had ever been since the beginning of the world, our Saviour had directly foretold, Matt. xxiv. 21; Mark, xiii. 19; Luke, xxi. 23, 24; and that they proved to be such accordingly, Josephus is here a most authentic witness.

it must be reproachful to write lies, when they must be known by the readers to be such. But then, an undertaking to preserve the memory of what hath not been before recorded, and to represent the affairs of one's own time to those that come afterwards, is really worthy of praise and commendation. Now he is to be esteemed to have taken good pains in earnest, not who does no more than change the disposition and order of other men's works, but he who not only relates what had not been related before, but composes an entire body of history of his own: accordingly, I have been at great charges, and have taken very great pains [about this history,] though I be a foreigner; and do dedicate this work, as a memorial of great actions, both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians. But for some of our own principal men, their mouths are wide and open, and their tongues loosed presently, for gain and lawsuits, but quite muzzled up when they are to write history, where they must speak truth, and gather facts together with a great deal of pains; and so they leave the writing such histories to weaker people, and to such as are not acquainted with the actions of princes. Yet shall the real truth of historical facts be preferred by us, how much soever it be neglected among the Greek historians.

6. To write concerning the antiquities of the Jews, who they were [originally,] and how they revolted from the Egyptians, and what country they travelled over, and what countries they seized upon afterward, and how they were removed out of them, I think this not to be a fit opportunity, and on other accounts also superfluous; and this because many Jews before me have composed the histories of our ancestors very exactly, as have some of the Greeks done it also, and have translated our histories into their own tongue, and have not much mistaken the truth in their histories. But then, where the writers of these affairs, and our prophets leave off, thence shall I take my rise, and begin my history. Now as to what concerns that war, which happened in my own time, I will go over it very largely, and with all the diligence I am able; but for what preceded mine own age, that I shall run over very briefly.

7. [For example, I shall relate] how Antiochus, who was named *Epiphanes* took Jerusalem by force, and held it three years and three months, and was then ejected out of the country by the sons of Asamoneus; after that, how their posterity quarrelled about the government, and brought upon their settlement the Romans and Pompey; how Herod also, the son of Antipater, dissolved their government, and brought Sosius upon them; as also, how our people made a sedition upon Herod's death, while Augustus was the Roman emperor, and Quintilius Varus was in that country; and how the war broke out in the twelfth year of Nero, with what happened to Cestius, and what places the Jews assaulted in an hostile manner in the first sallies of the war.

8. As also, [I shall relate] how they built walls about the neighbouring cities; and how Nero, upon Cestius's defeat was in fear of the entire event of the war, and thereupon made Vespasian general in this war; and how this Vespasian, with the elder * of his sons, made an expedition into the country of Judea; what was the number of the Roman army that he made use of; and how many of his auxiliaries were cut off in all Galilee; and how he took some of its cities entirely, and by force, and others of them by treaty, and on terms. Now when I am come so far, I shall describe the good order of the Romans in war, and the discipline of their legions; the amplitude of both the Galilees, with its nature, and the limits of Judea. And, besides this, I shall particularly go over what is peculiar to the country, the lakes and fountains that are in them, and what miseries happened to every city as they were taken; and all this with accuracy, as I saw the things done or suffered in them. For I shall not conceal any of the calamities I myself endured, since I shall relate them to such as know the truth of them.

9. After this, [I shall relate] how, when the Jews' affairs were become very

* Titus.

bad, Nero died, and Vespasian, when he was going to attack Jerusalem, was called back to take the government upon him; what signs happened to him relating to his gaining that government, and what mutations of government then happened at Rome, and how he was unwillingly made emperor by his soldiers, and how upon his departure to Egypt, to take upon him the government of the empire, the affairs of the Jews became very tumultuous; as also how the tyrants rose up against them, and fell into dissensions amongst themselves.

10. Moreover, [I shall relate] how Titus marched out of Egypt into Judea the second time; as also how, and where, and how many forces he got together: and in what state the city was by the means of the seditious at his coming; what attacks he made and how many ramparts he cast up; of the three walls that encompassed the city, and their measures; of the strength of the city, and the structure of the temple and holy house; and besides, the measures of those edifices, and of the altar, and all accurately determined. A description also of certain of their festivals, and seven * purifications of purity, and the sacred ministrations of the priests, with the garments of the priest, and of the high priests, and of the nature of the most holy place of the temple, without concealing any thing, or adding any thing to the known truth of things.

11. After this, I shall relate the barbarity of the tyrants towards the people of their own nation, as well as the indulgence of the Romans in sparing foreigners; and how often Titus out of his desire to preserve the city and the temple, invited the seditious to come to terms of accommodation. I shall distinguish also the sufferings of the people and their calamities; how far they were afflicted by the sedition, and how far by the famine, and at length were taken. Nor shall I omit to mention the misfortunes of the deserters, nor the punishment inflicted on the captives; as also, how the temple was burnt, against the consent of Cæsar, and how many sacred things that had been laid up in the temple were snatched out of the fire; the destructon also of the entire city, with the signs and wonders that went before it; and the taking of the tyrants captives, and the multitude of those that were made slaves, and into what different misfortunes they were every one distributed. Moreover, what the Romans did to the remains of the war, and how they demolished the strong holds that were in the country. and how Titus went over the whole country, and settled its affairs; together with his return into Italy, and his triumph.

12. I have comprehended all these things in seven books; and have left no occasion for complaint or accusation to such as have been acquainted with this war; and I have written it down for the sake of those that love truth, but not for those that please themselves [with fictitious relations.] And I will begin my account of these things with what I call my First Chapter.

* These 7, or rather 5, degrees of purity, or purification, are enumerated hereafter, B. 1 ch. 1. § 6. The Rabbins make 10 degrees of them, as Reland there informs us.

# THE JEWISH WAR.

## BOOK I.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS.

*FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.*

### CHAP. I.

*How the City Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple pillaged [by Antiochus Epiphanes: As also, concerning the Actions of the Maccabees, Matthias and Judas; and concerning the Death of Judas.*

§ 1. At the same time that Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city, who fled to Antiochus and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king, being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with them and came upon the Jews with a great army, and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favoured Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months. But Onias the high priest fled to Ptolemy, and received a palace from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like* its temple, concerning which we shall speak more in its proper place hereafter.

2. Now Antiochus was not satisfied either with his unexpected taking the city, or with its pillage, or with the great slaughter he had made there; but being overcome with his violent passions, and remembering what he had suffered during the siege, he compelled the Jews to dissolve the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar; against which they all opposed themselves, and the most approved among them were put to death. Bacchides also, who was sent to keep the fortresses, having these wicked commands joined to his own natural barbarity, indulged all sorts of the extremest wickedness, and tormented the worthiest of the inhabitants, man by man, and threatened the city every day with open destruction, till at length he provoked the poor sufferers by the extremity of his wicked doings to avenge themselves.

* I see little difference in the several accounts in Josephus about the Egyptian temple Onion, of which large complaints are made by his commentators. Onias, it seems, hoped to have made it very like that at Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions; and so he appears to have really done as far as he was able, and thought proper. Of this temple, see Antiq. B. xiii. ch. iii § 1, 2, 3· and Of the War, B. vii. ch. x. § 3

3. Accordingly, Matthias, the son of Asamoneus, one of the priests who lived in a village called Modin, armed himself, together with his own family, which had five of his own sons in it, and slew Bacchides with daggers; and thereupon, out of the fear of the many garrisons [of the enemy,] he fled to the mountains; and so many of the people followed him, that he was encouraged to come down from the mountains, and to give battle to Antiochus's generals, when he beat them, and drove them out of Judea. So he came to the government by this his success, and became the prince of his own people by their own free consent, and then died, leaving the government to Judas his eldest son.

4. Now Judas, supposing that Antiochus would not lie still, gathered an army out of his own countrymen, and was the first that made a league of friendship with the Romans, and drove Epiphanes out of the country when he had made a second expedition into it, and this by giving him a great defeat there; and when he was warmed by this great success, he made an assault upon the garrison that was in the city, for it had not been cut off hitherto; so he ejected them out of the upper city, and drove the soldiers into the lower, which part of the city was called the *Citadel*. He then got the temple under his power, and cleansed the whole place, and walled it round about, and made new vessels for sacred ministrations, and brought them into the temple, because the former vessels had been profaned. He also built another altar, and began to offer the sacrifices; and when the city had already received its sacred constitution again, Antiochus died; whose son Antiochus succeeded him in the kingdom, and in his hatred to the Jews also.

5. So this Antiochus got together fifty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and four score elephants, and marched through Judea, into the mountainous parts. He then took Bethsura, which was a small city; but at a place called *Bethzacharias*, where the passage was narrow, Judas met him with his army. However, before the forces joined battle, Judas's brother Eleazar, seeing the very highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower, and with military trappings of gold to guard him, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, he ran a great way before his own army, and, cutting his way through the enemies' troops, he got up to the elephant; yet could he not reach him who seemed to be the king, by reason of his being so high; but still he ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory before life. Now he that governed the elephant was but a private man; and had he proved to be Antiochus, Eleazar had performed nothing more by this bold stroke than that it might appear he chose to die, when he had the bare hope of thereby doing a glorious action; nay, this disappointment proved an omen to his brother [Judas] how the entire battle would end. It is true that the Jews fought it out bravely for a long time, but the king's forces being superior in number, and having fortune on their side, obtained the victory. And when a great many of his men were slain, Judas took the rest with him, and fled to the toparchy of Gophna. So Antiochus went to Jerusalem, and stayed there but a few days, for he wanted provisions, and so he went his way. He left indeed a garrison behind him, such as he thought sufficient to keep the place, but drew the rest of his army off, to take their winter quarters in Syria.

6. Now after the king was departed, Judas was not idle; for as many of his own nation came to him, so did he gather those that had escaped out of the battle together, and gave battle again to Antiochus's generals at a village called *Adasa:* and being too hard for his enemies in the battle, and killing a great number of them, he was at last himself slain also. Nor was it many days afterward that his brother John had a plot laid against him by Antiochus's party, and was slain by them.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning the Successors of Judas, who were Jonathan, and Simeon, and John Hyrcanus.*

§ 1. When Jonathan, who was Judas's brother, succeeded him, he behaved himself with great circumspection in other respects with relation to his own people; and he corroborated his authority by preserving his friendship with the Romans. He also made a league with Antiochus's son. Yet was not all this sufficient for his security; for the tyrant Trypho, who was guardian to Antiochus's son, laid a plot against him; and, besides that, endeavoured to take off his friends, and caught Jonathan by a wile, as he was going to Ptolemais to Antiochus, with a few persons in his company, and put him in bonds, and then made an expedition against the Jews; but when he was afterward driven away by Simeon, who was Jonathan's brother, and was enraged at his defeat, he put Jonathan to death.

2. However, Simeon managed the public affairs after a courageous manner, and took Gazara, and Joppa, and Jamnia, which were cities in the neighbourhood. He also got the garrison under, and demolished the citadel. He was afterward an auxiliary to Antiochus against Trypho, whom he besieged in Dora, before he went on his expedition against the Medes: yet could not he make the king ashamed of his ambition, though he had assisted him in killing Trypho; for it was not long ere Antiochus sent Cendebeus his general with an army to lay waste Judea, and to subdue Simeon: yet he, though he were now in years, conducted the war as if he were a much younger man. He also sent his sons with a band of strong men against Antiochus, while he took part of the army himself with him, and fell upon him from another quarter: he also laid a great many men in ambush in many places of the mountains, and was superior in all his attacks upon them; and when he had been conqueror after so glorious a manner, he was made high priest, and also freed the Jews from the dominion of the Macedonians, after a hundred and seventy years of the empire [of Seleucus.]

3. This Simeon also had a plot laid against him, and was slain at a feast by his son-in-law Ptolemy, who put his wife and two sons into prison, and sent some persons to kill John, who was also* called Hyrcanus. But when the young man was informed of their coming beforehand, he made haste to get to the city, as having a great confidence in the people there, both on account of the memory of the glorious actions of his father, and of the hatred they could not but bear to the injustice of Ptolemy. Ptolemy also made an attempt to get into the city by another gate, but was repelled by the people, who had just then admitted of Hyrcanus; so he retired presently to one of the fortresses that were above Jericho, which was called Dagon. Now when Hyrcanus had received the high priesthood, which his father had held before, and had offered sacrifice to God, he made great haste to attack Ptolemy, that he might afford relief to his mother and brethren.

4. So he laid siege to the fortress, and was superior to Ptolemy in other respects, but was overcome by him as to the just affection [he had for his relations]; for when Ptolemy was distressed, he brought forth his mother and his brethren, and set them upon the wall, and beat them with rods in every body's sight, and threatened, that, unless he would go away immediately; he would

* Why this John the son of Simeon, the high priest, and governor of the Jews, was called Hyrcanus, Josephus no where informs us; nor is he called other than John at the end of the first book of the Maccabees. However, Sextus Senensis; when he gives us an epitome of the Greek version of the book here abridged by Josephus or of the chronicles of this John Hyrcanus, then extant, assures us that he was called Hyrcanus, from his conquest of one of that name. See Authent. Rec. Part. i. p. 207. But of this younger Antiochus, see Dean Aldrich's note here.

throw them down headlong; at which sight Hyrcanus's commiseration and concern were too hard for his anger. But his mother was not dismayed, neither at the stripes she received, nor at the death with which she was threatened; but stretched out her hands, and prayed her son not to be moved with the injuries that she suffered, to spare the wretch; since it was to her better to die by the means of Ptolemy, than to live ever so long provided he might be punished for the injuries he had done to their family. Now John's case was this.—When he considered the courage of his mother, and heard her entreaty, he set about his attacks; but when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces with the stripes, he grew feeble, and was entirely overcome by his affections. And as the seige was delayed by this means, the year of rest came on, upon which the Jews rest every seventh year, as they do on every seventh day. On this year, therefore, Ptolemy was freed from being besieged, and slew the brethren of John, with their mother, and fled to Zeno, who was also called *Cotylas*, who was the tyrant of Philadelphia.

5. And now Antiochus was so angry at what he had suffered from Simeon, that he made an expedition into Judea, and sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus; but Hyrcanus opened the sepulchre of David, who was the richest of all kings, and took thence about three thousand talents in money, and induced Antiochus, by the promise of three thousand talents, to raise the siege. Moreover, he was the first of the Jews that had money enough, and began to hire foreign auxiliaries also.

6. However, at another time, when Antiochus was gone upon an expedition against he Medes, and so gave Hyrcanus an opportunity of being revenged upon him, he immediately made an attack upon the cities of Syria, as thinking, what proved to be the case with them, that he should find them empty of good troops. So he took Medaba and Samea, with the towns in their neighbourhood, as also Shechem and Gerizzim, and besides these [he subdued] the nation of the Chutheans, who dwelt round about that temple which was built in imitation of the temple at Jerusalem; he also took a great many other cities of Idumea, whith Adoreon and Marissa.

7. He also proceeded as far as Samaria, where is now the city Sebaste, which was built by Herod the king, and encompassed it all round with a wall, and set his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, over the siege, who pushed it on so hard, that a famine so far prevailed within the city, that they were forced to eat what never was esteemed food. They also invited Antiochus, who was called *Cyzicenus*, to come to their assistance; whereupon he got ready, and complied with their invitation, but was beaten by Aristobulus and Antigonus; and, indeed, he was pursued as far as Scythopolis by these brethren, and fled away from them. So they returned back to Samaria, and shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city, they demolished it and made slaves of its inhabitants. And as they had still great success in their undertakings, they did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.

8. But then these successes of John and of his sons made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together and would not be at rest till they brake out into open war, in which war they were beaten. So John lived the rest of his life very happily, and administered the government after a most extraordinary manner, and this for thirty-three entire years together. He died, leaving five sons behind him. He was certainly a very happy man, and afforded no occasion to have any complaint made of fortune on his account. He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world, the government of his nation, and the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy: for the Deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward, insomuch that he foresaw and foretold that his two

eldest sons would not continue masters of the government; and it will highly deserve our narration, to describe their catastrophe, and how far inferior these men were to their father in felicity.

## CHAP. III.

*How Aristobulus was the first that put a Diadem about his Head, and, after he had put his Mother and Brother to Death, died himself, when he had reigned no more than a Year.*

§ 1. For after the death of their father, the elder of them, Aristobulus, changed the government into a kingdom, and was the first that put a diadem about his head, four hundred seventy and one years and three months after our people came down into this country, when they were set free from the Babylonian slavery. Now of his brethren he appeared to have an affection for Antigonus, who was next to him, and made him his equal: but for the rest, he bound them, and put them in prison. He also put his mother in bonds, for her contesting the government with him; for John had left her to be the governess of the public affairs. He also proceeded to that degree of barbarity as to cause her to be pined to death in prison.

2. But vengeance circumvented him in the affair of his brother Antigonus, whom he loved, and whom he made his partner in the kingdom; for he slew him by the means of the calumnies which ill men about the palace contrived against him. At first, indeed, Aristobulus would not believe their reports, partly out of the affection he had for his brother, and partly because he thought that a great part of these tales were owing to the envy of the relaters: however, as Antigonus came once in a splendid manner from the army to that festival, wherein our ancient custom is to make tabernacles for God, it happened in those days that Aristobulus was sick, and that, at the conclusion of the feast, Antigonus came up to it, with his armed men about him; and this when he was adorned in the finest manner possible, and that, in a great measure, to pray to God on the behalf of his brother. Now at this very time it was that these ill men came to the king, and told him in what a pompous manner the armed men came, and with what insolence Antigonus marched, and that such his insolence was too great for a private person; and that, accordingly, he was come with a great band of men to kill him; for that he could not endure this bare enjoyment of royal honour, when it was in his power to take the kingdom himself.

3. Now Aristobulus, by degrees and unwillingly, gave credit to these accusations: accordingly, he took care not to discover his suspicion openly, though he provided to be secure against any accidents: so he placed the guards of his body in a certain dark subterranean passage; for he lay sick in a place called formerly the *Citadel*, though afterwards its name was changed to *Antonia;* and he gave orders, that if Antigonus came unarmed, they should let him alone; but if he came to him in his armour, they should kill him. He also sent some to let him know beforehand, that he should come unarmed. But, upon this occasion, the queen very cunningly contrived the matter with those that plotted his ruin; for she persuaded those that were sent to conceal the king's message: but to tell Antigonus, how his brother had heard he had got a very fine suit of armour, made with fine martial ornaments, in Galilee; and because his present sickness hindered him from coming, and seeing all that finery, he very much desired to see him now in his armour; because, said he in a little time thou art going away from me.

4. As soon as Antigonus heard this, the good temper of his brother not allowing him to suspect any harm from him, he came along with his armour on, to show it

to his brother; but when he was going along that dark passage, which was called *Strato's Tower*, he was slain by the body guards, and became an eminent instance how calumny destroys all good will and natural affection, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to resist envy perpetually.

5. And truly any one would be surprised at Judas upon this occasion. He was of the sect of the Essens, and had never failed or deceived men in his predictions before. Now this man saw Antigonus as he was passing along by the temple, and cried out to his acquaintance (they were not a few who attended upon him as his scholars,)—"O strange! said he; it is good for me to die now, since truth is dead before me, and somewhat that I have foretold hath proved false; for this Antigonus is this day alive, who ought to have died this day; and the place where he ought to be slain, according to that fatal decree, was Strato's Tower, which is at the distance of six hundred furlongs from this place, and yet four hours of this day are over already, which point of time renders the prediction impossible to be fulfilled." And when the old man had said this, he was dejected in his mind, and so continued. But in a little time news came, that Antigonus was slain in a subterraneous place, which was itself also called *Strato's Tower*, by the same name with that Cæsarea which lay by the sea side; and this ambiguity it was which caused the prophet's disorder.

6. Hereupon Aristobulus repented of the great crime he had been guilty of, and this gave occasion to the increase of his distemper. He also grew worse and worse, and his soul was constantly disturbed at the thoughts of what he had done, till his very bowels being torn to pieces by the intolerable grief he was under, he threw up a great quantity of blood. And, as one of those servants that attended him carried out that blood, he, by some supernatural providence, slipped and fell down in the very place where Antigonus had been slain; and so he spilt some of the murderer's blood upon the spots of the blood of him that had been murdered, which still appeared. Hereupon a lamentable cry arose among the spectators, as if the servant had spilled the blood on purpose in that place: and as the king heard that cry, he inquired what was the cause of it? And while nobody durst tell him, he pressed them so much the more to let him know what was the matter; so at length, when he had threatened them, and forced them to speak out, they told; whereupon he burst out into tears, and groaned, and said,—"So I perceive I am not like to escape the all-seeing eye of God, as to the great crimes I have committed: but the vengeance of the blood of my kinsman pursues me hastily. O thou most impudent body, how long wilt thou retain a soul that ought to die on account of that punishment it ought to suffer for a mother and a brother slain? How long shall I myself spend my blood drop by drop? Let them take it all at once; and let their ghosts no longer be disappointed by a few parcels of my bowels offered to them." As soon as he had said these words, he presently died, when he had reigned no longer than a year.

## CHAP. IV.

*What Actions were done by Alexander Janneus, who reigned Twenty-seven Years.*

§ 1. And now the king's wife loosed the king's brethren, and made Alexander king, who appeared both elder in age and more moderate in his temper than the rest; who, when he came to the government, slew the one of his brethren, as affecting to govern himself, but had the other of them in great esteem, as loving a quiet life, without meddling with public affairs.

2. Now it happened that there was a battle between him and Ptolemy, who was called *Lathyrus*, who had taken the city Asochis. He, indeed, slew a great many of his enemies, but the victory rather inclined to Ptolemy. But when this

Ptolemy was pursued by his mother Cleopatra, and retired into Egypt, Alexander besieged Gadara, and took it; as also he did Amathus, which was the strongest of all the fortressses that were about Jordan, and therein were the most precious of all the possessions of Theodorus, the son of Zeno. Whereupon Theodorus marched against him, and took what belonged to himself, as well as the king's baggage, and slew ten thousand of the Jews. However, Alexander recovered this blow, and turned his force towards the maritime parts, and took Raphia, and Gaza, with Anthedon also, which was afterwards called *Agrippias* by king Herod.

3. But when he had made slaves of the citizens of all these cities, the nation of the Jews made an insurrection against him at a festival; for at those feasts seditions are generally begun, and it looked as if he should not be able to escape the plot they had laid for him, had not his foreign auxiliaries, the Pisidians and Cilicians, assisted him; for as to the Syrians, he never admitted them among his mercenary troops, on account of their innate enmity against the Jewish nation. And when he had slain more than six thousand of the rebels, he made an incursion into Arabia, and when he had taken that country, together with the Gileadites and Moabites, he enjoined them to pay him tribute, and returned to Amathus; and as Theodorus was surprised at his great success, he took the fortress, and demolished it.

4. However, when he fought with Obodus, king of the Arabians, who had laid an ambush for him near Golan, and a plot against him, he lost his entire army, which was crowded together in a deep valley, and broken to pieces by the multitude of camels. And when he had made his escape to Jerusalem, he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to make an insurrection against him, and this on account of the greatness of the calamity that he was under. However, he was then too hard for them, and in the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews in the interval of six years. Yet had he no reason to rejoice in these victories, since he did but consume his own kingdom, till at length he fell off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects. But this mutability and irregularity of his conduct made them hate him still more. And when he asked them, why they so hated him, and what he should do in order to appease them? they said, by killing himself; for that it would be then all they could do to be reconciled to him, who had done such tragical things to them, even when he was dead. At the same time they invited Demetrius, who was called *Eucerus*, to assist them; and as he readily complied with their request, in hopes of great advantages, and came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem.

5. Yet did Alexander meet both these forces with one thousand horsemen, and eight thousand mercenaries, that were on foot. He had also with him that part of the Jews which favoured him, to the number of ten thousand: while the adverse party had three thousand horsemen and fourteen thousand footmen. Now, before they joined battle, the kings made proclamation, and endeavoured to draw off each other's soldiers, and make them revolt; while Demetrius hoped to induce Alexander's mercenaries to leave him, and Alexander hoped to induce the Jews that were with Demetrius to leave him. But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement, and to a close fight, with their weapons. In which battle Demetrius was the conqueror, although Alexander's mercenaries showed the greatest exploits, both in soul and body. Yet did the upshot of this battle prove different from what was expected, as to both of them; for neither did those that invited Demetrius to come to them continue firm to him though he were conqueror; and six thousand Jews, out of pity to the change of Alexander's condition, when he was fled to the mountains, came over to him. Yet could not Demetrius bear this turn of affairs, but supposing that Alexander was already become a match

for him again, and that all the nation would [at length] run in to him, he left the country, and went his way.

6. However, the rest of the [Jewish] multitude did not lay aside their quarrels with him, when the [foreign] auxiliaries were gone; but they had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Bemeselis; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem. Nay, his rage was grown so extravagant, that his barbarity proceeded to the degree of impiety: for when he had ordered eight hundred to be hung upon crosses in the midst of the city, he had the throats of their wives and children cut before their eyes; and these executions he saw as he was drinking, and lying down with his concubines. Upon which so deep a surprise seized on the people, that eight thousand of his opposers fled away, the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander's death: so at last, though not till late, and with great difficulty, he, by such actions, procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.

7. Yet did that Antiochus, who was also called *Dionysus*, become an origin of troubles again. This man was the brother of Demetrius, and the last* of the race of the Seleucidæ. Alexander was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians; so he cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa; he also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers, in order to hinder any sudden approaches. But still he was not able to exclude Antiochus; for he burnt the towers, and filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army. And as he looked upon taking his revenge on Alexander, for endeavouring to stop him, as a thing of less consequence, he marched directly against the Arabians, whose king retired into such parts of the country as were fittest for engaging the enemy, and then, on the sudden, made his horse turn back, which were in number ten thousand, and fell upon Antiochus's army, while they were in disorder, and a terrible battle ensued. Antiochus's troops, so long as he was alive, fought it out, although a mighty slaughter was made among them by the Arabians; but when he fell, for he was in the forefront, in the utmost danger in rallying his troops, they all gave ground, and the greatest part of his army were destroyed, either in the action or in the flight; and for the rest who fled to the village of Cana, it happened that they were all consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted.

8. About this time it was that the people of Damascus, out of their hatred to Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, invited Aretas [to take the government,] and made him king of Celosyria. This man also made an expedition against Judea, and beat Alexander in battle, but afterwards retired by mutual agreement. But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus's possessions: and when he had built a triple wall about the garrison, he took the place by force. He also demolished Golan and Seleucia, and what was called *the valley of Antiochus;* besides which he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor therein, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge, and then returned into Judea, after he had been three whole years in this expedition. And now he was kindly received of the nation, because of the good success he had. So when he was at rest from war, he fell into a distemper; for he was afflicted with a quartan ague, and supposed that by exercising himself again in martial affairs, he should get rid of his distemper; but by making such expeditions at unseasonable times, and forcing his body to undergo greater hardships than it was able to bear, he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore, in the midst of his troubles, after he had reigned seven and twenty years.

* Josephus here calls this Antiochus the last of the Seleucidæ, although there remained still a shadow of another king of that family, Antiochus Asiaticus, or Commagenus, who reigned, or rather lay hid, till Pompey quite turned him out, as Dean Aldrich here notes, from Appian and Justin.

## CHAP. V.

*Alexandra reigns Nine Years, during which Time the Pharisees were the real Rulers of the Nation.*

§ 1. Now Alexander left the kingdom to Alexandra, his wife, placing the greatest confidence in the Jews, that they would now readily submit to her; because she had been very averse to such cruelty as he had treated them with, and had opposed his violation of their laws, and had thereby got the good will of the people. Nor was he mistaken as to his expectations; for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety, for she chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country, and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws. And as she had two sons by Alexander, she made Hyrcanus the elder high priest, on account of his age; as also, besides that, on account of his inactive temper, no way disposing him to disturb the public. But she retained the younger, Aristobulus, with her, as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.

2. And now the Pharisees joined themselves to her, to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of Jews, that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed [men] at their pleasure;*† and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, while the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra. She was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she increased the army the one-half, and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.

3. Accordingly, they themselves slew Diogenes, a person of figure, and one that had been a friend to Alexander; and accused him as having assisted the king with his advice for crucifying the eight hundred men [before mentioned.] They also prevailed with Alexandra to put to death the rest of those who had irritated him against them. Now she was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and, accordingly, they slew whom they pleased themselves; but the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus, who persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city, unless she took them to be innocent; so they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country. But when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretence that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it; nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged‡ Cleopatra, by agreements and presents to go away. Accordingly,

* Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18.

† Here we have the oldest and most authentic Jewish exposition of binding and loosing, for punishing or absolving men, not for declaring actions lawful or unlawful, as some more modern Jews and Christians vainly pretend.

‡ Strabo, B. xvi. p. 740, relates, that this Selene Cleopatra was besieged by Tigranes, not in Ptolemais, as here, but after she had left Syria in Seleucia, a citadel in Mesopotamia; and adds, that when he had kept her awhile in prison, he put her to death. Dean Aldrich supposes here that Strabo contradicts Josephus, which does not appear to me; for although Josephus says both here and in the Antiquities, B. xiii. ch. xvi. sect. 4, that Tigranes besieged her now in Ptolemais, and that he took the city, as the Antiquities inform us, yet does he no where intimate that he now took the queen herself; so that both the narrations of Strabo and Josephus may still be true notwithstanding.

Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic tumults which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia.

4. In the mean time Alexandra fell sick, and Aristobulus her younger son took hold of this opportunity, with his domestics, of which he had a great many, who were all of them his friends on account of the warmth of their youth, and got possession of all the fortresses. He also used the sums of money he found in them, to get together a number of mercenary soldiers, and made himself king; and, besides this, upon Hyrcanus's complaint to his mother, she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia, which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple. It was, as I have already said, of old called the *Citadel*, but afterwards got the name of *Antonia*, when Antony was lord [of the east,] just as the other cities, Sebaste and Agrippias, had their names changed, and these given them, from Sebastus and Agrippa But Alexandra died before she could punish Aristobulus, for his disinheriting his brother, after she had reigned nine years.

## CHAP. VI.

*When Hyrcanus, who was Alexander's Heir, receded from his Claim of the Crown, Aristobulus is made King: and afterward the same Hyrcanus, by the means of Antipater, is brought back by Aretas. At last Pompey is made the Arbitrator of the Dispute between the Brothers.*

1. Now Hyrcanus was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit before she died: but Aristobulus was superior to him in power and magnanimity; and when there was a battle between them, to decide the dispute about the kingdom, near Jericho, the greatest part deserted Hyrcanus, and went over to Aristobulus: but Hyrcanus, with those of his party who stayed with him, fled to Antonia, and got into his power the hostages that might be for his preservation which were Aristobulus's wife, with her children,) but they came to an agreement before things should come to extremities, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hyrcanus should resign that up, but retain all the rest of his dignities, as being the king's brother. Hereupon they were reconciled to each other in the temple, and embraced one another in a very kind manner, while the people stood round about them: they also changed their houses, while Aristobulus went to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus retired to the house of Aristobulus.

2. Now those other people which were at variance with Aristobulus were afraid upon his expected obtaining the government; and especially this concerned Antipater, whom Aristobulus hated of old. He was by birth an Idumnean,* and one of the principal of that nation, on account of his ancestors and riches, and other authority to him belonging: he also persuaded Hyrcanus to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia, and to lay claim to the kingdom; as also he persuaded Aretas to receive Hyrcanus, and to bring him back to his kingdom: he also cast great reproaches upon Aristobulus as to his morals, and gave great commendation to Hyrcanus, and exhorted Aretas to receive him; and told him how becoming a thing it would be for him, who ruled so great a kingdom, to afford his assistance to such as are injured; alleging that Hyrcanus was treated unjustly, by being deprived of that dominion which belonged to him by the prerogative of his birth. And when he had predisposed them both to what he would have them, he took Hyrcanus by night, and ran away from the city; and, continuing his flight with great swiftness, he escaped to the place called *Petra*, which is the royal seat of the king of Arabia, where he put Hyrcanus into Aretas's hand; and by discours-

* That this Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, was an *Idumean*, as Josephus affirms here, see the note on Antiq. B. xiv. ch. xv. sect. 2.

ing much with him, and gaining upon him with many presents, he prevailed with him to give him an army that might restore him to his kingdom. This army consisted of fifty thousand footmen and horsemen, against which Aristobulus was not able to make resistance, but was deserted in his first onset, and was driven to Jerusalem: he also had been taken at first by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege. This Scaurus was sent into Syria from Armenia by Pompey the Great, when he fought against Tigranes; so Scaurus came to Damascus, which had been lately taken by Metellus and Lollius, and caused them to leave the place; and, upon his hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, he made haste thither as to a certain booty.

3. As soon, therefore, as he was come into the country, there came ambassadors from both the brothers, each of them desiring his assistance; but Aristobulus's three hundred talents had more weight with him than the justice of the cause; which sum when Scaurus had received, he sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and of Pompey unless they would raise the siege. So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia, as did Scaurus return to Damascus again: nor was Aristobulus satisfied with escaping [out of his brother's hands,] but gathered all his forces together, and pursued his enemies, and fought them at a place called Papyron, and slew above six thousand of them, and, together with them, Antipater's brother, Phalion.

4. When Hyrcanus and Antipater were thus deprived of their hopes from the Arabians, they transferred the same to their adversaries; and because Pompey had passed through Syria, and was come to Damascus, they fled to him for assistance; and, without any bribes,* they made the same equitable pleas that they had used to Aretas, and besought him to hate the violent behaviour of Aristobulus, and to bestow the kingdom on him to whom it justly belonged, both on account of his good character and on account of his superiority in age. However, neither was Aristobulus wanting to himself in this case, as relying on the bribes that Scaurus had received: he was also there himself and adorned himself after a manner the most agreeable to royalty that he was able. But he soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner, and could not endure to serve his own ends in a way so much more abject than he was used to; so he departed from Diospolis.

5. At this his behaviour Pompey had great indignation: Hyrcanus also and his friends made great intercession to Pompey; so he took not only his Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries, and marched against Aristobulus. But when he had passed by Pella and Scythopolis, and was come to Corea, where you enter into the country of Judea, when you go up to it through the Mediterranean parts, he heard that Aristobulus was fled to Alexandrium, which is a strong hold fortified with the utmost magnificence, and situated upon a high mountain; and he sent to him, and commanded him to come down. Now his inclination was to try his fortune in a battle, since he was called in such an imperious manner, rather than to comply with that call. However, he saw the multitude were in great fear, and his friends exhorted him to consider what the power of the Romans was, and how it was irresistible; so he complied with their advice and came down to Pompey; and when he had made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, he returned to the fortress. And when his brother invited him again [to plead his cause,] he came down and spake about the justice of it, and then went away without any hinderance from Pompey; so he was between hope and fear. And when he came down, it was to prevail with Pompey to allow him the government entirely; and when he went

* It is somewhat probable, as Havercamp supposes, and partly Spanheim also, that the Latin copy here the truest, that Pompey did take the many presents offered him by Hyrcanus, as he would have done the others from Aristobulus, sect. 6; although his remarkable abstinence from the 2000 talents that were in the Jewish temple, when he took it a little afterward, ch. vii. sect, 6, and Antiq. B. xiv. ch. iv. sect. 4, will hardly permit us to desert the Greek copies, all which agree that he did not take them.

up to the citadel, it was that he might not appear to debase himself too low. However, Pompey commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up; they having had this charge given them, to obey no letters but what were of his own handwriting Accordingly, he did what he was ordered to do; but had still an indignation at what was done, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.

6. But Pompey did not give him time to make any preparations [for a siege,] but followed him at his heels: he was also obliged to make haste in his attempt, by the death of Mithridates, of which he was informed about Jericho. Now here is the most fruitful country of Judea, which bears a vast number of palm-trees,* besides the balsam-tree, whose sprouts they cut up with sharp stones, and at the incisions they gather the juice, which drops down like tears. So Pompey pitched his camp in that place one night, and then hasted away the next morning to Jerusalem: But Aristobulus was so affrighted at his approach, that he came and met him by way of supplication: he also promised him money, and that he would deliver up both himself and the city into his disposal, and thereby mitigated the anger of Pompey. Yet did not he perform any of the conditions he had agreed to; for Aristobulus's party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city who was sent to receive the money that he had promised.

## CHAP. VII.

*How Pompey had the City Jerusalem delivered up to him, but took the Temple [by force.] How he went into the Holy of Holies; as also what were his other Exploits in Judea.*

§ 1. At this treatment Pompey was very angry, and took Aristobulus into custody. And when he was come to the city he looked about where he might make his attack; for he saw the walls were so firm, that it would be hard to overcome them, and that the valley before the walls was terrible; and that the temple which was within that valley, was itself encompassed with a very strong wall, insomuch that if the city were taken, that temple would be a second place of refuge for the enemy to retire to.

2. Now as he was long in deliberating about this matter, a sedition arose among the people within the city; Aristobulus's party being willing to fight, and to set their king at liberty, while the party of Hyrcanus were for opening the gates to Pompey; and the dread the people were in occasioned these last to be a very numerous party, when they looked upon the excellent order the Roman soldiers were in. So Aristobulus's party was worsted, and retired into the temple, and cut off the communication between the temple and the city, by breaking down the bridge that joined them together, and prepared to make an opposition to the utmost; but as the others had received the Romans into the city, and had delivered up the palace to him, Pompey sent Piso, one of his great officers, into that palace with an army, who distributed a garrison about the city, because he could not persuade any one of those that had fled to the temple to come to terms of accommodation: he then disposed all things that were round about them so as might favour their attacks, as having Hyrcanus's party very ready to afford them both counsel and assistance.

3. But Pompey himself filled up the ditch that was on the north side of the temple, and the entire valley also, the army itself being obliged to carry the materials for that purpose. And, indeed, it was a hard thing to fill up that valley by reason of its immense depth, especially as the Jews used all the means possible

* Of the famous palm-trees and balsam about Jericho and Engaddi, see the notes in Havercamp's edition, both here and B. ii. ch. ix. sect. 1. They are somewhat too long to be transcribed in this place.

sible to repel them from their superior station: nor had the Romans succeeded in their endeavour, had not Pompey taken notice of the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work on a religious account, and raised his bank, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted defensively on Sabbath days. But as soon as Pompey had filled up the valley, he erected high towers upon the bank, and brought those engines which they had fetched from Tyre near to the wall, and tried to batter it down; and the slingers of stones beat off those that stood above them, and drove them away: but the towers on this side of the city made very great resistance, and were, in deed, extraordinary both for largeness and magnificence.

4. Now here it was that, upon the many hardships which the Romans underwent, Pompey could not but admire not only at the other instances of the Jews fortitude, but especially that they did not at all intermit their religious services, even when they were encompassed with darts on all sides; for, as if the city were in full peace, their daily sacrifices and purifications, and every branch of their religious worship, was still performed to God with the utmost exactness. Nor, indeed, when the temple was actually taken, and they were every day slain about the altar, did they leave off the instances of their divine worship that were appointed by their law; for it was in the third month of the siege before the Romans could even, with great difficulty, overthrow one of the towers, and get into the temple. Now he that first of all ventured to get over the wall was Faustus Cornelius, the Son of Sylla; and next after him were two centurions, Furius and Fabius; and every one of these was followed by a cohort of his own, who encompassed the Jews on all sides and slew them, some of them as they were running for shelter to the temple, and others as they, for a while, fought in their own defence.

5. And now did many of the priests, even when they saw their enemies assailing them with swords in their hands, without any disturbance, go on with their divine worship, and were slain while they were offering their drink-offerings and burning their incense, as preferring the duties about their worship to God before their own preservation. The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen of the adverse faction, and an innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices: nay, some there were who were so distracted among the insuperable difficulties they were under, that they set fire to the buildings that were near to the wall, and were burnt together with them. Now of the Jews were slain twelve thousand; but of the Romans very few were slain, but a greater number was wounded.

6. But there was nothing that affected the nation so much in the calamities they were then under, as that their holy place, which had been hitherto seen by none, should be laid open to strangers; for Pompey,* and those that were about him, went into the temple itself, whither it was not lawful for any to enter but the high priest, and saw what was reposited therein, the candlestick with its lamps, and the table, and the pouring vessels, and the censers, all made entirely of gold, as also a great quantity of spices heaped together, with two thousand talents of sacred money. Yet did not he touch that money, nor any thing else that was there reposited: but he commanded the ministers about the temple, the very next day after he had taken it, to cleanse it, and to perform their accustomed sacrifices. Moreover, he made Hyrcanus high priest, as one that not only in other respects had showed great alacrity on his side during the siege, but as he had been the means of hindering the multitude that was in the country from fighting for Aristobulus, which they were otherwise very ready to have done; by which means he acted the part of a good general, and reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror. Now among the captives

* Thus, says Tacitus, Cn. Pompeius first of all subdued the Jews, and went into their temple, by right of conquest, Hist. B. v. ch. ix; nor did he touch any of its riches, as has been observed on the parallel place of the Antiquities, B. xiv. ch. iv. sect. 4; out of Cicero himself

Aristobulus's father-in-law was taken, who was also his uncle: so those that were the most guilty he punished with decollation: but rewarded Faustus, and those with him that had fought so bravely, with glorious presents, and laid a tribute upon the country, and upon Jerusalem itself.

7. He also took away from the nation all those cities they had formerly taken, and that belonged to Celosyria, and made them subject to him that was at that time appointed to be the Roman president there, and reduced Judea within its proper bounds. He also rebuilt Gadara,* that had been demolished by the Jews, in order to gratify one Demetrius, who was of Gadara, and was one of his own freedmen. He also made other cities free from their dominion that lay in the midst of the country, such, I mean, as they had not demolished before that time, Hippos and Scythopolis, as also Pella, and Samaria, and Marissa: and, besides these, Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa; and in like manner dealt he with the maritime cities, Gaza and Joppa, and Dora, and that which was anciently called *Strato's Tower*, but was afterward rebuilt with most magnificent edifices, and had its name changed to *Cæsarea* by king Herod: all which he restored to their own citizens, and put them under the province of Syria; which province, ogether with Judea and the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates, he committed to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two legions to support him; while he made all the haste he could himself to go through Cilicia, in his way to Rome, having Aristobulus and his children along with him as his captives. They were two daughters and two sons; the one of which sons, Alexander, ran away as he was going, but the younger, Antigonus, with his sisters, were carried to Rome.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Alexander, the Son of Aristobulus, who ran away from Pompey, makes an expedition against Hyrcanus; but being overcome by Gabinius, he delivers up the Fortresses to him. After this Aristobulus escapes from Rome, and gathers an Army together; but being beaten by the Romans, he is brought back to Rome; with other Things relating to Gabinius, Crassus, and Cassius.*

§ 1. In the mean time Scaurus made an expedition into Arabia, but was stopped by the difficulty of the places about Petra. However, he laid waste the country about Pella, though even there he was under great hardship; for his army was afflicted with famine: in order to supply which want, Hyrcanus afforded him some assistance, and sent him provisions by the means of Antipater; whom also Scaurus sent to Aretas, as one well acquainted with him, to induce him to pay him money to buy his peace. The king of Arabia† complied with the proposal, and gave him three hundred talents: upon which Scaurus drew his army out of Arabia.

2. But as for Alexander, the son of Aristobulus who ran away from Pompey, in some time he got a considerable band of men together, and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly; and, indeed, he had come to Jerusalem, and had ventured to rebuild its wall that was thrown down by Pompey, had not Gabinius, who was sent as successor to Scaurus into Syria, showed his bravery, as in many other points, so in making an expedition against Alexander; who, as he was afraid that he would attack him, so he

* The coin of this Gadara still extant, with its date from this era, is a certain evidence of this its rebuilding by Pompey, as Spanheim here assures us.

† Take the like attestation to the truth of this submission of Aretas, king of Arabia, to Scaurus the Roman general, in the words of Dean Aldrich.—"Hence," says he, "is derived that old and famous Denarius belonging to the Emilian family [represented in Havercamp's edition,] wherein Aretas appears in a posture of supplication, and taking hold of a camel's bridle with his left hand, and with his right hand presenting a branch of the frankincense tree, with this inscription, M. SCAURUS EX S. C. and beneath, REX ARETAS."

got together a large army, composed of ten thousand footmen and fifteen hundred horsemen. He also built walls about proper places, Alexandrium. and Hyrcanium, and Macherus, that lay upon the mountains of Arabia.

3. However, Gabinius sent before him Marcus Antonius, and followed himself with his whole army; but for the select body of soldiers that were about Antipater, and another body of Jews under the commands of Malichus and Pitholaus, these joined themselves to those captains that were about Marcus Antonius, and met Alexander: to which body came Gabinius with his main army soon afterward; and as Alexander was not able to sustain the charge of the enemies' forces, now they were joined, he retired. But when he was come near to Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost six thousand men in the battle; three thousand of which fell down dead, and three thousand were taken alive; so he fled with the remainder to Alexandrium.

4. Now when Gabinius was come to Alexandrium, because he found a great many there encamped, he tried, by promising them pardon for their former offences, to induce them to come over to him, before it came to a fight; but when they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he slew a great number of them, and shut up a great number in the citadel. Now Marcus Antonius, their leader, signalized himself in this battle, who as he always showed great courage, so did he never show it so much as now; but Gabinius, leaving forces to take the citadel, went away himself, and settled the cities that had not been demolished, and rebuilt those that had been destroyed. Accordingly, upon his injunctions, the following cities were restored, Scythopolis, and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Jamnia, and Raphia, and Marissa, and Adoreus, and Gamala, and Ashdod, and many others; while a great number of men readily ran to each of them, and became their inhabitants.

5. When Gabinius had taken care of these cities, he returned to Alexandrium, and pressed on the siege. So when Alexander despaired of ever obtaining the government, he sent ambassadors to him, and prayed him to forgive what he had offended him in, and gave up to him the remaining fortresses, Hyrcanium and Macherus, as he put Alexandrium into his hands afterwards: all which Gabinius demolished, at the persuasion of Alexander's mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war. She was now there in order to mollify Gabinius, out of her concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were her husband and her other children. After this Gabinius brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and committed the care of the temple to him; but ordained the other political government to be an aristocracy. He also parted the whole nation into five conventions, assigning one portion to Jerusalem, another to Gadara; that another should belong to Amathus, a fourth to Jericho, and to the fifth division was alloted Sepphoris, a city of Galilee. So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.

6. Yet did Aristobulus afford another foundation for new disturbances. He fled away from Rome, and got together again many of the Jews that were desirous of a change, such as had borne an affection to him of old: and when he had taken Alexandrium in the first place, he attempted to build a wall about it; but as soon as Gabinius had sent an army against him under Sisenna, and Antonius and Servilius, he was aware of it, and retreated to Macherus. And as for the unprofitable multitude, he dismissed them, and only marched on with those that were armed, being to the number of eight thousand, among whom was Pitholaus who had been the lieutenant at Jerusalem, but deserted to Aristobulus with a thousand of his men: so the Romans followed him; and when it came to a battle, Aristobulus's party for a long while fought courageously: but at length they were overborne by the Romans, and of them five thousand fell down dead, and about two thousand fled to a certain little hill, but the thousand that remained with Aristobulus broke through the Roman army, and marched together to M

caerus; and when the king had lodged the first night upon its ruins, he was in hopes of raising another army, if the war would but cease awhile; accordingly he fortified that strong hold, though it were done after a poor manner. But the Romans falling upon him, he resisted even beyond his abilities for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son, who had fled away together with him from Rome, and from Gabinius he was carried to Rome again: Wherefore, the senate put him under confinement, but returned his children back into Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letters that he had promised Aristobulus's mother to do so, for her delivering the fortresses up to him.

7. But now as Gabinius was marching to the war against the Parthians, he was hindered by Ptolemy, whom, upon his return from Euphrates, he brought back into Egypt, making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide every thing that was necessary for this expedition; for Antipater furnished him with money, and weapons, and corn, and auxiliaries; he also prevailed with the Jews that were there, and guarded the avenues at Pelusium, to let them pass. But now upon Gabinius's absence, the other part of Syria was in motion, and Alexander the son of Aristobulus, brought the Jews to a revolt again. Accordingly, he got together a very great army, and set about killing all the Romans that were in the country: hereupon Gabinius was afraid (for he was come back already out of Egypt and obliged to come back quickly by these tumults,) and sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters to be quiet. However, thirty thousand still continued with Alexander, who was himself eager to fight also: accordingly, Gabinius went out to fight; when the Jews met him, and as the battle was fought near mount Tabor, ten thousand of them were slain, and the rest of the multitude dispersed themselves and fled away. So Gabinius came to Jerusalem, and settled the government as Antipater would have it; thence he marched, and fought and beat the Nabateans: as for Mithridates and Orsanes, who fled out of Parthia, he sent them away privately, but gave it out among the soldiers that they had run away.

8. In the meantime Crassus came as successor to Gabinius in Syria. He took away all the rest of the gold belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, in order to furnish himself for his expedition against the Parthians. He also took away the two thousand talents which Pompey had not touched; but when he had passed over Euphrates, he perished himself and his army with him; concerning which affairs this is not a proper time to speak [more largely.]

9. But now Cassius, after Crassus, put a stop to the Parthians, who were marching in order to enter Syria. Cassius had fled into that province, and, when he had taken possession of the same, he made a hasty march into Judea; and, upon his taking Taricheæ, he carried thirty thousand Jews into slavery. He also slew Pitholaus, who had supported the seditious followers of Aristobulus; and it was Antipater who advised him so to do. Now this Antipater married a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was *Cypros*, and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus and Herod, who was afterwards king, and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was *Salome*. Now as he made himself friends among the men of power everywhere, by the kind offices he did them, and the hospitable manner that he treated them, so did he contract the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation, insomuch, that when he made war with Aristobulus, he sent and intrusted his children with him. So when Cassius had forced Alexander to come to terms and to be quiet, he returned to Euphrates, in order to prevent the Parthians from repassing it; concerning which matter* we shall speak elsewhere

* This citation is now wanting.

## CHAP. IX.

*Aristobulus is taken off by Pompey's Friends, as is his Son Alexander by Scipio. Antipater cultivates a Friendship with Cæsar after Pompey's Death; he also performs great Actions in that War wherein he assisted Mithridates.*

§ 1. Now upon the flight of Pompey and of the senate beyond the Ionian sea, Cæsar got Rome and the empire under his power, and released Aristobulus from his bonds. He also committed two legions to him, and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that, by his means, he should easily conquer that country and the parts adjoining to Judea. But envy prevented any effect of Aristobulus's alacrity and the hopes of Cæsar; for he was taken off by poison, given him by those of Pompey's party; and for a long while he had not so much as a burial vouchsafed him in his own country; but his dead body lay [above ground,] preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres.

2. His son Alexander also was beheaded by Scipio at Antioch, and that by the command of Pompey, and upon an accusation laid against him before his tribunal, for the mischiefs he had done to the Romans. But Ptolemy, the son of Menæus, who was then ruler of Chalcis under Libanus, took his brethren to him, by sending his son Philippio for them to Ascalon, who took Antigonus, as well as his sisters, away from Aristobulus's wife, and brought them to his father: and falling in love with the youngest daughter, he married her, and was afterwards slain by his father on her account: for Ptolemy himself, after he had slain his son, married her, whose name was *Alexandra;* on account of which marriage he took the greater care of her brother and sister.

3. Now after Pompey was dead, Antipater changed sides, and cultivated a friendship with Cæsar. And since Mithridates of Pergamus, with the forces he led against Egypt, was excluded from the avenues about Pelusium, and was forced to stay at Ascalon, he persuaded the Arabians, among whom he had lived, to assist him, and came himself to him at the head of three thousand armed men. He also encouraged the men of power in Syria to come to his assistance, as also of the inhabitants of Libanus, Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, and another Ptolemy; by which means the cities of that country came readily into this war; insomuch that Mithridates ventured now, in dependence upon the additional strength that he had gotten by Antipater, to march forward to Pelusium; and when they refused him a passage through it, he besieged the city; in the attack of which place Antipater principally signalized himself, for he brought down that part of the wall which was over against him, and leaped first of all into the city with the men that were about him.

4. Thus was Pelusium taken. But still as they were marching on, those Egyptian Jews that inhabited the country, called the country of Onias, stopped them. Then did Antipater not only persuade them not to stop them, but to afford provisions for their army; on which account, even the people about Memphis would not fight against them, but of their own accord joined Mithridates. Whereupon he went round about Delta, and fought the rest of the Egyptians at a place called *the Jews Camp:* nay, when he was in danger in the battle, with all his right wing, Antipater wheeled about, and came along the bank of the river to him; for he had beaten those that opposed him as he led the left wing. After which success he fell upon those that pursued Mithridates, and slew a great many of them, and pursued the remainder so far that he took their camp, while he lost no more than fourscore of his own men; as Mithridates lost during the pursuit that was made after him about eight hundred. He was also himself saved unexpectedly, and became an irreproachable witness to Cæsar of the great actions of Antipater.

5. Whereupon Cæsar encouraged Antipater to undertake other hazardous enterprises for him, and that by giving him great commendations and hopes of reward: in all which enterprises he readily exposed himself to many dangers, and became a most courageous warrior, and had many wounds almost all over his body, as demonstrations of his valour. And when Cæsar had settled the affairs of Egypt, and was returning into Syria again, he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes, and rendered him an object of admiration by the honours and marks of friendship he bestowed upon him. On this account it was also that he confirmed Hyrcanus in the high priesthood.

## CHAP. X.

*Cæsar makes Antipater Procurator of Judea; as does Antipater appoint Phasaelus to be Governor of Jerusalem, and Herod Governor of Galilee; who in some Time was called to answer for himself [before the Sanhedrim,] where he is acquitted. Sextus Cæsar is treacherously killed by Bassus; and is succeeded by Marcus.*

1. About this time it was that Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to Cæsar, and became, in a surprising manner, the occasion of Antipater's farther advancement: for whereas he ought to have lamented that his father appeared to have been poisoned on account of his quarrels with Pompey, and to have complained of Scipio's barbarity towards his brother, and not to mix any invidious passion when he was suing for mercy; besides those things, he came before Cæsar, and accused Hyrcanus and Antipater, how they had driven him and his brethren entirely out of their native country, and had acted, in a great many instances, unjustly and extravagantly with relation to their nation; and that as to the assistance they had sent him into Egypt, it was not done out of good will to him, but out of the fear they were in from former quarrels, and in order to gain pardon for their friendship to [his enemy] Pompey.

2. Hereupon Antipater threw away his garments, and showed the multitude of the wounds he had, and said, that "as to his good will to Cæsar, he had no occasion to say a word, because his body cried aloud, though he said nothing himself; that he wondered at Antigonus's boldness, while he was himself no other than the son of an enemy to the Romans, and of a fugitive, and had it by inheritance from his father to be fond of innovations and seditions, that he should undertake to accuse other men before the Roman governor, and endeavour to gain some advantages to himself, when he ought to be contented that he was suffered to live; for that the reason of his desire of governing public affairs was not so much because he was in want of it, but because, if he could once obtain the same, he might stir up a sedition among the Jews, and use what he should gain from the Romans to the disservice of those that gave it him.

3. When Cæsar heard this, he declared Hyrcanus to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, and gave leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased; but he left the determination of such dignity to him that bestowed the dignity upon him; so he was constituted procurator of all Judea, and obtained leave moreover to rebuild* those walls of his country that had been thrown down. These honorary grants Cæsar sent orders to have engraved in the Capitol, that they might stand there as indications of his own justice and of the virtue of Antipater.

* What is here noted by Hudson and Spanheim, that his grant of leave to rebuild the walls of the cities of Judea was made by Julius Cæsar, not as here to Antipater, but to Hyrcanus, Antiq. B. xiv chap. viii. sect. 5, has hardly an appearance of a contradiction; Antipater being now, perhaps, considered only as Hyrcanus's deputy and minister; although he afterwards made a cipher of Hyrcanus, and under great decency of behaviour to him took the real authority to himself.

4. But as soon as Antipater had conducted Cæsar out of Syria, he returned to Judea; and the first thing he did was to rebuild that wall of his own country [Jerusalem] which Pompey had overthrown, and then to go over the country, and to quiet the tumults that were therein; where he partly threatened and partly advised every one, and told them, that, "in case they would submit to Hyrcanus, they would live happily and peaceably, and enjoy what they possessed, and that with universal peace and quietness: but that, in case they hearkened to such as had some frigid hopes, by raising new troubles, to get themselves some gain, they should then find him to be their lord instead of their procurator; and find Hyrcanus to be a tyrant instead of a king; and both the Romans and Cæsar to be their enemies instead of rulers; for that they would not suffer him to be removed from the government whom they had made their governor." And at the same time that he said this, he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw that Hyrcanus was inactive, and not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he constituted his eldest son Phasaelus governor of Jerusalem and of the parts about it; he also sent his next son Herod, who was very young,* with equal authority into Galilee.

5. Now Herod was an active man, and soon found proper materials for his active spirit to work upon. As, therefore, he found that Hezekias, the head of the robbers, ran over the neighbouring parts of Syria, with a great band of men, he caught him and slew him, and many more of the robbers with him; which exploit was chiefly grateful to the Syrians, insomuch that hymns were sung in Herod's commendation, both in the villages and in the cities, as having procured their quietness, and having preserved what they possessed to them; on which occasion he became acquainted with Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of the great Cæsar, and president of Syria. A just emulation of his glorious actions excited Phasaelus also to imitate him. Accordingly, he procured the goodwill of the inhabitants of Jerusalem by his own management of the city affairs, and did not abuse his power in any disagreeable manner; whence it came to pass, that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king, and the honours they all yielded him were equal to the honours due to an absolute lord; yet did he not abate any part of that good will or fidelity which he owed to Hyrcanus.

6. However, he found it impossible to escape envy in such his prosperity; for the glory of these young men affected even Hyrcanus himself already privately, though he said nothing of it to any body: but what he principally was grieved at was the great actions of Herod, and that so many messengers came one before another, and informed him of the great reputation he got in all his undertakings. There were also many people in the royal palace itself who inflame his envy at him; those, I mean, who were obstructed in their designs by the prudence either of the young men or of Antipater. These men said, that by committing the public affairs to the management of Antipater and of his sons, he sat down with nothing but the bare name of a king without any of its authority; and they asked him how long he would so far mistake himself, as to breed up kings against his own interest? for that they did not now conceal their government of affairs any longer, but were plainly lords of the nation, and had thrust him out of his authority: that this was the case when Herod slew so many men without his giving him any command to do it, either by word of mouth or by his letter, and this in contradiction to the law of the Jews: who, therefore, in case he be not a king but a private man, still ought to come to his trial, and answer it to him, and to the laws of his country, which do not permit any one to be killed till he hath been condemned in judgment.

7. Now Hyrcanus was by degrees inflamed with these discourses, and at length could bear no longer, but he summoned Herod to take his trial: accord

* Or 25 years of age. See the note on Antiq. B. i. chap. xii. sect. 3; and on B. xiv ch. ix. sect 2; and of the War, B. ii. ch. xi. sect. 6; and Polyb. B. xvii. p. 725

ingly, by his father's advice, and as soon as the affairs of Galilee would give him leave, he came up [to Jerusalem,] when he had first placed garrisons in Galilee: however, he came with a sufficient body of soldiers, so many, indeed, that he might not appear to have with him an army able to overthrow Hyrcanus's government, nor yet so few as to expose him to the insults of those that envied him However, Sextus Cæsar was in fear for the young man, lest he should be taken hold of by his enemies, and be brought to punishment: so he sent some to denounce expressly to Hyrcanus, that he should acquit Herod of the capital charge against him; who acquitted him accordingly, as being otherwise inclined also so to do, for he loved Herod.

8. But Herod, supposing that he had escaped punishment with the consent of the king, retired to Sextus to Damascus, and got every thing ready in order not to obey him, if he should summons him again; whereupon those that were evil disposed irritated Hyrcanus, and told him, that Herod was gone away in anger, and was prepared to make war upon him; and as the king believed what they said, he knew not what to do, since he saw his antagonist was stronger than he was himself. And now, since Herod was made general of Celosyria and Samaria by Sextus Cæsar, he was formidable, not only from the good will which the nation bore him, but by the power he himself had; insomuch that Hyrcanus fell into the utmost degree of terror, and expected he would presently march against him with his army.

9. Nor was he mistaken in the conjecture he made; for Herod got his army together out of the anger he bare him for his threatening him with the accusation in a public court, and led it to Jerusalem, in order to throw Hyrcanus down from his kingdom; and this he had soon done, unless his father and brother had gone out together, and broken the force of his fury; and this by exhorting him to carry his revenge no farther than to threatening and affrighting, but to spare the king, under whom he had been advanced to such a degree of power; and that he ought not to be so much provoked at his being tried, as to forget to be thankful that he was acquitted; nor so long to think upon what was of a melancholy nature, as to be ungrateful for his deliverance; and if we ought to reckon that God is the arbitrator of success in war, an unjust cause is of more disadvantage than any army can be of advantage; and that therefore he ought not to be entirely confident of success in a case where he is to fight against his king, his supporter, and one that had often been his benefactor, and that had never been severe to him, any otherwise than as he had hearkened to evil counsellors, and this no farther than by bringing a shadow of injustice upon him. So Herod was prevailed upon by these arguments, and supposed that what he had already done was sufficient for his future hopes, and that he had enough shown his power to the nation.

10. In the meantime there was a disturbance among the Romans about Apamia, and a civil war occasioned by the treacherous* slaughter of Sextus Cæsar by Cecilius Bassus, which he perpetrated out of his good will to Pompey; he also took the authority over his forces; but as the rest of Cæsar's commanders attacked Bassus with their whole army, in order to punish him for his murder of Cæsar, Antipater also sent them assistance by his sons, both on account of him that was murdered, and on account of that Cæsar who was still alive, both of which were their friends; and as this war grew to be of a considerable length Marcus came out of Italy as successor to Sextus.

* Many writers of the Roman history give an account of this murder of Sextus Cæsar, and of the war of Apamia upon that occasion. They are cited in Dean Aldrich's note.

## CHAP. XI.

*Herod is made Procurator of all Syria; Malichus is afraid of him, and takes Antipater off by Poison; whereupon the Tribunes of the Soldiers are prevailed with to kill him.*

§ 1. THERE was at this time a mighty war raised among the Romans, upon the sudden and treacherous slaughter of Cæsar by Cassius and Brutus, after he had held the government for three years and seven months.* Upon this murder there were very great agitations; and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of their own of advancing themselves. Accordingly, Cassius came into Syria, in order to receive the forces that were at Apamia, where he procured a reconciliation between Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which were at difference with him; so he raised the siege of Apamia, and took upon him the command of the army, and went about exacting tribute of the cities, and demanding their money to such a degree as they were not able to bear.

2. So he gave command that the Jews should bring in seven hundred talents; whereupon Antipater, out of his dread of Cassius's threats, parted the raising of this sum among his sons, and among others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately; and among them he required one Malichus, who was at enmity with him, to do his part also, which necessity forced him to do. Now Herod, in the first place, mitigated the passion of Cassius, by bringing his share out of Galilee, which was a hundred talents, on which account he was in the highest favour with him; and when he reproached the rest for being tardy, he was angry at the cities themselves: so he made slaves of Gophna, and Emmaus, and two others of less note; nay, he proceeded as if he would kill Malichus, because he had not made greater haste in exacting his tribute; but Antipater prevented the ruin of this man, and of the other cities, and got into Cassius's favour,† by bringing in a hundred talents immediately.

3. However, when Cassius was gone, Malichus forgot the kindness that Antipater had done him, and laid frequent plots against him that had saved him, as making haste to get him out of the way, who was an obstacle to his wicked practices; but Antipater was so much afraid of the power and cunning of the man that he went beyond Jordan in order to get an army to guard himself against his treacherous designs: but when Malichus was caught in his plot, he put upon Antipater's sons by his impudence; for he thoroughly deluded Phasaelus, who was the guardian of Jerusalem, and Herod who was intrusted with the weapons of war, and this by a great many excuses and oaths, and persuaded them to procure his reconciliation to his father. Thus was he preserved again by Antipater who dissuaded Marcus, the then president of Syria, from his resolution of killing Malichus on account of his attempts for innovation.

4. Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus, on one side, against the younger Cæsar [Augustus] and Antony, on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him a procurator of all Syria, and gave him an army of foot and horse. Cassius promised him also, that after the war was over, he would make him king of Judea: but it so happened, that the power and

* In the Antiquities, B. xiv. ch. xi. sect. 1, the duration of the reign of Julius Cæsar is 3 years 6 months, but here 3 years 7 months, beginning rightly, says Dean Aldrich, from his second dictatorship. It is probable the real duration might be 3 years and between 6 and 7 months.

† It appears evidently by Josephus's accounts, both here and in his Antiquities, B. xiv. ch. xi. sect. 2, that this Cassius, one of Cæsar's murderers, was a bitter oppressor and exacter of tribute in Judea. These 700 talents amounting to 300,000*l.* sterling, and are about half the yearly revenues of King Herod afterwards. See the note on Antiq. B. xvii. ch. xi. sect. 4. It also appears, that Galilee then paid no more than 100 talents or the 7th part of the entire sum to be levied in all the country.

hopes of his son became the cause of his perdition; for as Malichus was afraid of this, he corrupted one of the king's cupbearers with money to give a poisoned potion to Antipater; so he became a sacrifice to Malichus's wickedness, and died at a feast. He was a man in other respects active in the management of affairs and one that recovered the government to Hyrcanus, and preserved it in his hands

5. However, Malichus, when he was suspected of poisoning Antipater, and when the multitude were angry at him for it, denied it, and made the people believe he was not guilty. He also prepared to make a greater figure, and raised soldiers; for he did not suppose that Herod would be quiet, who, indeed came upon him with an army presently, in order to avenge his father's death; but upon hearing the advice of his brother Phasaelus not to punish him in an open manner, lest the multitude should fall into a sedition, he admitted of Malichus's apology, and professed that he cleared him of that suspicion: he also made a pompous funeral for his father.

6. So Herod went to Samaria, which was then in a tumult, and settled the city in peace; after which, at the [Pentecost] festival, he returned to Jerusalem, having his armed men with him; hereupon Hyrcanus, at the request of Malichus, who feared his approach, forbade them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves: but Herod despised the pretence, and him that gave that command, and came in by night upon which Malichus came to him, and bewailed Antipater; Herod also made him believe [he admitted of his lamentation as real,] although he had much ado to restrain his passion at him: however, he did himself bewail the murder of his father, in his letter to Cassius, who on other accounts, also hated Malichus; Cassius sent him word back, that he should avenge his father's death upon him, and privately gave order to the tribunes that were under him, that they should assist Herod in a righteous action he was about.

7. And because, upon the taking of Laodicea by Cassius, the men of power were gotten together from all quarters, with presents and crowns in their hands, Herod allotted this time for the punishment of Malichus. When Malichus suspected that, and was at Tyre, he resolved to withdraw his son privately from among the Tyrians, who was a hostage there, while he got ready to fly away into Judea; the despair he was in of escaping excited him to think of greater things; for he hoped that he should raise the nation to a revolt from the Romans, while Cassius was busy about the war against Antony, and that he should easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.

8. But fate laughed at the hopes he had; for Herod foresaw what he was so zealous about, and invited both Hyrcanus and him to supper; but calling one of the principal servants that stood by him to him, he sent him out, as though it were to get things ready for supper, but in reality, to give notice beforehand about the plot that was laid against him: accordingly, they called to mind what orders Cassius had given them, and went out of the city with their swords in their hands, upon the seashore, were they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds: upon which Hyrcanus was immediately affrighted, till he swooned away, and fell down at the surprise he was in; and it was with difficulty that he was recovered; when he asked, who it was that had killed Malichus? and when one of the tribunes replied, that it was done by the command of Cassius, "Then, said he, Cassius hath saved both me and my country, by cutting off one that was laying plots against them both." Whether he spake according to his own sentiments, or whether his fear was such, that he was obliged to commend the action by saying so, is uncertain; however, by this method Herod inflicted punishment upon Malichus.

## CHAP. XII.

*Phasaelus is too hard for Felix; Herod also overcomes Antigonus in battle; and the Jews accuse both Herod and Phasaelus; but Antonius acquits them, and makes them Tetrarchs.*

§. 1. When Cassius was gone out of Syria, another sedition arose at Jerusalem, wherein Felix assaulted Phasaelus with an army, that he might revenge the death of Malichus upon Herod, by falling upon his brother. Now Herod happened then to be with Fabius, the governor of Damascus; and as he was going to his brother's assistance, he was detained by sickness: in the meantime Phasaelus was by himself too hard for Felix, and reproached Hyrcanus on account of his ingratitude, both for what assistance he had afforded Malichus, and for overlooking Malichus's brother, when he possessed himself of the fortresses; for he had gotten a great many of them already, and among them the strongest of them all, Masada.

2. However, nothing could be sufficient for him against the force of Herod, who, as soon as he was recovered, took the other fortresses again, and drove him out of Masada in the posture of a supplicant: he also drove away Marion the tyrant of the Tyrians out of Galilee, when he had already possessed himself of three fortified places; but as to those Tyrians whom he had caught, he preserved them all alive; nay, some of them he gave presents to, and so sent them away and thereby procured good will to himself from the city, and hatred to the tyrant Marion had, indeed, obtained that tyrannical power of Cassius, who* set tyrants over all Syria; and out of his hatred to Herod it was that he assisted Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, and principally on Fabius's account whom Antigonus had made his assistant by money, and had him, accordingly, on his side when he made his descent; but it was Ptolemy, the kinsman of Antigonus, that supplied all that he wanted.

3. When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the battle, and drove away Antigonus, returning to Jerusalem beloved by every body, for the glorious actions he had done; for those who did not before favour him, did join themselves to him now, because of his marriage into the family of Hyrcanus; for as he had formerly married a wife out of his own country of no ignoble blood, who was called *Doris*, of whom he begat Antipater so did he now marry Mariamne the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus, and was become thereby a relation of the king.

4. But when Cæsar and Antony had slain Cassius near Philippi, and Cæsar was gone to Italy, and Antony to Asia, amongst the rest of the cities which sent ambassadors to Antony, unto Bithynia, the great men of the Jews came also, and accused Phasaelus and Herod that they kept the government by force, and that Hyrcanus had no more than an honourable name. Herod appeared ready to answer this accusation; and having made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him, he brought him to such a temper, as not to hear the others speak against him; and thus did they part at this time.

5. However, after this there came a hundred of the principal men among the Jews to Daphne by Antioch to Antony who was already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery: these Jews put those men that were the most potent both in dignity and eloquence foremost, and accused the brethren.† But Messala opposed them, and defended the brethren, and that while Hyrcanus stood by

* Here we see that Cassius set tyrants over all Syria; so that his assisting to destroy Cæsar does not seem to have proceeded from his true zeal for public liberty, but from a desire to be a tyrant himself.

† Phasaelus and Herod

nim, on account of his relation to them. When Antony had heard both sides, he asked Hyrcanus, which party was the fittest to govern? who replied, that Herod and his party were the fittest. Antony was glad of that answer; for he had been formerly treated in an hospitable and obliging manner by his father Antipater, when he marched into Judea with Gabinius; so he constituted the brethren tetrarchs, and committed to them the government of Judea.

6. But when the ambassadors had indignation at this procedure, Antony took fifteen of them, and put them into custody, whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away with disgrace; on which occasion a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem; so they sent again a thousand ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony now abode, as he was marching to Jerusalem: upon these men, who made a clamour, he sent out the governor of Tyre, and ordered him to punish all that he could catch of them, and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.

7. But before this, Herod and Hyrcanus went out upon the sea-shore, and earnestly desired of these ambassadors that they would neither bring ruin upon themselves, nor war upon their native country by their rash contentions; and when they grew still more outrageous, Antony sent out armed men, and slew a great many, and wounded more of them; of whom those that were slain were buried by Hyrcanus, as were the wounded put under the care of physicians by him: yet would not those that had escaped be quiet still, but put the affairs of the city into such disorder, and so provoked Antony, that he slew those whom he had in bonds also

## CHAP. XIII.

*The Parthians bring Antigonus back into Judea, and cast Hyrcanus and Phasaelus into Prison. The Flight of Herod and the Taking of Jerusalem, and what Hyrcanus and Phasaelus suffered.*

§ 1. Now two years afterward, when Barzapharnes, a governor among the Parthians, and Pacorus, the king's son, had possessed themselves of Syria, and when Lysanias had already succeeded upon the death of his father Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, in the government [of Chalcis,] he prevailed with the governor, by a promise of a thousand talents and five hundred women, to bring back Antigonus to his kingdom, and to turn Hyrcanus out of it. Pacorus was by these means induced so to do, and marched along the sea-coast, while he ordered Barzapharnes to fall upon the Jews as he went along the Mediterranean part of the country; but of the maritime people, the Tyrians would not receive Pacorus, although those of Ptolemais and Sidon had received him; so he committed a troop of his horse to a certain cupbearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name [Pacorus,] and gave him orders to march into Judea, in order to learn the state of affairs among their enemies, and to help Antigonus when he should want his assistance

2. Now as these men were ravaging Carmel, many of the Jews ran together to Antigonus, and showed themselves ready to make an incursion into the country; so he sent them before into that place called *Drymus** [the woodland,] to seize upon the place; whereupon a battle was fought between them; and they drove the enemy away and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem, and as their numbers increased they proceeded as far as the king's palace; but as Hyrcanus and Phasaelus received them with a strong body of men, there happened a battle in the market-place, in which Herod's party beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a

* This large and noted wood or woodland belonging to Carmel, called Δρυμος by the Septuagint, is mentioned in the Old Testament, 2 Kings, xix. 23, and Isa xxviii. 24 and by Strabo, B. xvi. p. 758, as both Aldrich and Spanheim here remark very pertinently.

guard on them. But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in and burnt those men; while Herod in his rage for killing them, attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes, and slaughters were made continually among them.

3. Now when that festival which we call *Pentecost* was at hand, all the places about the temple, and the whole city, was full of a multitude of people that were come out of the country, and which were the greatest part of them armed also, at which time Phasaelus guarded the wall, and Herod with a few guarded the royal palace; and when he made an assault upon his enemies, as they were out of their ranks, on the north quarter of the city, he slew a very great number of them, and put them all to flight; and some of them he shut up within the city and others within the outward rampart. In the meantime, Antigonus desired that Pacorus might be admitted to be a reconciler between them; and Phasaelus was prevailed upon to admit the Parthians into the city with five hundred horse, and to treat him in an hospitable manner, who pretended that he came to quell the tumult, but in reality he came to assist Antigonus: however, he laid a plot for Phasaelus, and persuaded him to go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, in order to put an end to the war, although Herod was very earnest with him to the contrary, and exhorted him to kill the plotter, but not expose himself to the snares he had laid for him, because the barbarians are naturally perfidious. However, Pacorus went out and took Hyrcanus with him, that he might be the less suspected; he also left some of the horsemen,* called the *Freemen*, with Herod, and conducted Phasaelus with the rest.

4. But now when they were come to Galilee, they found that the people of that country had revolted and were in arms, who came very cunningly to their leader, and besought him to conceal his treacherous intentions by an obliging behaviour to them: accordingly, he at first made them presents, and afterward as they went away, laid ambushes for them; and when they were come to one of the maritime cities called *Ecdippon*, they perceived that a plot was laid for them; for they were there informed of the promise of a thousand talents, and how Antigonus had devoted the greatest number of the women that were with him, among the five hundred, to the Parthians: they also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them by the barbarians in the night-time: they had been also seized upon before this, unless they had waited for the seizure of Herod first at Jerusalem, because if he were once informed of this treachery of theirs, he would take care of himself; nor was this a mere report, but they saw the guards already not far off them.

5. Nor would Phasaelus think of forsaking Hyrcanus and flying away, although Ophellus earnestly persuaded him to it; for this man had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians. But Phasaelus went up to the Parthian governor, and reproached him to his face for laying this treacherous plot against them, and chiefly because he had done it for money; and he promised him, that he would give him more money for their preservation than Antigonus had promised to give for the kingdom. But the sly Parthian endeavoured to remove all this suspicion by apologies and by oaths, and then went [to the other] Pacorus; immediately after which those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, who could do no more than curse their perfidiousness and their perjury.

6. In the mean time the cupbearer was sent [back,] and laid a plot how to seize upon Herod, by deluding him, and getting him out of the city, as he was commanded to do. But Herod suspected the barbarians from the beginning; and having then received intelligence that a messenger, who was to bring him the let-

* These accounts, both here and Antiq. B. xiv. ch. xiii. sect. 5, that the Parthians fought chiefly on horseback, and that only some few of their soldiers were freedmen, perfectly agree with Trogus Pompeius, in Justin, B. xlv. 2, 3, as Dean Aldrich well observes on this place.

ters that informed him of the treachery intended, had fallen among the enemy, he would not go out of the city, though Pacorus said very positively that he ought to go out and meet the messengers that brought the letters, for that the enemy had not taken them; and that the contents of them were not accounts of any plots upon them, but of what Phasaelus had done; yet had he heard from others that his brother was seized; and Alexandra,* the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus's daughter, begged of him that he would not go out, nor trust himself to those barbarians, who now were come to make an attempt upon him openly.

7. Now as Pacorus and his friends were considering how they might bring their plot to bear privately, because it was not possible to circumvent a man of so great prudence by openly attacking him, Herod prevented them, and went off with the persons that were the most nearly related to him by night, and this without their enemies being apprized of it. But as soon as the Parthians perceived it, they pursued after them; and as he gave orders for his mother and sister, and the young woman who was betrothed to him, with her mother, and his youngest brother, to make the best of their way, he himself, with his servants, took all the care they could to keep off the barbarians; and when, at every assault, he had slain a great many of them, he came to the strong hold of Masada.

8. Nay, he found by experience that the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the Parthians, and created him troubles perpetually, and this ever since he was gotten sixty furlongs from the city: these sometimes brought it to a sort of a regular battle. Now in the place where Herod beat them and killed a great number of them, there he afterward built a citadel, in memory of the great actions he did there, and adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications, and called it from his own name *Herodium*. Now as they were in their flight many joined themselves to him every day; and at a place called *Thressa* of *Idumea*, his brother Joseph met him, and advised him to ease himself of a great number of his followers; because Masada would not contain so great a multitude, which were above nine thousand. Herod complied with this advice, and sent away the most cumbersome part of his retinue, that they might go into Idumea, and gave them provisions for their journey; but he got safe to the fortress, with his nearest relations, and retained with him only the stoutest of his followers; and there it was that he left eight hundred of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege, but he made haste himself to Petrea of Arabia.

9. As for the Parthians in Jerusalem, they betook themselves to plundering, and fell upon the houses of those that were fled, and upon the king's palace, and spared nothing but Hyrcanus's money, which was not above three hundred talents They light on other men's money also, but not on so much as they hoped for For Herod, having a long while had a suspicion of the perfidiousness of the barbarians, had taken care to have what was most splendid among his treasures conveyed into Idumea, as every one belonging to him had in like manner done also But the Parthians proceeded to that degree of injustice, as to fill all the country with war without denouncing it, and to demolish the city Marissa, and not only to set up Antigonus for king, but to deliver Phasaelus and Hyrcanus bound into his hands, in order to their being tormented by him. Antigonus himself also bit off Hyrcanus's ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him, that so he might never be able, upon any mutation of affairs, to take the high priesthood again; for the high priests that officiated were to be complete and without blemish.

10. However, he failed in his purpose of abusing Phasaelus, by reason of his courage; for though he neither had the command of his sword nor of his hands, he prevented all abuses by dashing his head against a stone; so he demonstrated himself to be Herod's own brother, and Hyrcanus a most degenerate relation, and

* *Mariamne* here, in the copies

died with great bravery, and made the end of his life agreeable to the actions of it. There is also another report about his end, viz. that he recovered of that stroke, and that a surgeon, who was sent by Antigonus to heal him, filled the wound with poisonous ingredients, and so killed him; whichsoever of these deaths he came to, the beginning of it was glorious. It is also reported, that before he expired he was informed by a certain poor woman, how Herod had escaped out of their hands, and that he said thereupon,—"I now die with comfort, since I leave behind me one alive that will avenge me of mine enemies."

11. This was the death of Phasaelus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus, and took away Hyrcanus, and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.

## CHAP. XIV.

*When Herod is rejected in Arabia, he makes haste to Rome, where Antony and Cæsar join their Interest to make him King of the Jews.*

§ 1. Now Herod did the more zealously pursue his journey into Arabia, as making haste to get money of the king, while his brother was yet alive; by which money alone it was that he hoped to prevail upon the covetous temper of the barbarians to spare Phasaelus; for he reasoned thus with himself, that if the Arabian king was too forgetful of his father's friendship with him, and was too covetous to make him a free gift, he would, however, borrow of him as much as might redeem his brother, and put into his hands, as a pledge, the son of him that was to be redeemed: accordingly, he led his brother's son along with him, who was of the age of seven years. Now he was ready to give three hundred talents for his brother, and intended to desire the intercession of the Tyrians to get them accepted; however, fate had been too quick for his diligence; and since Phasaelus was dead, Herod's brotherly love was now in vain. Moreover, he was not able to find any lasting friendship among the Arabians; for their king, Malichus, sent to him immediately, and commanded him to return back out of his country, and used the name of the Parthians as a pretence for so doing, as though these had denounced to him by their ambassadors to cast Herod out of Arabia; while in reality they had a mind to keep back what they owed to Antipater, and not be obliged to make requitals to his sons for the free gifts the father had made them. He also took the impudent advice of those who, equally with himself, were willing to deprive Herod of what Antipater had deposited among them; and these men were the most potent of all whom he had in his kingdom.

2. So when Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies, and this for those very reasons whence he hoped they would have been the most friendly, and had given them such an answer as his passion suggested, he returned back and went for Egypt. Now he lodged the first evening at one of the temples of that country, in order to meet with those whom he left behind; but on the next day word was brought him, as he was going to Rhinocurura, that his brother was dead, and how he came by his death; and when he had lamented him as much as his present circumstances would bear, he soon laid aside such cares, and proceeded on his journey. But now, after some time, the king of Arabia repented of what he had done, and sent presently away messengers to call him back; Herod had prevented them, and was come to Pelusium, where he could not obtain a passage from those that lay with the fleet; so he besought their captains to let him go by them: accordingly, out of the reverence they bore to the fame and dignity of the man, they conducted him to Alexandria; and when he came into the city, he was received by Cleopatra with great splendour, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about, but he rejected the queen's solicitations: and being neither affrighted at the height

of that storm which then happened, nor at the tumults that were now in Italy, he sailed for Rome.

3. But as he was in peril about Pamphilia, and obliged to cast out the greatest part of the ship's lading, he with difficulty got safe to Rhodes, a place which had been grievously harassed in the war with Cassius. He was there received by his friends, Ptolemy and Sappinius; and although he was then in want of money, he fitted up a three decked ship of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundusium,* and went thence to Rome with all speed; where he first of all went to Antony, on account of the friendship his father had with him, and laid before him the calamities of himself and of his family, and that he had left his nearest relations besieged in a fortress, and had sailed to him through a storm, to make supplication to him for assistance.

4. Hereupon Antony was moved to compassion at the change that had been made in Herod's affairs, and this both upon his calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue; so he then resolved to get him made king of the Jews, whom he had himself formerly made tetrarch. The contest also that he had with Antigonus was another inducement, and that of no less weight than the great regard he had for Herod; for he looked upon Antigonus as a seditious person, and an enemy of the Romans: and as for Cæsar, Herod found him better prepared than Antony, as remembering very fresh the wars he had gone through together with his father, the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good will he had shown to him, besides the activity which he saw in Herod himself. So he called the senate together, wherein Messalas, and after him Aratinus, produced Herod before them, and gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good will to the Romans. At the same time they demonstrated, that Antigonus was their enemy, not only because he soon quarrelled with them, but because he now overlooked the Romans, and took the government by the means of the Parthians. These reasons greatly moved the senate; at which juncture Antony came in, and told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And, when the senate was separated, Antony and Cæsar went out, with Herod between them; while the consul and the rest of the magistrates went before them, in order to offer sacrifices and to lay the decree in the Capitol: Antony also made a feast for Herod on the first day of his reign.

## CHAP. XV

*Antigonus besieges those that were in Masada, whom Herod frees from Confinement, when he came back from Rome, and presently marches to Jerusalem, where he finds Silo corrupted by Bribes.*

§ 1. Now during this time, Antigonus besieged those that were in Masada, who had all other necessaries in sufficient quantity, but were in want of water; on which account Joseph, Herod's brother, was disposed to run away to the Arabians. with two hundred of his own friends, because he had heard that Malichus repented of his offences with regard to Herod; and he had been so quick as to have been gone out of the fortress already, unless, on that very night when he was going away, there had fallen a great deal of rain, insomuch that his reservoirs were full of water, and so he was under no necessity of running away. After which, therefore, they made an irruption upon Antigonus's party, and slew a great many of them, some in open battles and some in private ambush; nor had they always success in their attempts, for sometimes they were beaten and ran away.

* This Brentesium, or Brundusium, has coins still preserved, on which is written ΒΡΕΝΔΗΣΙΟΩΝ, as Spanheim informs us.

2. In the mean time Ventidius, the Roman general, was sent out of Syria to restrain the incursions of the Parthians; and after he had done that, he came into Judea, in pretence, indeed, to assist Joseph and his party, but in reality to get money of Antigonus: and when he had pitched his camp very near to Jerusalem, as soon as he had got money enough, he went away with the greatest part of his forces; yet still did he leave Silo with some part of them, lest if he had taken them all away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered. Now Antigonus hoped that the Parthians would come again to his assistance, and, therefore, cultivated a good understanding with Silo in the mean time, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes.

3. Now by this time Herod had sailed out of Italy, and was come to Ptolemais. and as soon as he had gotten together no small army of foreigners and of his own countrymen, he marched through Galilee against Antigonus, wherein he was assisted by Ventidius and Silo, both whom Dellius,* a person sent by Antony, persuaded to bring Herod [into his kingdom.] Now Ventidius was at this time among the cities, and composing the disturbances which had happened by means of the Parthians, as was Silo in Judea corrupted by the bribes that Antigonus had given him; yet was not Herod himself destitute of power, but the number of his forces increased every day as he went along; and all Galilee with few exceptions, joined themselves to him. So he proposed to himself to set about his most necessary enterprise, and that was Masada, in order to deliver his relations from the siege they endured. But still Joppa stood in his way, and hindered his going thither; for it was necessary to take that city first, which was in the enemies' hands, that when he should go to Jerusalem no fortress might be left in the enemies' power behind him. Silo also willingly joined him, as having now a plausible occasion of drawing off his forces [from Jerusalem:] and when the Jews pursued him, and pressed upon him [in his retreat;] Herod made an excursion upon them with a small body of his men, and soon put them to flight, and saved Silo, when he was in distress.

4. After this Herod took Joppa, and then made haste to Masada to free his relations. Now as he was marching many came in to him, induced some by their friendship to his father, some by the reputation he had already gained himself, and some in order to repay the benefits they had received from them both; but still what engaged the greatest number on his side was the hopes from him when he should be established in his kingdom; so that he had gotten together already an army hard to be conquered. But Antigonus laid an ambush for him as he marched out, in which he did little or no harm to his enemies. However, he easily recovered his relations again that were in Masada, as well as the fortress Ressa, and then marched to Jerusalem, where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.

5. Now when he had pitched his camp on the west side of the city, the guards that were there shot their arrows, and threw their darts at them, while others ran out in companies, and attacked those in the forefront; but Herod commanded proclamation to be made at the wall, that "he was come for the good of the people and the preservation of the city, without any design to be revenged on his open enemies, but to grant oblivion to them, though they had been the most obstinate against him." Now the soldiers that were for Antigonus made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear that proclamation, nor to change their party; so Antigonus gave order to his forces to beat the enemy from the walls: accordingly, they soon threw their darts at them from the towers, and put them to flight.

6. And here it was that Silo discovered he had taken bribes; for he set many of the soldiers to clamour about their want of necessaries, and to require their

* This Dellius is famous, or rather infamous, in the history of Mark Antony as Spanheim and Aldrich here note, from the coins of Plutarch and Dio.

pay, in order to buy themselves food, and to demand that he would lead them into places convenient for their winter quarters, because all the parts about the city were laid waste by the means of Antigonus's army, which had taken all things away. By this he moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege; but Herod went to the captains that were under Silo, and to a great many of the soldiers and begged of them not to leave him, who was sent thither by Cæsar, and Antony, and the senate; for that he would take care to have their wants supplied that very day. After the making of which entreaty he went hastily into the country, and brought thither so great an abundance of necessaries, that he cut off all Silo's pretences; and in order to provide that for the following days they should not want supplies, he sent to the people that were about Samaria (which city had joined itself to him) to bring corn, and wine, and oil, and cattle, to Jericho. When Antigonus heard of this, he sent some of his party with orders to hinder, and lay ambushes for these collectors of corn. This command was obeyed; and a great multitude of armed men were gathered together about Jericho, and lay upon the mountains, to watch those that brought the provisions. Yet was not Herod idle, but took with him ten cohorts, five of them were Romans and five were Jewish cohorts, together with some mercenary roops intermixed among them, and besides those a few horsemen, and came to Jericho, and when he came he found the city deserted; but that there were five hundred men, with their wives and children, who had taken possession of the tops of the mountains; these he took, and dismissed them, while the Romans fell upon the rest of the city, and plundered it, having found the houses full of all sorts of good things. So the king left a garrison at Jericho, and came back, and sent the Roman army into those cities which were come over to him, to take their winter quarters there, viz. into Judea, [or Idumea,] and Galilee, and Samaria. Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Herod takes Sepphoris, and subdues the Robbers that were in the Caves; he after that avenges himself upon Macheras, as upon an Enemy of his, and goes to Antony as he was besieging Samosata.*

§ 1. So the Romans lived in plenty of all things, and rested from war. However, Herod did not lie at rest, but seized upon Idumea, and kept it, with two thousand footmen and four hundred horsemen; and this he did by sending his brother Joseph thither, that no innovation might be made by Antigonus. He also removed his mother, and all his relations who had been at Masada, to Samaria; and when he had settled them securely, he marched to take the remaining parts of Galilee, and to drive away the garrisons placed there by Antigonus.

2. But when Herod had reached Sepphoris,* in a very great snow, he took the city without any difficulty, the guards, that should have kept it, flying away before it was assaulted; where he gave an opportunity to his followers that had been in distress to refresh themselves, there being in that city a great abundance of necessaries. After which he hasted away to the robbers that were in the caves, who overran a great part of the country, and did as great mischief to its inhabitants as a war itself could have done. Accordingly, he sent beforehand three cohorts of footmen and one troop of horsemen to the village Arbela, and came himself forty† days afterwards, with the rest of his forces. Yet were not

* This Sepphoris, the metropolis of Galilee, so often mentioned by Josephus, has coins still remaining, ΣΕΠΦ. PHN.N, as Spanheim here informs us.

† This way of speaking *after* 40 *days*, is interpreted by Josephus himself *on the* 40*th day*: Antiq.

the enemy affrighted at his assault, but met him in arms, for their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness was the boldness of roobers: when, therefore, it came to a pitched battle, they put to flight Herod's left wing with their right one; but Herod, wheeling about on the sudden from his own right wing, came to their assistance, and both made his own left wing return back from its flight, and fell upon the pursuers, and cooled their courage, till they could not bear the attempts that were made directly upon them, and so turned back and ran away.

3. But Herod followed them, and slew them as he followed them, and destroyed a great part of them, till those that remained were scattered beyond the river [Jordan,] and Galilee was freed from the terrors they had been under, excepting from those that remained and lay concealed in caves, which required longer time ere they could be conquered: in order to which Herod, in the first place, distributed the fruits of their former labours to the soldiers, and gave every one of them a hundred and fifty drachmæ of silver, and a great deal more to their commanders, and sent them into their winter quarters. He also sent to his youngest brother Pheroras to take care of a good market for them, where they might buy themselves provisions, and to build a wall about Alexandrium; who took care of both those injunctions accordingly.

4. In the meantime Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea; so Herod willingly dismissed Silo to go to Ventidius but he made an expedition himself against those that lay in the caves. Now these caves were in the precipices of craggy mountains, and could not be come at from any side, since they had only some winding pathways very narrow, by which they got up to them; but the rock that lay on their front had beneath it valleys of a vast depth, and of an almost perpendicular declivity; insomuch that the king was doubtful for a long time what to do, by reason of a kind of impossibility there was of attacking the place. Yet did he at length make use of a contrivance that was subject to the utmost hazard; for he let down the most hardy of his men in chests, and set them at the mouths of the dens. Now these men slew the robbers and their families, and when they made any resistance they sent in fire upon them [and burnt them;] and as Herod was desirous of saving some of them, he had proclamation made that they should come and deliver themselves up to him but not one of them came willingly to him; and of those that were compelled to come, many preferred death to captivity. And here a certain old man, the father of seven children, whose children, together with their mother, desired him to give them leave to go out, upon the assurance and right hand that was offered them, slew them after the following manner.—He ordered every one of them to go out, while he stood himself at the cave's mouth, and slew that son of his perpetually who went out. Herod was near enough to see this sight, and his bowels of compassion were moved at it, and he stretched out his right hand to the old man, and besought him to spare his children; yet did not he relent at all upon what he said, but over and above reproached Herod on the lowness of his descent and slew his wife, as well as his children; and when he had thrown their dead bodies down the precipice, he at last threw himself down after them.

5. By this means Herod subdued these caves, and the robbers that were in them. He then left there a part of his army, as many as he thought sufficient to prevent any sedition, and made Ptolemy their general, and returned to Samaria: he led also with him three thousand armed footmen and six hundred horsemen against Antigonus. Now here those that used to raise tumults in Galilee having liberty so to do upon his departure, fell unexpectedly upon Ptolemy, th

B. xiv. chap. xv. sect. 4, in like manner, when Josephus says, chap. xxxiii. sect. 8, that Herod lived *after* he had ordered Antipater to be slain 5 *days*, this is by himself interpreted, Antiq. B. xvii. chap. vii. sect. 1, that he died *on the 5th day afterward*. So also what is in this book, chap. xiii. sect. 1, *after two years* is, Antiq. B. xiv. chap. xiii. sect. 3, *on the second year*. And Dean Aldrich here notes that this way of speaking is familiar in Josephus.

general of his forces, and slew him: they also laid the country waste, and then retired to the bogs, and to places not easily to be found. But when Herod was informed of this insurrection, he came to the assistance of the country immediately, and destroyed a great number of the seditious, and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged: he also exacted the tribute of a hundred talents of his enemies, as a penalty for the mutations they had made in the country.

6. By this time the Parthians being already driven out of the country, and Pacorus slain, Ventidius, by Antony's command, sent a thousand horsemen and two legions, as auxiliaries to Herod, against Antigonus. Now Antigonus besought Macheras, who was their general, by letter to come to his assistance, and made a great many mournful complaints about Herod's violence and about the injuries he did to the kingdom, and promised to give him money for such his assistance: but he complied not with his invitation to betray his trust; for he did not contemn him that sent him, especially while Herod gave him more money [than the other offered.] So he pretended friendship to Antigonus, but came as a spy to discover his affairs, although he did not therein comply with Herod, who dissuaded him from so doing. But Antigonus perceived what his intentions were beforehand, and excluded him out of the city, and defended himself against him as against an enemy from the walls, till Macheras was ashamed of what he had done, and retired to Emmaus to Herod; and as he was in a rage at his disappointment, he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus.

7. Hereupon Herod was very angry at him, and was going to fight against Macheras as his enemy; but he restrained his indignation, and marched to Antony to accuse Macheras of maladministration. But Macheras was made sensible of his offences, and followed after the king immediately, and earnestly begged and obtained that he would be reconciled to him. However, Herod did not desist from his resolution of going to Antony: but when he heard that he was besieging Samosata* with a great army, which is a strong city near to Euphrates, he made the greater haste, as observing that this was a proper opportunity for showing at once his courage, and for doing what would greatly oblige Antony. Indeed, when he came, he soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number of the barbarians, and took from them a large prey; insomuch that Antony, who admired his courage formerly, did now admire it still more. Accordingly, he heaped many more honours upon him, and gave him more assured hopes that he should gain his kingdom: and now King Antiochus was forced to deliver up Samosata

## CHAP. XVII.

*The Death of Joseph [Herod's Brother,] which had been signified to Herod in Dreams. How Herod was preserved twice, after a wonderful Manner. He cuts off the Head of Pappus, who was the Murderer of his Brother, and sends that Head to [his other Brother] Pheroras; and in no long Time he besieges Jerusalem, and marries Mariamne.*

§ 1. In the meantime Herod's affairs in Judea were in an ill state. He had left his brother Joseph with full power, but had charged him to make no attempts against Antigonus till his return; for that Macheras would not be such an assistant as he could depend on, as it appeared by what he had done already; but as soon as Joseph had heard that his brother was at a very great distance, he neglected the charge he had received, and marched towards Jericho with five cohorts which Macheras sent with him. This movement was intended for seizing

* This Samosata, the metropolis of Comagena, is well known from its coins, as Spanheim here assures us. Dean Aldrich also confirms what Josephus here notes, that Herod was a great means of taking the city by Antony, and that from Plutarch and Dio

on the corn, as it was now in the midst of summer; but when his enemies attacked him in the mountains, and in places which were difficult to pass, he was both killed himself, as he was very bravely fighting in the battle, and the entire Roman cohorts were destroyed; for these cohorts were new raised men, gathered out of Syria, and there was no mixture of those called veteran soldiers among them, who might have supported those that were unskilful in war.

2. This victory was not sufficient for Antigonus, but he proceeded to that degree of rage as to treat the dead body of Joseph barbarously; for when he had gotten possession of the bodies of those that were slain, he cut off his head, although his brother Pheroras would have given fifty talents as a price of redemption for it. And now the affairs of Galilee were put into such disorder after this victory of Antigonus, that those of Antigonus's party brought the principal men that were on Herod's side to the lake, and there drowned them. There was a great change made also in Idumea, where Macheras was building a wall about one of the fortresses, which was called *Gittha*. But Herod had not yet been informed of these things; for after the taking of Samosata, and when Antony had set Sosius over the affairs of Syria, and given him orders to assist Herod against Antigonus, he departed into Egypt; but Sosius sent two legions before him into Judea to assist Herod, and followed himself soon after with the rest of his army.

3. Now when Herod was at Daphne, by Antioch, he had some dreams which clearly foreboded his brother's death; and as he leaped out of his bed in a disturbed manner, there came messengers that acquainted him with that calamity. So when he had lamented this misfortune for a while, he put off the main part of his mourning, and made haste to march against his enemies; and when he had performed a march that was above his strength, and was gone as far as Libanus, he got him eight hundred men of those that lived near to that mountain as his assistants, and joined with him one Roman legion, with which, before it was day, he made an irruption into Galilee, and met his enemies, and drove them back to the place which they had left. He also made an immediate and continued attack upon the fortress. Yet was he forced by a most terrible storm to pitch his camp in the neighbouring villages before he could take it: but when, after a few days time, the second legion that came from Antony joined themselves to him, the enemy were affrighted at his power, and left their fortifications in the night-time.

4. After this he marched through Jericho, as making what haste he could to be avenged on his brother's murderers; where happened to him a providential sign, out of which, when he had unexpectedly escaped, he had the reputation of being very near to God; for that day there feasted with him many of the principal men, and after that feast was over, and all the guests were gone out, the house fell down immediately. And as he judged this to be a common signal of what dangers he should undergo, and how he should escape them in the war that he was going about, he in the morning set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in his forefront; yet durst they not be so very bold as to engage the Romans hand to hand, but threw stones and darts at them at a distance; by which means they wounded a considerable number; in which action Herod's own side was wounded with a dart.

5. Now as Antigonus had a mind to appear to exceed Herod, not only in the courage but in the number of his men, he sent Pappus, one of his companions, with an army against Samaria, whose fortune it was to oppose Macheras; but Herod overran the enemies' country, and demolished five little cities, and destroyed two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses, and then returned to his camp; but his head quarters were at the village called *Cana*.

6. Now a great multitude of Jews resorted to him every day, both out of Jericho and the other parts of the country. Some were moved so to do out of

their hatred to Antigonus, and some out of regard to the glorious actions Herod had done; but others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change; so he fell upon them immediately. As for Pappus and his party, they were not terrified either at their number or at their zeal, but marched out with great alacrity to fight them, and it came to a close fight. Now other parts of their army made resistance for awhile; but Herod running the utmost hazard, out of the rage he was in at the murder of his brother, that he might be avenged on those that had been the authors of it, soon beat those that opposed him; and after he had beaten them, he always turned his force against those that stood to it still, and pursued them all; so that a great slaughter was made, while some were forced back into that village whence they came out: he also pressed hard upon the hindermost, and slew a vast number of them: he also fell into the village with the enemy, where every house was filled with armed men, and the upper rooms were crowded above with soldiers for their defence; and when he had beaten those that were on the outside, he pulled the houses to pieces, and plucked out those that were within: upon many he had the roofs shaken down, whereby they perished by heaps; and as for those that fled out of the ruins, the soldiers received them with their swords in their hands; and the multitude of those slain and lying on heaps was so great, that the conquerors could not pass along the roads. Now the enemy could not bear this blow, so that when the multitude of them which was gathered together saw that those in the village were slain, they dispersed themselves and fled away; upon the confidence of which victory Herod had marched immediately to Jerusalem, unless he had been hindered by the depth of winter's [coming on.] This was the impediment that lay in the way of this his entire glorious progress, and was what hindered Antigonus from being now conquered, who was already disposed to forsake the city.

7. Now when at the evening Herod had already dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigue, and when he was gone himself, while he was still hot in his armour, like a common soldier to bathe himself, and had but one servant that attended him, and before he was gotten into the bath, one of the enemies met him in the face with a sword in his hand, and then a second, and then a third, and after that more of them; these were men who had run away out of the battle into the bath in their armour, and they had lain there for some time in great terror, and in privacy; and when they saw the king, they trembled for fear, and ran by him in a fright (although he were naked,) and endeavoured to get off into the public road: now there was by chance nobody else at hand that might seize upon these men, and for Herod, he was contented to have come to no harm himself, so that they all got away in safety.

8. But on the next day Herod had Pappus's head cut off, who was the general for Antigonus, and was slain in the battle, and sent it to his brother Pheroras, by way of punishment for their slain brother; for he was the man that slew Joseph. Now as winter was going off, Herod marched to Jerusalem, and brought his army to the wall of it; this was the third year since he had been made king at Rome: so he pitched his camp before the temple, for on that side it might be besieged; and there it was that Pompey took the city. So he parted the work among the army, and demolished the suburbs, and raised three banks, and gave orders to have towers built upon those banks, and left the most laborious of his acquaintance at the works. But he went himself to Samaria, to take the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, to wife, who had been betrothed to him before, as we have already said; and thus he accomplished this by the by, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemies in great contempt already.

9 When he had thus married Mariamne, he came back to Jerusalem with a greater army; Sosius also joined him with a large army, both of horsemen and footmen, which he sent before him through the midland parts, while he marched himself along to Phœnicia; and when the whole army was gotten together which were eleven regiments of footmen and six thousand horsemen, besides

the Syrian auxiliaries, which was no small part of the army, they pitched their camp near to the north wall. Herod's dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made king, and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod's assistance.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*How Herod and Sosius took Jerusalem by Force; and what Death Antigonus came to. Also concerning Cleopatra's avaricious Temper.*

§ 1. Now the multitude of the Jews that were in the city were divided into several factions; for the people that crowded about the temple, being the weakest part of them, gave it out, that as the times were, he was the happiest and most religious man who should die first. But as to the more bold and hardy men they got together in bodies, and fell a robbing others, after various manners; and these particularly plundered the places that were about the city, and this because there was no food left either for the horses or the men; yet some of the warlike men who were used to fight regularly were appointed to defend the city during the siege, and these drove those that raised the banks away from the wall; and these were always inventing one engine or another to be a hinderance to the engines of the enemy, nor had they so much success any way as in the mines under ground.

2. Now as for the robberies which were committed, the king contrived that ambushes should be so laid that they might restrain their excursions; and as for the want of provisions, he provided that they should be brought to them from great distances. He was also too hard for the Jews, by the Romans' skill in the art of war, although they were bold to the utmost degree. Now they durst not come to a plain battle with the Romans, which was certain death; but through their mines under ground they would appear in the midst of them on the sudden, and before they could batter down one wall they built them another in its stead; and, to sum up all at once, they did not show any want either of painstaking or of contrivances, as having resolved to hold out to the very last. Indeed, though they had so great an army lying round about them, they bore a siege of five months, till some of Herod's chosen men ventured to get upon the wall, and fell into the city, as did Sosius's centurions after them; and now they first of all seized upon what was about the temple; and upon the pouring in of the army there was slaughter of vast multitudes every where, by reason of the rage the Romans were in at the length of the siege, and by reason that the Jews, who were about Herod, earnestly endeavoured that none of their adversaries might remain; so they were cut to pieces by great multitudes, as they were crowded together in narrow streets and in houses, or were running away to the temple; nor was there any mercy shown either to infants, or to the aged, or to the weaker sex; insomuch that although the king sent about, and desired them to spare the people, nobody could be persuaded to withhold their right hand from slaughter, but they slew people of all ages like madmen. Then it was that Antigonus, without any regard to his former or to his present fortune, came down from the citadel, and fell down at Sosius's feet, who, without pitying him at all, upon the change of his condition, laughed at him beyond measure, and called him *Antigona*.* Yet did he not treat him like a woman, or let him go free, but put him into bonds, and kept him in custody.

3 But Herod's concern at present, now he had gotten his enemies under his power, was to restrain the zeal of his foreign auxiliaries; for the multitude of the strange people were very eager to see the temple, and what was sacred in the holy house itself; but the king endeavoured to restrain them, partly by

* i. e. a woman, not a man.

his exhortations, partly by his threatenings, nay, partly by force, as thinking the victory worse than a defeat to him, if any thing that ought not to be seen were seen by them. He also forbade at the same time, the spoiling of the city, asking Sosius, in the most earnest manner, whether the Romans by thus emptying the city of money and men had a mind to leave him king of a desert; and told him, that "he judged the dominion of the habitable earth too small a compensation for the slaughter of so many citizens." And when Sosius said, "that it was but just to allow the soldiers this plunder, as a reward for what they suffered during the siege;" Herod made answer, that "he would give every one of the soldiers a reward out of his own money." So he purchased the deliverance of his country, and performed his promises to them, and made presents after a magnificent manner to each soldier, and proportionably to their commanders, and with a most royal bounty to Sosius himself, whereby nobody went away but in a wealthy condition. Hereupon Sosius dedicated a crown of gold to God, and then went away from Jerusalem, leading Antigonus away in bonds to Antony: then did the axe* bring him to his end, who still had a fond desire of life, and some frigid hopes of it to the last, but by his cowardly behaviour well deserved to die by it.

4. Hereupon king Herod distinguished the multitude that was in the city; and for those that were of his side he made them still more his friends by the honours he conferred on them; but for those of Antigonus's party he slew them; and as his money ran low, he turned all the ornaments he had into money, and sent it to Antony, and to those about him. Yet could he not hereby purchase an exemption from all his sufferings; for Antony was now bewitched by his love to Cleopatra, and was entirely conquered by her charms. Now Cleopatra had put to death all her kindred, till no one near to her in blood remained alive, and after that she fell a slaying those no way related to her. So she calumniated the principal men among the Syrians to Antony, and persuaded him to have them slain, that so she might easily gain to be mistress of what they had; nay, she extended her avaricious humour to the Jews and Arabians, and secretly laboured to have Herod and Malichus, the kings of both those nations, slain by his order.

5. Now as to these her injunctions to Antony, he complied in part; for though he esteemed it too abominable a thing to kill such good and great kings, yet was he thereby alienated from the friendship he had for them. He also took away a great deal of their country; nay, even the plantation of palm-trees at Jericho, where also grows the balsam-tree, and bestowed them upon her; as also all the cities on this side the river Eleutherus, Tyre and Sidon† excepted. And when she was become mistress of these, and had conducted Antony on his expedition against the Parthians as far as Euphrates, she came by Apamia and Damascus into Judea; and there did Herod pacify her indignation at him by large presents. He also hired of her those places that had been torn away from his kingdom, at the yearly rent of two hundred talents. He conducted her also as far as Pelusium, and paid her all the respects possible. Now it was not long after this that Antony was come back from Parthia, and led with him Artabazes, Tigranes's son, captive, as a present for Cleopatra; for this Parthian was presently given her with his money, and all the prey that was taken with him.

* This death of Antigonus is confirmed by Plutarch and Strabo; the latter of whom is cited for it by Josephus himself, Antiq. B. xv. ch. i. sect. 2, as Dean Aldrich here observes.

† This ancient liberty of Tyre and Sidon under the Romans, taken notice of by Josephus, both here and Antiq. B. xv. ch. iv. sect. 1, is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo, B. xvi. page 757, as Dean Aldrich remarks: although, as he justly adds, this liberty lasted but a little while longer, when Augustus took it away from them.

## CHAP. XIX.

*How Antony, at the Persuasion of Cleopatra, sent Herod to fight against the Arabians; and how, after several Battles, he at length got the Victory. As also concerning a great Earthquake.*

§ 1. Now when the war about Actium was begun, Herod prepared to come to the assistance of Antony, as being already freed from his troubles in Judea, and having gained Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonus's sister. However, he was cunningly hindered from partaking of the hazards that Antony went through by Cleopatra; for since, as we have already noted, she had laid a plot against the kings [of Judea and Arabia,] she prevailed with Antony to commit the war against the Arabians to Herod, that so, if he got the better, she might become mistress of Arabia, or, if he were worsted, of Judea; and that she might destroy one of these kings by the other

2. However, this contrivance tended to the advantage of Herod; for at the very first he took hostages from the enemy, and got together a great body of horse, and ordered them to march against them about Diospolis; and he conquered that army, although it fought resolutely against him. After which defeat the Arabians were in great motion, and assembled themselves together at Kanatha, a city of Celosyria, in vast multitudes, and waited for the Jews. And when Herod was come thither, he tried to manage this war with particular prudence, and gave orders that they should build a wall about their camp: yet did not the multitude comply with these orders, but were so emboldened by their foregoing victory, that they presently attacked the Arabians, and beat them at the first onset, and then pursued them; yet were there snares laid for Herod in that pursuit; while Athenio, who was one of Cleopatra's generals, and always an antagonist to Herod, sent out of Kanatha the men of that country against him; for, upon this fresh onset, the Arabians took courage, and returned back, and both joined their numerous forces about stony places that were hard to be gone over, and there put Herod's men to the rout, and made a great slaughter of them: but those that escaped out of the battle fled to Ormiza, where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it.

3. In a little time after this calamity, Herod came to bring them succours; but he came too late. Now the occasion of that blow was this, that the officers would not obey orders; for had not the fight begun so suddenly, Athenio had not found a proper season for the snares he laid for Herod: however, he was even with the Arabians afterward, and overran their country, and did them more harm than their single victory could compensate. But as he was avenging himself on his enemies, there fell upon him another providential calamity; for in the seventh year* of his reign, when the war about Actium was at the height, at the beginning of the spring, the earth was shaken, and destroyed an immense number of cattle, with thirty thousand men; but the army received no harm, because it lay in the open air. In the mean time the fame of this earthquake elevated the Arabians to greater courage, and this by augmenting it to a fabulous height, as is constantly the case in melancholy accidents, and pretending that all Judea was overthrown: upon this supposal, therefore, that they should easily get a land that was destitute of inhabitants into their power, they first sacrificed those am-

* This seventh year of the reign of Herod [from the conquest, or death of Antigonus,] with the great earthquake in the beginning of the same spring, which are here fully implied to be not much before the fight at Actium, between Octavius and Antony, and which is known from the Roman historians to have been in the beginning of September, in the 31st year before the Christian era, determines the chronology of Josephus as to the reign of Herod, viz. that he began in the year 37, beyond rational contradiction. Nor is it quite unworthy of our notice, that the seventh year of the reign of Herod, or the 31st before the Christian era, contained the latter part of a Sabbatic year; on which Sabbatic year, therefore, it is plain this great earthquake happened in Judea.

bassadors who were come to them from the Jews, and then marched into Judea immediately. Now the Jewish nation were affrighted at this invasion, and quite dispirited at the greatness of their calamities one after another; whom yet Herod got together, and endeavoured to encourage to defend themselves by the following speech which he made to them:

4. "The present dread you are under seems to me to have seized upon you very unreasonably. It is true, you might justly be dismayed at that providential chastisement which hath befallen you; but to suffer yourselves to be equally terrified at the invasion of men is unmanly. As for myself, I am so far from being affrighted at our enemies after this earthquake, that I imagine that God hath thereby laid a bait for the Arabians, that we may be avenged on them; for their present invasion proceeds more from our accidental misfortunes, than that they have any great dependence on their weapons, or their own fitness for action. Now that hope which depends not on men's own power, but on other's ill success, is a very ticklish thing: for there is no certainty among men either in their bad or good fortunes: but we may easily observe that fortune is mutable, and goes from one side to another: and this you may readily learn from examples among yourselves; for when you were once victors in the former fight, your enemies overcame you at last; and very likely it will now happen so, that these who think themselves sure of beating you will themselves be beaten. For when men are very confident, they are not upon their guard, while fear teaches men to act with caution; insomuch that I venture to prove, from your very timorousness, that you ought to take courage; for when you were more bold than you ought to have been, and than I would have had you, and marched on, Athenio's treachery took place; but your present slowness and seeming dejection of mind is to me a pledge and assurance of victory. And, indeed, it is proper beforehand to be thus provident; but when we come to action, we ought to erect our minds, and to make our enemies, be they ever so wicked, believe that neither any human, no, nor any providential misfortune, can ever depress the courage of Jews while they are alive; nor will any of them ever overlook an Arabian, or suffer such a one to become lord of his good things, whom he has in a manner taken captive, and that many times also. And do not you disturb yourselves at the quaking of inanimate creatures, nor do you imagine that this earthquake is another sign of another calamity; for such affections of the elements are according to the course of nature, nor does it import any thing farther to men, than what mischief it does immediately of itself. Perhaps there may come some short sign beforehand in the case of pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes; but these calamities themselves have their force limited by themselves [without foreboding any other calamity.] And, indeed, what greater mischief can the war, though it should be a violent one, do to us than the earthquake hath done? Nay, there is a signal of our enemies' destruction visible, and that a very great one also; and this is not a natural one, nor derived from the hand of foreigners neither, but it is this, that they have barbarously murdered our ambassadors, contrary to the common law of mankind; and they have destroyed so many, as if they esteemed them sacrifices for God in relation to this war. But they will not avoid his great eye, nor his invincible right hand; and we shall be revenged of them presently, in case we still retain any of the courage of our forefathers, and rise up boldly to punish these covenant-breakers. Let every one, therefore, go on and fight, not so much for his wife or children, or for the danger his country is in, as for these ambassadors of ours: those dead ambassadors will conduct this war of ours better than we ourselves who are alive. And if you will be ruled by me, I will myself go before you into danger; for you know this well enough, that your courage is irresistible unless you hurt yourselves by acting rashly."*

* This speech of Herod is set down twice by Josephus, here and Antiq. B. xv. ch. v. sect. 3, to the very same purpose, but by no means in the same words; whence it appears, that the sense was Herod's, but the composition Josephus's

5. When Herod had encouraged them by this speech, and he saw with what alacrity they went, he offered sacrifice to God; and after that sacrifice he passed over the river Jordan with his army, and pitched his camp about Philadelphia near the enemy, and about a fortification that lay between them. He then shot at them at a distance, and was desirous to come to an engagement presently; for some of them had been sent beforehand to seize upon that fortification: but the king sent some who immediately beat them out of the fortification, while he himself went in the forefront of the army, which he put in battle array every day and invited the Arabians to fight. But as none of them came out of their camp, for they were in a terrible fright, and their general, Elthemus, was not able to say a word for fear; so Herod came upon them, and pulled their fortification to pieces, by which means they were compelled to come out to fight, which they did in disorder, and so that the horsemen and footmen were mixed together. They were, indeed, superior to the Jews in number, but inferior in their alacrity, although they were obliged to expose themselves to danger by their very despair of victory.

6. Now while they made opposition they had not a great number slain; but as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight, while the rest of the multitude prevented their immediate death by crowding into the fortification. Herod encompassed these round and besieged them; and while they were ready to be taken by their enemies in arms, they had another additional distress upon them, which was thirst and want of water; for the king was above hearkening to their ambassadors, and when they offered five hundred talents as the price of their redemption, he pressed still harder upon them. And as they were burnt up by their thirst, they came out and voluntarily delivered themselves up by multitudes to the Jews, till in five days time four thousand of them were put into bonds; and on the sixth day the multitude that were left despaired of saving themselves, and came out to fight; with these Herod fought and slew again about seven thousand, insomuch that he punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.

## CHAP. XX.

*Herod is confirmed in his Kingdom by Cæsar, and cultivates a Friendship with the Emperor by magnificent Presents; while Cæsar returns his Kindness by bestowing on him that Part of his Kingdom which had been taken away from it by Cleopatra, with the Addition of Zenodorus's Country also.*

§ 1. But now Herod was under an immediate concern about a most important affair, on account of his friendship with Antony, who was already overcome at Actium by Cæsar; yet he was more afraid than hurt; for Cæsar did not think he had quite undone Antony, while Herod continued his assistance to him. However, the king resolved to expose himself to dangers: accordingly he sailed to Rhodes, where Cæsar then abode, and came to him without his diadem, and in the habit and appearance of a private person, but in his behaviour as a king. So he concealed nothing of the truth, but spake thus before his face:—"O Cæsar, as I was made king of the Jews by Antony, so do I profess that I have used my royal authority in the best manner, and entirely for his advantage; nor will I conceal this farther, that thou hadst certainly found me in arms, and an inseparable companion of his, had not the Arabians hindered me. However, I sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able, and many ten thousand [cori] of corn. Nay, indeed, I did not desert my benefactor after the blow that was given him at Actium; but I gave him the best advice I was able, when I was no longer able to assist him in

he war; and I told him that there was but one way of recovering his affairs, and hat was to kill Cleopatra; and I promised him, that if she were once dead, I would afford him money and walls for his security, with an army and myself to assist him in his war against thee: but his affections for Cleopatra stopped his ears, as did God himself also, who hath bestowed the government on thee. I own myself also to be overcome together with him, and with this last fortune I have laid aside my diadem, and am come hither to thee, having my hopes of safety in thy virtue; and I desire that thou wilt first consider how faithful a friend, and not whose friend I have been."

2. Cæsar replied to him thus:—"Nay, thou shalt not only be in safety, but thou shalt be a king, and that more firmly than thou wert before; for thou art worthy to reign over a great many subjects, by reason of the fastness of thy friendship: and do thou endeavour to be equally constant in thy friendship to me, upon my good success, which is what I depend upon from the generosity of thy disposition. However, Antony hath done well in preferring Cleopatra to thee; for by this means we have gained thee by her madness, and thus thou hast begun to be my friend before I began to be thine; on which account Quintus Dedius hath written to me, that thou sentest him assistance against the gladiators. I do, therefore, assure thee, that I will confirm the kingdom to thee by decree: I shall also endeavour to do thee some further kindness hereafter, that thou mayest find no loss in the want of Antony."

3. When Cæsar had spoken such obliging things to the king, and had put the diadem again about his head, he proclaimed what he had bestowed on him by a decree, in which he enlarged in the commendation of the man after a magnificent manner. Whereupon Herod obliged him to be kind to him by the presents he gave him, and he desired him to forgive Alexander, one of Antony's friends, who was become a supplicant to him. But Cæsar's anger against him prevailed, and he complained of the many and very great offences the man whom he petitioned for had been guilty of, and by that means he rejected his petition. After this Cæsar went for Egypt through Syria, when Herod received him with royal and rich entertainments; and then did he first of all ride along with Cæsar, as he was reviewing his army about Ptolemais, and feasted him with all his friends, and then distributed among the rest of the army what was necessary to feast them withal. He also made a plentiful provision of water for them, when they were to march as far as Pelusium, through a dry country, which he did also in like manner at their return thence: nor were there any necessaries wanting to that army. It was, therefore, the opinion both of Cæsar and of his soldiers, that Herod's kingdom was too small for those generous presents he made them; for which reason, when Cæsar was come into Egypt, and Cleopatra and Antony were dead, he did not only bestow other marks of honour upon him, but made an addition to his kingdom, by giving him not only the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, but besides that Gadara, and Hippos, and Samaria; and moreover, of the maritime cities Gaza,* and Anthedon, and Joppa, and Strato's Tower. He also made him a present of four hundred Galls [Galatians] as a guard for his body, which they had been to Cleopatra before. Nor did any thing so strongly induce Cæsar to make these presents, as the generosity of him that received them.

4. Moreover, after the first games at Actium, he added to his kingdom both the region called *Trachonitis*, and what lay in its neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis; and that on the following occasion.—Zenodorus, who had hired the house of Lysanias, had all along sent robbers out of Trachonitis among the Damascens, who thereupon had recourse to Varro, the president of

* Since Josephus both here, and in his Antiq. B. xv. ch. vii. sect. 3, reckons Gaza, which had been a free city, among the cities given Herod by Augustus, and yet implies that Herod had made Costobarus a governor of it before, Antiq. B. xv. ch. vii. sect. 9; Harduin has some pretence for saying that Josephus here contradicted himself. But, perhaps, Herod thought he had sufficient authority to put a governor into Gaza, after he was made tetrarch or king, in times of war, before the city was entirely delivered into his hands by Augustus.

Syria, and desired of him that he would represent the calamity they were in t Cæsar: when Cæsar was acquainted with it, he sent back orders that this nes of robbers should be destroyed. Varro, therefore, made an expedition agains them, and cleared the land of those men, and took it away from Zenodorus. Cæsar did also afterward bestow it on Herod, that it might not again become a re ceptacle for those robbers that had come against Damascus. He also made him procurator of all Syria, and this on the tenth year afterward, when he came agai into that province; and this was so established, that the other procurators coul not do any thing in the adminstration without his advice; but when Zenodoru was dead, Cæsar bestowed on him all that land which lay between Trachoniti and Galilee. Yet what was still of more consequence to Herod, he was belove by Cæsar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Cæsar; whence he ar rived at a very great degree of felicity. Yet did the greatness of his soul ex ceed it, and the main part of his magnanimity was extended to the promotion o piety.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Of the [Temple and] Cities that were built by Herod, and erected from the very Foundations; as also of those other Edifices that were erected by him: and what Magnificence he showed to Foreigners; and how Fortune was in all Things favourable to him.*

§ 1. Accordingly, in the sixteenth year of his reign, Herod rebuilt the temple and encompassed a piece of land about it with a wall, which land was twice as large as that before enclosed. The expenses he laid out upon it were vastly large also, and the riches about it were unspeakable. A sign of which you have in the great cloisters that were erected about the temple, and the citadel* which was on its north side. The cloisters he built from the foundation, but the citade he repaired at a vast expense; nor was it other than a royal palace, which he called *Antonia*, in honour of Antony. He also built himself a palace in the upper city, containing two very large and most beautiful apartments; to which the holy house itself could not be compared [in largeness.] The one apartment he named *Cæsareum*, and the other *Agrippium*, from his [two great] friends.

2. Yet did he not preserve their memory by particular buildings only, with their names given them, but his generosity went as far as entire cities; for when he had built a most beautiful wall round a country in Samaria, twenty furlongs long and had brought six thousand inhabitants into it, and had allotted to it a most fruitful piece of land, and in the midst of this city, thus built, had erected a very large temple to Cæsar, and had laid round about it a portion of sacred land of three furlongs and a half, he called the city *Sebaste*, from Sebastus or Augustus and settled the affairs of the city after a most regular manner.

3. And when Cæsar had further bestowed upon him another additional country, he built there also a temple of white marble, hard by the fountains of Jordan: the place is called *Panium*, where is a top of a mountain that is raised to an immense height, and at its side, beneath, or at its bottom, a dark cave opens itself; within which there is a horrible precipice, that descends abruptly to a vast depth: it contains a mighty quantity of water, which is immoveable; and when any body lets down any thing to measure the depth of the earth beneath the water, no length of cord is sufficient to reach it. Now the fountains of Jordan

* This fort was first built, as is supposed, by John Hyrcanus, see Prid. at the year 207, and called *Baris*, the Tower or Citadel. It was afterwards rebuilt, with great improvements, by Herod, under the government of Antonius, and was named from him *the Tower of Antonia;* and about the time when Herod rebuilt the temple, he seems to have put his last hand to it. See Antiq. B. xviii. ch. v. sect. 4. Of the War, B. i. ch. iii. sect. 3; and ch. v. sect. 4. It lay on the north-west side of the temple, and was a quarter as large.

rise at the roots of this cavity outwardly; and, as some think, this is the utmost origin of Jordan; but we shall speak of that matter more accurately in our following history

4. But the king erected other places at Jericho also, between the citadel Cypros and the former palace, such as were better and more useful than the former for travellers, and named then from the same friends of his. To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Cæsar's honour; and when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out the like plentiful marks of esteem into his province, and built many cities, which he called *Cæsareas*.

5. And when he observed that there was a city by the sea-side, which was much decayed (its name was Strato's Tower,) but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity: for the case was this, that all the seashore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle between which this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phœnicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea, by reason of the south winds that threatened them; which winds if it blew but a little fresh, such vast waves are raised, and dash upon the rocks, that upon their retreat the sea is in a great ferment for a long way. But the king by the expenses he was at, and the liberal disposal of them, overcame nature, and built a haven larger than was the Pyreum* [at Athens;] and in the inner retirements of the water he built other deep stations [for the ships also.]

6. Now, although the place where he built was greatly opposite to his purposes, yet did he so fully struggle with that difficulty, that the firmness of his building could not easily be conquered by the sea; and the beauty and ornament of the works was such, as though he had not had any difficulty in the operation, for when he had measured out as large a space as we have before mentioned, he let down stones into twenty fathom water, the greatest part of which were fifty feet in length, and nine in depth, and ten in breadth, and some still larger. But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide; one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called *Procumatia*, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round it. On this wall were very large towers, the principal and most beautiful of which was called *Drusium* from *Drusus*, who was son-in-law to Cæsar.

7. There were also a great number of arches where the mariners dwelt; and all the place before them round about was a large valley, or walk, for a key [or landing place] to those that came on shore; but the entrance was on the north, because the north wind was there the most gentle of all the winds. At the mouth of the haven were on each side three great Colossi, supported by pillars, where those Colossi that are on your left hand, as you sail into the port, are supported by a solid tower, but those on the right hand are supported by two upright stones joined together, which stones were larger than that tower which was on the other side of the entrance. Now there were continual edifices joined to the haven, which were also themselves of white stone; and to this haven did the narrow streets of the city lead, and were built at equal distances one from another. And over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple for Cæsar, which was excellent both in beauty and largeness; and therein was a Colossus of Cæsar, not less than that of Jupiter Olympius, which it was made to

* That Josephus speaks truth when he assures us, that "the haven of this Cæsarea was made by Herod not less, nay rather larger, than that famous haven at Athens, called *the Pyreum*," will appear, says Dean Aldrich, to him who compares the description of that at Athens in Thucydides and Pausanias with this of Cæsarea in Josephus here, and in the Antiq. B. xv. ch. ix. sect 6; and B. xvii. ch. ix. sect. 1.

resemble. The other Colossus of Rome was equal to that of Juno at Argos. Some dedicated the city to the province, and the haven to the sailors there; but the honour of the building he ascribed to Cæsar,* and named it Cæsarea accordingly.

8. He also built the other edifices, the amphitheatre, and theatre, and market-place, in a manner agreeable to that denomination; and appointed games every fifth year, and called them, in like manner, *Cæsar's Games;* and he first himself proposed the largest prizes upon the hundred and ninety second Olympiad; in which not only the victors themselves, but those that came next to them, and even those that came in the third place, were partakers of his royal bounty. He also rebuilt Anthedon, a city that lay on the coast, and had been demolished in the wars, and named it *Agrippeum*. Moreover, he had so very great a kindness for his friend Agrippa, that he had his name engraven upon that gate which he had himself erected in the temple.

9. Herod was also a lover of his father, if any other person ever was so; for he made a monument for his father, even that city which he built in the finest plain that was in his kingdom, and which had rivers and trees in abundance, and named it *Antipatris*. He also built a wall about a citadel that lay above Jericho, and was a very strong and very fine building, and dedicated it to his mother, and called it *Cypros*. Moreover, he dedicated a tower that was at Jerusalem, and called it by the name of his brother Phasaelus, whose structure, and largeness, and magnificence, we shall describe hereafter. He also built another city in the valley that leads northward from Jericho, and named it *Phasaelis*.

10. And as he transmitted to eternity his family and friends, so did he not neglect a memorial for himself, but built a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia, and named it from himself *Herodium*;† and he called that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, by the same name. He also bestowed much curious art upon it, with great ambition, and built round towers all about the top of it, and filled up the remaining space with most costly palaces round about, insomuch that not only the sight of the inner apartments was splendid, but great wealth was laid out on the outer walls, and partitions, and roofs also. Besides this, he brought a mighty quantity of water from a great distance, and at vast charges, and raised an ascent to it of two hundred steps of the whitest marble; for the hill was itself moderately high, and entirely factitious. He also built other palaces about the roots of the hill, sufficient to receive the furniture that was put into them, with his friends also, insomuch that on account of its containing all necessaries, the fortress might seem to be a city, but by the bounds it had, a palace only.

11. And when he had built so much, he showed the greatness of his soul to no small number of foreign cities. He built places for exercise at Tripoli, and Damascus, and Ptolemais; he built a wall about Byblus; as also large rooms, and cloisters, and temples, and market-places at Berytus and Tyre, with theatres at Sidon and Damascus. He also built aqueducts for those Laodiceans who lived by the seaside; and for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness. Moreover, he dedicated groves and meadows to some people; nay, not a few cities there were who had lands of his donation, as if they were parts of his own kingdom. He also bestowed annual revenues, and those for ever also, on the settlements for exercises, and appointed for them, as well as for the people of Cos, that such rewards should never be wanting. He also gave corn to all such as wanted it, and conferred upon Rhodes large sums of money for building

* These buildings of cities by the name of Cæsar, and institution of solemn games in honour of Augustus Cæsar, as here and in the Antiquities related of Herod by Josephus, the Roman historians attest to as things then frequent in the provinces of that empire, as Dean Aldrich observes on this chapter.

† There were two cities or citadels called *Herodiums* in Judea, and both mentioned by Josephus, not only here, but Antiq. B. xiv. ch. xiii. sect. 9; B. xv. ch. ix. sect. 6: Of the War, B. i. ch. xiii sect. 8 B. iii. ch. iii. sect. 5. One of them was 200, and the other 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem. One of them is mentioned by Pliny, Hist. Nat. B. v. ch. xiv. as Dean Aldrich observes here.

hips; and this he did in many places, and frequently also. And when Apollo's emple had been burnt down, he rebuilt it at his own charge, after a better manner han it was before. What need I speak of the presents he made to the Lycians nd Samnians? or of his great liberality through all Ionia? and that according to very body's wants of them. And are not the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, nd Nicopolitans, and that Pergamus which is in Mysia, full of donations that Herod presented them withal? And as for that large open place belonging to ntioch in Syria, did not he pave it with polished marble, though it were twenty rlongs long? and this when it was shunned by all men before, because it was ll of dirt and filthiness, when he besides adorned the same place with a cloister f the same length.

12. It is true, a man may say these were favours peculiar to those particular laces, on which he bestowed his benefits; but then what favours he bestowed n the Eleans was a donation not only in common to all Greece, but to all the abitable earth, as far as the glory of the Olympic games reached. For when e perceived that they were come to nothing, for want of money, and that the only emains of ancient Greece were in a manner gone, he not only became one of ne combatants in that return of the fifth year games, which in his sailing to Rome e happened to be present at, but he settled upon them revenues in money for erpetuity, insomuch that his memorial as a combatant there can never fail. It ould be an infinite task if I should go over his payments of people's debts, or ibutes for them, as he eased the people of Phasaelus, of Batanea, and of the nall cities about Cilicia, of those annual pensions they before paid. However, ne fear he was iu much disturbed the greatness of his soul, lest he should be exposed to envy, or seem to hunt after greater things than he ought, while he bestowed more liberal gifts upon these cities than did their owners themselves.

13. Now Herod had a body suited to his soul, and was ever a most excellent unter, where he generally had good success, by the means of his great skill in ding horses; for in one day he caught forty wild beasts:* that country breeds so bears, and the greatest part of it is replenished with stags and wild asses. fe was also such a warrior as could not be withstood; many men, therefore, ere are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they w him throw the javelin directly forward, and to shoot the arrow upon the mark. nd then besides these performances of his, depending on his own strength of ind and body, fortune was also very favourable to him; for he seldom failed of ccess in his wars; and when he failed, he was not himself the occasion of such ilings, but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers rocured his defeat.

## CHAP. XXII.

### *The Murder of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the High Priests; as also of Mariamne the Queen.*

1. However, fortune was avenged on Herod in his external great success, by ising him up domestic troubles; and he began to have wild disorders in his faily, on account of his wife, of whom he was so very fond. For when he came the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when he was private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was *Doris*, and arried Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus: on whose ccount disturbances arose in his family, and that in part very soon, but chiefly ter his return from Rome. For first of all he expelled Antipater, the son of oris, for the sake of his sons by Mariamne, out of the city, and permitted him

* Here seems to be a small defect in the copies, which describe the wild beasts which were hunted in certain country by Herod, without naming any such country at al.

to come thither at no other times than at the festivals. After this he slew h wife's grandfather, Hyrcanus, when he was returned out of Parthia to him, und this pretence, that he suspected him of plotting against him. Now this Hyrcan had been carried captive to Barzapharnes, when he overran Syria: but those his own country beyond Euphrates were desirous he would stay with them, a this out of the commiseration they had for his condition; and had he compli with their desires, when they exhorted him not to go over the river to Herod, h had not perished: but the marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod] was his tem ration; for as he relied upon him, and was overfond of his own country, he can back to it. Herod's provocation was this, not that Hyrcanus made any attem to gain the kingdom, but that it was fitter for him to be their king than f Herod.

2. Now of the five children which Herod had by Mariamne, two of them we daughters and three were sons; and the youngest of these sons was educated Rome, and there died; but the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood, c account of the nobility of their mother, and because they were not born till he w king. But then what was stronger than all this, was the love that he bare Mariamne, and which inflamed him every day to a great degree, and so far co spired with the other motives, that he felt no other troubles on account of her h loved so entirely. But Mariamne's hatred to him was not inferior to his love her. She had, indeed, but too just a cause of indignation from what he had don while her boldness proceeded from his affection to her; so she openly reproach him with what he had done to her grandfather Hyrcanus, and to her broth Aristobulus: for he had not spared this Aristobulus, though he were but a chil for when he had given him the high priesthood at the age of seventeen, he sle him quickly after he had conferred that dignity upon him; but when Aristobul had put on the holy vestments, and had approached to the altar, at a festival, th multitude in great crowds fell into tears: whereupon the child was sent by nig to Jericho, and was there dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command, in a pool t he was drowned.

3. For these reasons Mariamne reproached Herod, and his sister and mothe after a most contumelious manner, while he was dumb on account of his affecti for her; yet had the women great indignation at her, and raised a calumny again her, that she was false to his bed; which thing they thought most likely to mo Herod to anger. They also contrived to have many other circumstances believe in order to make the thing more credible, and accused her of having sent h picture into Egypt to Antony; and that her lust was so extravagant, as to ha thus showed herself, though she was absent, to a man that ran mad after wome and to a man that had it in his power to use violence to her. This charge f like a thunderbolt upon Herod, and put him into disorder, and that especiall because his love to her occasioned him to be jealous; and because he consider with himself that Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her accou Lysanias the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian; for his fe did not only extend to the dissolving of his marriage, but to the danger of his lif

4. When, therefore, he was about to take a journey abroad, he committed h wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful him, and bare him good will on account of their kindred; he also gave him secret injunction, that if Antony slew him, he should slay her. But Joseph, wit out any ill design, and only in order to demonstrate the king's love to his wif how he could not bear to think of being separated from her, even by death itse he discovered this grand secret to her; upon which, when Herod was come bac and as they talked together, confirmed his love to her by many oaths, and assur her that he had never such an affection for any other woman as he had f her; "Yes, says she, thou didst to be sure demonstrate thy love to me by t injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandest him to kill me."*

* Here is either a defect or a great mistake in Josephus's present copies or memory; for Mariam

5. When he heard that his grand secret was discovered, he was like a distracted man, and said, that Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction of his, unless he had debauched her. His passion also made him stark mad, and leaping out of his bed, he ran about the palace after a wild manner; at which time his sister Salome took the opportunity also to blast her reputation, and confirmed his suspicion about Joseph; whereupon, out of his ungovernable jealousy and rage, he commanded both of them to be slain immediately; but as soon as ever his passion was over, he repented of what he had done, and as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And, indeed, the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear under his disorders to speak to her as if she were still alive, till he were better instructed by time, when his grief and trouble, now she was dead, appeared as great as his affection had been for her while she was living

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Calumnies against the Sons of Mariamne. Antipater is preferred before them. They are accused before Cæsar, and Herod is reconciled to them.*

§ 1. Now Mariamne's sons were heirs to that hatred which had been borne their mother; and when they considered the greatness of Herod's crime towards her, they were suspicious of him as of an enemy of theirs; and this first while they were educated at Rome, but still more when they were returned to Judea. This temper of theirs increased upon them as they grew up to be men; and when they were come to an age fit for marriage, the one of them married their aunt Salome's daughter, which Salome had been the accuser of their mother; the other married the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And now they used boldness in speaking, as well as bore hatred in their minds. Now those that calumniated them took a handle from such their boldness, and certain of them spake now more plainly to the king that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons, and he that was son-in-law to Archelaus, relying upon his father-in-law, was preparing to fly away, in order to accuse Herod before Cæsar: and when Herod's head had been long enough filled with these calumnies, he brought Antipater whom he had by Doris into favour again, as a defence to him against his other sons, and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before them.

2. But these sons were not able to bear this change in their affairs; but when they saw him that was born of a mother of no family, the nobility of their birth made them unable to contain their indignation; but whensoever they were uneasy, they showed the anger they had at it. And as these sons did day after day improve in that their anger, Antipater already exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren; while he told some stories of them himself, and put it upon other proper persons to raise other stories against them, till at length he entirely cut his brethren off from all hopes of succeeding to the kingdom; for he was already publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly, he was sent with royal ornaments and other marks of royalty, to Cæsar, excepting the diadem. He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed. The two sorts of weapons he made use of against his brethren were flattery and calumny, whereby he brought matters privately to such a pass, that the king had thoughts of putting his sons to death.

3. So the father drew Alexander as far as Rome, and charged him with an

did not now reproach Herod with this his first injunction to Joseph to kill her, if he himself were slain by Antony, but that he had given the like command a second time to Soemus also, when he was afraid of being slain by Augustus, Ant. B. xv. ch. iii. sect. 5.

attempt of poisoning him before Cæsar. Alexander could hardly speak for lamentation; but having a judge that was more skilful than Antipater, and more wise than Herod, he modestly avoided laying any imputation upon his father, but with great strength of reason confuted the calumnies laid against him: and when he had demonstrated the innocency of his brother, who was in the like danger with himself, he at last bewailed the craftiness of Antipater, and the disgrace they were under. He was enabled also to justify himself, not only by a clear conscience, which he carried within him, but by his eloquence; for he was a shrewd man in making speeches. And upon his saying at last, that if his father objected this crime to them, it was in his power to put them to death, he made all the audience weep; and he brought Cæsar to that pass as to reject the accusations, and to reconcile their father to them immediately. But the conditions of this reconciliation were these, that they should in all things be obedient to their father, and that he should have the power to leave the kingdom to which of them he pleased.

4. After this the king came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons upon these accusations; but still so that he was not without his suspicions of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain head of those accusations; yet did not he openly discover his hatred to them, as revering him that had reconciled them. But as Herod sailed by Cilicia, he touched at Eleusa,* were Archelaus treated them in the most obliging manner, and gave him thanks for the deliverance of his son-in-law, and was much pleased at their reconciliation; and this the more, because he had formerly written to his friends at Rome, that they should be assisting to Alexander at his trial. So he conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, and made him presents to the value of thirty talents.

5. Now when Herod was come to Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented to them his three sons, and gave them an apologetic account of his absence, and "thanked God greatly, and thanked Cæsar greatly also, for settling his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons, which was of greater consequence than the kingdom itself, and which I will render still more firm; for Cæsar hath put it into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor. Accordingly, in way of requital for his kindness, and in order to provide for mine own advantage I do declare that these three sons of mine shall be kings. And in the first place, I pray for the approbation of God to what I am about; and in the next place, I desire your approbation also. The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them the succession. Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large, that it may be sufficient for more kings. Now do you keep those in their places whom Cæsar hath joined and their father hath appointed; and do not you pay undue or unequal respects to them, but to every one according to the prerogative of their births; for he that pays such respects unduly will thereby not make him that is honoured beyond what his age requires so joyful as he will make him that is dishonoured sorrowful. As for the kindred and friends that are to converse with them, I will appoint them to each of them, and will so constitute them, that they may be securities for their concord; as well knowing that the ill tempers of those with whom they converse will produce quarrels and contentions among them; but that, if these with whom they converse be of good tempers, they will preserve their natural affections for one another. But still I desire, that not these only, but all the captains of my army, have for the present their hopes placed on me alone; for I do not give away my kingdom to these my sons, but give them royal honours only; whereby it will come to pass, that they will enjoy the sweet parts of government as rulers themselves. but that the burden of ad-

* That this island Eleusa, afterward called *Sebaste*, near Cilicia, had in it the royal palace of this Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Strabo testifies, B. xv. p. 671. Stephanus of Byzantium also calls it "An island of Cilicia, which is now Sebaste;" both whose testimonies are pertinently cited here by Dr Hudson. See the same history, Antiq. B. xvi. ch. x. sect 7

ministration will rest upon myself whether I will or not. And let every one consider what age I am of, how I have conducted my life, and what piety I have exercised; for my age is not so great that men may soon expect the end of my life; nor have I indulged such a luxurious way of living as cuts men off when they are young: and we have been so religious towards God, that we [have reason to hope we] may arrive at a very great age. But for such as cultivate a friendship with my sons, so as to aim at my destruction, they shall be punished by me on their account. I am not one who envy my own children, and, therefore, forbid men to pay them great respect; but I know that such [extravagant] respects are the way to make them insolent. And if every one that comes near them does but revolve this in his mind, that if he prove a good man, he shall receive a reward from me, but that if he prove seditious, his ill intended complaisance shall get him nothing from him to whom it is shown; I suppose they will all be of my side, that is, of my sons side; for it will be for their advantage that I reign, and that I be at concord with them. But do you, O my good children, reflect upon the holiness of nature itself, by whose means natural affection is preserved even among wild beasts: in the next place, reflect upon Cæsar, who hath made this reconciliation among us; and, in the third place, reflect upon me, who entreat you to do what I have power to command you; continue brethren. I give you royal garments and royal honours; and I pray to God to preserve what I have determined, in case you be at concord one with another." When the king had thus spoken, and had saluted every one of his sons after an obliging manner, he dismissed the multitude; some of which gave their assent to what he had said, and wished it might take effect accordingly; but for those who wished for a change of affairs, they pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*The Malice of Antipater and Doris. Alexander is very uneasy on Glaphyra's Account. Herod pardons Pheroras whom he suspected, and Salome whom he knew to make Mischief among them. Herod's Eunuchs are tortured, and Alexander is bound.*

§ 1. But now the quarrel that was between them still accompanied these brethren when they parted, and the suspicions they had one of the other grew worse. Alexander and Aristobulus were much grieved that the privilege of the first-born was confirmed to Antipater; as was Antipater very angry at his brethren that they were to succeed him. But then this last being of a disposition that was mutable and politic, he knew how to hold his tongue, and used a great deal of cunning, and thereby concealed the hatred he bore to them; while the former, depending on the nobility of their births, had every thing upon their tongues which was in their minds. Many also there were who provoked them farther, and many of their [seeming] friends insinuated themselves into their acquaintance to spy out what they did. Now every thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions. Nor could the young man say any thing, in the simplicity of his heart, without giving offence, but what he said was still turned to calumny against him. And if he had been at any time a little free in his conversation, great imputations were forged from the smallest occasions. Antipater also was perpetually setting some to provoke him to speak, that the lies he raised of him might seem to have some foundation of truth; and if among the many stories that were given out, but one of them could be proved true, that was supposed to imply the rest to be true also. And as to Antipater's friends, they were all either naturally so cautious in speaking, or had been so far bribed to conceal their thoughts, that nothing

of these grand secrets got abroad by their means. Nor should one be mistaken if he called the life of Antipater a mystery of wickedness; for he either corrupted Alexander's acquaintance with money, or got into their favour by flatteries; by which two means he gained all his designs, and brought them to betray their master, and to steal away, and reveal what he either did or said. Thus did he act a part very cunningly in all points, and wrought himself a passage by his calumnies with the greatest shrewdness; while he put on a face as if he were a kind brother to Alexander and Aristobulus, but suborned other men to inform of what they did to Herod. And when any thing was told against Alexander, he would come in, and pretend [to be of his side,] and would begin to contradict what was said; but would afterward contrive matters so privately, that the king should have an indignation at him. His general aim was this, to lay a plot, and to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father; for nothing afforded so great a confirmation to these calumnies as did Antipater's apologies for him.

2. By these methods Herod was inflamed, and as much as his natural affection to the young men did every day diminish, so much did it increase towards Antipater. The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct, some of their own accord and others by the king's injunction, as particularly did Ptolemy, the king's dearest friend, as also the king's brethren and all his children; for Antipater was all in all: and what was the bitterest part of all to Alexander, Antipater's mother was also all in all: she was one that gave counsel against them, and was more harsh than a stepmother, and one that hated the queen's sons more than is usual to hate sons-in-law. All men did, therefore, already pay their respects to Antipater, in hopes of advantage; and it was the king's command which alienated every body [from the brethren,] he having given this charge to his most intimate friends, that they should not come near, nor pay any regard to Alexander or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible, not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad; for Cæsar had given such a privilege to no other king as he had given to him, which was this, that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction. Now the young men were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them; for which reason they could not guard themselves against them, but fell under them; for their father did not make any public complaints against either of them: though in a little time they perceived how things were by his coldness to them, and by the great uneasiness he showed upon any thing that troubled him. Antipater had also made their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well as their aunt Salome, while he was always talking with her, as with a wife, and irritating her against them. Moreover, Alexander's wife, Glaphyra, augmented his hatred against them, by deriving her nobility and genealogy [from great persons,] and pretending that she was a lady superior to all others in that kingdom, as being derived by her father's side from Temenus, and by her mother's side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes. She also frequently reproached Herod's sister and wives with the ignobility of their descent; and that they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few: it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives;* and this king delighting in many, all which hated Alexander on account of Glaphyra's boasting and reproaches.

3. Nay, Aristobulus had raised a quarrel between himself and Salome, who was his mother-in-law, besides the anger he had conceived at Glaphyra's re-

* That it was an immemorial custom among the Jews, and their forefathers, the patriarchs, to have sometimes more wives, or wives and concubines, than one at the same time, and that this polygamy was not directly *forbidden* in the law of Moses, is evident; but that *polygamy* was ever properly and distinctly *permitted* in that law of Moses, in the places here cited by Dean Aldrich, Deut. xvii. 16, 17, or xxi. 15, or indeed, any where else does not appear to me. And what our Saviour says about the common Jewish divorces, which may lay much greater claim to such a permission than *polygamy*, seems to me true in this case also; that Moses for the hardness of their hearts suffered them to have several wives at the same time, but that *from the beginning it was not so*, Matt. xix. 8; Mark, x 5.

proaches; for he perpetually upbraided his wife with the meanness of her family, and complained, that as he had married a woman of low family, so had his brother Alexander married one of royal blood. At this Salome's daughter wept, and told it her, with this addition, that Alexander threatened the mothers of his other brethren, that when he should come to the crown he would make them weave with their maidens, and would make those brothers of his country schoolmasters; and brake this jest upon them, that they had been very carefully instructed to fit them for such an employment. Hereupon Salome could not contain her anger, but told all to Herod: nor could her testimony be suspected, since it was against her own son-in-law. There was also another calumny that ran abroad, and inflamed the king's mind; for he heard that these sons of his were perpetually speaking of their mother, and, among their lamentations for her, did not abstain from cursing him; and that when he made presents of any of Mariamne's garments to his later wives, these threatened, that in a little time, instead of royal garments, they would clothe them in no better than haircloth.

4. Now upon these accounts, though Herod was somewhat afraid of the young men's high spirit, yet did he not despair of reducing them to a better mind; but before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea, he called them to him, and partly threatened them a little as a king; but for the main he admonished them as a father, and exhorted them to love their brethren; and told them, that he would pardon their former offences, if they would amend for the time to come. But they refuted the calumnies that had been raised of them, and said they were false; and alleged that their actions were sufficient for their vindication; and said withal, that he himself ought to shut his ears against such tales, and not be too easy in believing them, for that there would never be wanting those that would tell lies to their disadvantage, as long as any would give ear to them.

5. When they had thus soon pacified him, as being their father, they got clear of the present fear they were in. Yet did they see occasion for sorrow in some time afterward; for they knew that Salome as well as their uncle Pheroras were their enemies, who were both of them heavy and severe persons, and especially Pheroras, who was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom, excepting his diadem. He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had asked of Cæsar to make him a tetrarch, as he was made acordingly. Herod had also given him a wife out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife's sister, and after her death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter, with a dowry of three hundred talents; but Pheroras refused to consummate this royal marriage, out of his affection to a maid servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that daughter in marriage to a brother's son of his [Joseph,] who was slain afterward by the Parthians: but in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid servant.

6. Nay, Pheroras had been accused long before, while the queen [Mariamne] was alive, as if he were in a plot to poison Herod; and there came then so great a number of informers, that Herod himself, though he was an exceeding lover of his brethren, was brought to believe what was said, and to be afraid of it also: and when he had brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture, he came at last to Pheroras's own friends; none of which did openly confess the crime, but they owned that he had made preparations to take her whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians. Costobarus also, the husband of Salome, to whom the king had given her in marriage, after her former husband had been put to death for adultery, was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight of his. Nor did Salome escape all calumny upon herself: for her brother Pheroras accused her, that she had made an agreement to marry Syllæus, the procurator of Obodas, king of Arabia, who was at bitter enmity with

Herod; but when she was convicted of this, and of all that Pheroras had accused her, she obtained her pardon. The king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he had been accused of.

7. But the storm of the whole family was removed to Alexander, and all of rested upon his head. There were three eunuchs who were in the highest esteem with the king, as was plain by the offices they were in about him for one of them was appointed to be his butler, another of them got his supper ready for him, and the third put him into bed, and lay down by him. Now Alexander had prevailed with these men by large gifts to let him use them after an obscene manner; which when it was told to the king, they were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed the criminal conversation he had with them. They also discovered the promises by which they were induced so to do, and how they were deluded by Alexander, who had told them, that "they ought not to fix their hopes upon Herod, an old man, and one so shameless as to colour his hair, unless they thought that would make him young again; but that they ought to fix their attention on him, who was to be his successor in the kingdom, whether he would or not; and who in no long time would avenge himself on his enemies, and make his friends happy and blessed, and themselves in the first place: that the men of power did already pay respect to Alexander privately, and that the captains of the soldiery and the officers did secretly come to him."

8. These confessions did so terrify Herod, that he durst not immediately publish them; but he sent spies abroad privately by night and by day, who should make a close inquiry after all that was done and said; and when any one were but suspected [of treason,] he put them to death, insomuch that the palace was full of horribly unjust proceedings; for every body forged calumnies, as they were themselves in a state of enmity or hatred against others; and many there were who abused the king's bloody passion to the disadvantage of those with whom they had quarrels, and lies were easily believed, and punishments were inflicted sooner than the calumnies were forged: he who had just then been accusing another, was accused himself, and was led away to execution, together with him whom he had convicted; for the danger the king was in of his life made examinations be very short. He also proceeded to such a degree of bitterness, that he could not look on any of those that were not accused with a pleasant countenance, but was in a most barbarous disposition towards his own friends. Accordingly, he forbade a great many of them to come to court, and to those whom he had not power to punish actually he spake harshly; but for Antipater, he insulted Alexander, now he was under his misfortunes, and got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him: and for the king, he was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand; so he caused him to be seized upon immediately and bound, and fell to examining his friends by torture, many of whom died [under the torture,] but would discover nothing, nor say any thing against their consciences; but some of them being forced to speak falsely by the pains they endured, said that Alexander and his brother Aristobulus, plotted against him, and waited for an opportunity to kill him as he was hunting, and then to fly away to Rome. These accusations, though they were of an incredible nature, and only framed upon the great distress they were in, were readily believed by the king, who thought it some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Archelaus procures a Reconciliation between Alexander, Pheroras, and Herod.*

§ 1. Now as to Alexander, since he perceived it impossible to persuade his father [that he was innocent,] he resolved to meet his calamities how severe soever they were; so he composed four books against his enemies, and confessed that he had been in a plot; but declared withal that the greatest part [of the courtiers] were in a plot with him, and chiefly Pheroras and Salome; nay, that Salome once came, and forced him to lie with her in the night-time, whether he would or not. These books were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamour against the men in power. And now it was that Archelaus came hastily into Judea, as being affrighted for his son-in-law and his daughter; and he came as a proper assistant, and in a very prudent manner, and by a stratagem he obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened; for when he was come to him, he cried out,—"Where in the world is this wretched son-in-law of mine? Where shall I see that head of his which contrived to murder his father, which I will tear to pieces with my own hands. I will do the same also to my daughter, who hath such a fine husband: for although she be not a partner in the plot, yet, by being the wife of such a creature, she is polluted. And I cannot but admire at thy patience, against whom this plot is laid, if Alexander be still alive; for as I came with what haste I could from Cappadocia, I expected to find him put to death for his crimes long ago; but still in order to make an examination with thee about my daughter, whom out of regard to thee, and thy dignity, I had espoused to him in marriage; but now we must take counsel about them both; and if thy paternal affection be so great, that thou canst not punish thy son, who hath plotted against thee, let us change our right hands, and let us succeed one to the other in expressing our rage upon this occasion."

2. When he had made this pompous declaration, he got Herod to remit of his anger, though he were in disorder; who thereupon gave him the books which Alexander had composed to be read by him, and as he came to every head, he considered of it, together with Herod. So Archelaus took hence the occasion for that stratagem which he made use of, and by degrees he laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras; and when he saw that the king believed him, [to be in earnest,] he said,—"We must consider whether the young man be not himself plotted against by such a number of wicked wretches, and not thou plotted against by the young man; for I cannot see any occasion for his falling into so horrid a crime, since he enjoys the advantages of royalty already, and has the expectation of being one of thy successors; I mean this, unless there were some persons that persuaded him to it, and such persons as make an ill use of the facility they know there is to persuade young men; for by such persons not only young men are sometimes imposed upon, but old men also, and by them sometimes are the most illustrious families and kingdoms overturned."

3. Herod assented to what he had said, and, by degrees, abated of his anger against Alexander; but was more angry at Pheroras; for the principal subject of the four books was Pheroras, who perceiving that the king's inclinations changed on a sudden, and that Archelaus's friendship could do every thing with him, and that he had no honourable method of preserving himself, he procured his safety by his impudence. So he left Alexander, and had recourse to Archelaus, who told him, that "he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly caught in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, and had been the cause of those misfortunes which the

young man was now under, unless he would moreover leave off his cunning knavery, and his denials of what he was charged withal, and confess the charge, and implore pardon of his brother, who still had a kindness for him; but that if he would do so, he would afford him all the assistance he was able."

4. With this advice Pheroras complied, and, putting himself into such a habit as might most move compassion, he came with black cloth upon his body, and tears in his eyes, and threw himself down at Herod's feet, and begged his pardon for what he had done; and confessed that he had acted very wickedly, and was guilty of every thing that he had been accused of, and lamented that disorder of his mind and distraction which his love to a woman, he said, had brought him to. So when Archelaus had brought Pheroras to accuse and bear witness against himself, he then made an excuse for him, and mitigated Herod's anger towards him, and this by using certain domestical examples; "for that when he had suffered much greater mischiefs from a brother of his own, he preferred the obligations of nature before the passion of revenge: because it is in kingdoms as it is in gross bodies, where some member or other is ever swelled by the body's weight, in which case it is not proper to cut off such member, but to heal it by a gentle method of cure."

5. Upon Archelaus's saying this, and much more to the same purpose, Herod's displeasure against Pheroras was mollified; yet did he persevere in his own indignation against Alexander, and said, he would have his daughter divorced, and taken away from him, and this till he had brought Herod to that pass, that, contrary to his former behaviour to him, he petitioned Archelaus for the young man, and that he would let his daughter continue espoused to him: but Archelaus made him strongly believe that he would permit her to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander, because he looked upon it as a very valuable advantage, that the relation they had contracted by that affinity, and the privileges that went along with it, might be preserved. And when the king said, that his son would take it for a great favour to him, if he would not dissolve that marriage, especially since they had already children between the young man and her, and since that wife of his was so well beloved by him, and that as while she remains his wife she would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending, as he had formerly done; so if she should be once torn away from him, she would be the cause of his falling into despair; because such young men's attempts are best mollified, when they are diverted from them by settling their affections at home. So Archelaus complied with what Herod desired, but not without difficulty, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Cæsar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.

6. Thus a period was put to Archelaus's stratagem, whereby he delivered his son-in-law out of the dangers he was in; but when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feastings and agreeable entertainments. And when Archelaus was going away, Herod made him a present of seventy talents, with a golden throne set with precious stones, and some eunuchs, and a concubine who was called *Pannychis*. He also paid due honours to every one of his friends according to their dignity. In like manner did all the king's kindred, by his command, make glorious presents to Archelaus; and so he was conducted on his way by Herod and his nobility as far as Antioch

## CHAP. XXVI.

*How Eurycles* calumniated the Sons of Mariamne: and how Euaratus of Cos's Apology for them had no effect.*

§ 1. Now a little afterward there came into Judea a man that was much superior to Archelaus's stratagems, who did not only overturn that reconciliation that had been so wisely made with Alexander, but proved the occasion of his ruin. He was a Lacedemonian, and his name was *Eurycles*. He was so corrupt a man, that, out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not suffice his luxury. He presented Herod with splendid gifts, as a bait which he laid in order to compass his ends, and quickly received them back again manifold; yet did he esteem bare gifts as nothing, unless he imbrued the kingdom in blood by his purchases. Accordingly, he imposed upon the king by flattering him, and by talking subtilely to him, as also by the lying encomiums which he made upon him; for as he soon perceived Herod's blind side, so he said and did every thing that might please him, and thereby became one of his most intimate friends; for both the king and all that were about him had a great regard for this Spartan,† on account of his country.

2. Now as soon as this fellow perceived the rotten parts of the family, and what quarrels the brothers had one with another, and in what disposition the father was towards each of them, he chose to take his lodging at the first in the house of Antipater, but deluded Alexander with a pretence of friendship to him, and falsely claimed to be an old acquaintance of Archelaus; for which reason he was presently admitted into Alexander's familiarity as a faithful friend. He also soon recommended himself to his brother Aristobulus. And when he had thus made trial of these several persons, he imposed upon one of them by one method, and upon another by another. But he was principally hired by Antipater, and so betrayed Alexander, and this by reproaching Antipater, because, while he was the eldest son, he overlooked the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations; and by reproaching Alexander, because he who was born of a queen, and was married to a king's daughter, permitted one that was born of a mean woman to lay claim to the succession, and this when he had Archelaus to support him in the most complete manner. Nor was his advice thought to be other than faithful by the young man, because of his pretended friendship with Archelaus: on which account it was, that Alexander lamented to him Antipater's behaviour with regard to himself, and this without concealing any thing from him; and how it was no wonder if Herod, after he had killed their mother, should deprive them of her kingdom. Upon this Eurycles pretended to commiserate his condition, and to grieve with him. He also, by a bait that he laid for him, procured Aristobulus to say the same things. Thus did he inveigle both the brothers to make complaints of their father, and then went to Antipater, and carried these grand secrets to him. He also added a fiction of his own, as if his brothers had laid a plot against him, and were almost ready to come upon him with their drawn swords. For this intelligencee he received a great sum of money, and on that account he commended Antipater before his father, and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to thei.

This vile fellow, Eurycles the Lacedemonian, seems to have been the same who is mentioned by Plutarch, as 25 years before a companion to Mark Antony, and as living with Herod; whence he might easily insinuate himself into the acquaintance of Herod's sons, Antipater and Alexander, as Usher, Hudson, and Spanheim justly suppose. The reason why his being a Spartan rendered him acceptable to the Jews, as we here see he was, is visible from the public records of the Jews and Spartans, owning those Spartans to be of kin to the Jews, and derived from their common ancestor Abraham, the first patriarch of the Jewish nation. Antiq. B. xii. chap. iv. sect. 10; B. xiii. chap. v. sect. 3, and 1 Macc. B. xii. chap. vii.

† See the preceding note.

graves, and accused them before their father. So he came to Herod, and told him, that "he would save his life, as a requital for the favours he had received from him, and would preserve his light [of life] by way of retribution for his kind entertainment: for that a sword had been long whetted, and Alexander's right hand had been long stretched out against him; but that he had laid impediments in his way, which prevented his speed, and that by pretending to assist him in his design; how Alexander said, that Herod was not contented to reign in a kingdom that belonged to others, and to make dilapidations in their mother's government, after he had killed her; but besides all this, that he introduced a spurious successor, and proposed to give the kingdom of their ancestors to that pestilent fellow Antipater: that he would now appease the ghosts of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, by taking vengeance on him; for that was not fit for him to take the succession to the government from such a father without bloodshed: that many things happen every day to provoke him so to do, insomuch that he can say nothing at all, but it affords occasion for calumny against him; for that if any mention be made of nobility of birth, even in other cases, he is abused unjustly, while his father would say, that nobody, to be sure, is of noble birth but Alexander, and that his father was inglorious for want of such nobility. If they be at any time hunting, and he says nothing, he gives offence; and if he commends any body, they take it in way of jest: that they always find their father unmercifully severe, and to have no natural affection for any of them but for Antipater; on which accounts, if his plot does not take, he is very willing to die; but that in case he kills his father, he hath sufficient opportunities for saving himself. In the first place, he hath Archelaus his father-in-law, to whom he can easily fly; and, in the next place, he hath Cæsar, who hath never known Herod's character to this day; for that he shall not appear then before him with that dread he used to do, when his father was there to terrify him: and that he will not then produce the accusations that concerned himself alone, but would, in the first place, openly insist on the calamities of their nation, and how they are taxed to death, and in what ways of luxury and wicked practices that wealth is spent, which was gotten by bloodshed; what sort of persons they are that get our riches, and to whom those cities belong upon whom he bestows his favours: that he would have inquiry made what became of his grandfather [Hyrcanus,] and his mother [Mariamne;] and would openly proclaim the gross wickedness that was in the kingdom; on which accounts he should not be deemed a parricide."

3. When Eurycles had made this portentous speech, he greatly commended Antipater, as the only child that had an affection for his father, and on that account was an impediment to the other's plot against him. Hereupon the king, who had hardly repressed his anger upon the former accusations, was exasperated to an incurable degree. At which time Antipater took another occasion to send in other persons to his father to accuse his brethren, and to tell him, that they had privately discoursed with Jucundus and Tyrannus, who had once been masters of the horse to the king, but for some offences had been put out of that honourable employment. Herod was in a very great rage at these informations, and presently ordered those men to be tortured: yet did not they confess any thing of what the king had been informed; but a certain letter was produced, as written by Alexander to the governor of a castle, to desire him to receive him and Aristobulus into the castle when he had killed his father, and to give them weapons and what other assistance he could upon that occasion. Alexander said, that this letter was a forgery of Diophantus's. This Diophantus was the king's secretary, a bold man, and cunning in counterfeiting any one's hand; and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it. Herod did also order the governor of the castle to be tortured, but got nothing out of him of what the accusation suggested.

4. However, although Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody: for till now they had been at liberty. He also called

that pest of his family, and forger of all this vile accusation, Eurycles, his saviour and his benefactor, and gave him a reward of fifty talents. Upon which he prevented any accurate accounts that could come of what he had done, by going immediately into Cappadocia, and there he got money of Archelaus, having the impudence to pretend that he had reconciled Herod to Alexander. He thence passed over into Greece, and used what he had thus wickedly gotten to the like wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was twice accused before Cæsar, that he had filled Achaia with sedition, and had plundered its cities; and so he was sent into banishment. And thus was he punished for what wicked actions he had been guilty of about Aristobulus and Alexander.

5. But it will be now worth while to put Euaratus of Cos in opposition to this Spartan; for as he was one of Alexander's most intimate friends, and came to him in his travels at the same time that Eurycles came, so the king put the question to him, whether those things of which Alexander was accused were true? He assured him upon oath, that he had never heard any such things from the young men: yet did this testimony avail nothing for the clearing those miserable creatures; for Herod was only disposed and most ready to hearken to what made against them; and every one was most agreeable to him that would believe they were guilty, and showed their indignation at them.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Herod, by Cæsar's Direction, accuses his Sons at Berytus. They are not produced before the Court, but yet are condemned: and in a little Time they are sent to Sebaste, and strangled there.*

1. Moreover, Salome exasperated Herod's cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law, and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves; so he sent to her, to take care of her own safety, and told her, that the king was preparing to put her to death, on account of the accusation that was laid against her, as if when she formerly endeavoured to marry herself to Sylleus the Arabian, she had discovered the king's grand secrets to him, who was the king's enemy: and this it was that came as the last storm, and entirely sunk the young men, when they were in great danger before. For Salome came running to the king, and informed him of what admonition had been given her; whereupon he could bear no longer, but commanded both the young men to be bound, and kept the one asunder from the other. He also sent Volumnius, the general of his army, to Cæsar immediately, as also his friend Olympus with him, who carried the information in writing along with them. Now as soon as these had sailed to Rome, and delivered the king's letters to Cæsar, Cæsar was mightily troubled at the case of the young men: yet did not he think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons; so he wrote back to him, and appointed him to have the power over his sons; but said withal, that "he would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot laid against him in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kindred and the governors of the province: and if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away from him, that he should moderate their punishment."

2. With these directions Herod complied, and came to Berytus, where Cæsar had ordered the court to be assembled, and got the judicature together. The presidents sat first, as Cæsar's letter had appointed, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, and their lieutenants that were with them, with whom was the procurator Volumnius also; next to them sat the king's kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras; after whom sat the principal men of all Syria, except-

ng Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him, because he was Alexander father-in-law. Yet did not he produce his sons in open court; and this was do very cunningly, for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, th would certainly have been pitied; and if withal they had been suffered to spea Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of; but they we in custody at Platane, a village of the Sidonians.

3. So the king got up, and inveighed against his sons as if they were presen and as for that part of the accusation that they had plotted against him, he urg it but faintly, because he was destitute of proofs; but he insisted before the a sessors on the reproaches, and jests, and injurious carriage, and ten thousand t like offences against him, which were heavier than death itself; and when nobo contradicted him, he moved them to pity his case, as though he had been co demned himself, now he had gained a bitter victory against his sons. So he ask every one's sentence, which sentence was first of all given by Saturninus, a was this, that he condemned the young men, but not to death; for that it was n fit for him, who had three sons of his own now present, to give his vote for t destruction of the sons of another. The two lieutenants also gave the like vot some others there were also who followed their example; but Volumnius beg to vote on the more melancholy side, and all those that came after him condemn the young men to die, some out of flattery and some out of hatred to Herod, b none out of indignation at their crimes. And now all Syria and Judea was great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobo suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children: howeve he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Cæsarea, and deliberat with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer.

4. Now there was a certain old soldier of the king's whose name was *Ter* who had a son that was very familiar with, and a friend to Alexander, and wh himself particularly loved the young men. This soldier was in a manner di tracted out of the excess of the indignation he had at what was doing; and at fir he cried out aloud as he went about,—"That justice was trampled under foo that truth was perished, and nature confounded; and that the life of man was f of iniquity," and every thing else that passion could suggest to a man who spar not his own life; and at last he ventured to go to the king, and said,—"Truly, think thou art a most miserable man, when thou hearkenest to most wick wretches, against those that ought to be dearest to thee; since thou hast fr quently resolved that Pheroras and Salome should be put to death, and yet b lievest them against thy sons; while these, by cutting off the succession of thi own sons, leave all wholly to Antipater, and thereby choose to have thee such king as may be thoroughly in their own power. However, consider whether th death of Antipater's brethren will not make him hated by the soldiers; for the is nobody but commiserates the young men, and of the captains a great ma show their indignation at it openly." Upon his saying this, he named those th had such indignation: but the king ordered those men, with Tero himself and h son, to be seized upon immediately.

5. At which time there was a certain barber, whose name was *Trypho*. Th man leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness, and accus himself, and said,—"This Tero endeavoured to persuade me also to cut t throat with my razor, when I trimmed thee, and promised that Alexander shou give me large presents for so doing." When Herod heard this, he examined Ter with his son and the barber, by the torture; but as the others denied the accus tions, and he said nothing farther, Herod gave order that Tero should be rack more severely; but his son, out of pity to his father, promised to discover t whole to the king, if he would grant [that his father should be no longer tortured when he had agreed to this, he said, that "his father, at the persuasion of Ale ander, had an intention to kill him." Now some said this was forged, in ord to free his father from his torments, and some said it was true

6. And now Herod accused the captains and Tero in an assembly of the people and brought the people together in a body against them; and, accordingly, there were they put to death, together with [Trypho] the barber: they were killed by the pieces of wood and the stones that were thrown at them. He also sent his sons to Sebaste, a city not far from Cæsarea, and ordered them to be there strangled; and as what he had ordered was executed immediately, so he commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander, their grandfather by the mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*How Antipater is hated of all Men; and how the King espouses the Sons of those that had been slain to his Kindred; but that Antipater made him change them for other Women. Of Herod's Marriages and Children.*

§ 1. But an intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation, though he had now an indisputable title to the succession; because they all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies against his brethren. However, he began to be in a terrible fear, as he saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up; for Alexander had two sons by Glaphyra, Tigranes and Alexander; and Aristobulus had Herod, and Agrippa, and Aristobulus his sons, with Herodias and Mariamne his daughters, and all by Bernice, Salome's daughter; as for Glaphyra, Herod, as soon as he had killed Alexander, sent her back, together with her portion, to Cappadocia. He married Bernice, Aristobulus's daughter, to Antipater's uncle by his mother; and it was Antipater, who in order to reconcile her to him, when she had been at variance with him, contrived this match: he also got into Pheroras's favour, and into the favour of Cæsar's friends, by presents, and other ways of obsequiousness, and sent no small sums of money to Rome: Saturninus also, and his friends in Syria, were all well replenished with the presents he made them; yet the more he gave the more he was hated, as not making these presents out of generosity, but spending his money out of fear. Accordingly, it so fell out, that the receivers bore him no more good will than before, but that those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies. However, he bestowed his money every day more and more profusely, on observing that, contrary to his expectations, the king was taking care about the orphans, and discovering at the same time his repentance for killing their fathers, by his commiseration of those that sprang from them.

2. Accordingly, Herod got together his kindred and friends, and set before them the children, and with his eyes full of tears, said thus to them.—"It was an unlucky fate that took away from me these children's fathers, which children are recommended to me by that natural commiseration which their orphan condition requires: however, I will endeavour, though I have been a most unfortunate father, to appear a better grandfather, and to leave these children such curators after myself as are dearest to me. I, therefore, betroth thy daughter, Pheroras, to the elder of these brethren, the children of Alexander, that thou mayest be obliged to take care of them. I also betroth to thy son, Antipater, the daughter of Aristobulus: be thou, therefore, a father to that orphan, and my son Herod [Philip] shall have her sister, whose grandfather, by the mother's side, was high priest. And let every one that loves me be of my sentiments in these dispositions, which none that hath an affection for me will abrogate. And I pray God that he will join these children together in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom and of my posterity, and may he look down with eyes more serene upon them, than he looked upon their fathers."

3. While he spake these words, he wept, and joined the children's right hands

together, after which he embraced them every one after an affectionate manner, and dismissed the assembly. Upon this, Antipater was in great disorder immediately, and lamented publicly at what was done; for he supposed that this dignity which was conferred on these orphans was for his own destruction, even in his father's lifetime; and that he should run another risk of losing the government, if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus [a king] and Pheroras a tetrarch, to support them. He also considered how he was himself hated by the nation, and how they pitied these orphans; how great affection the Jews bare to those brethren of his when they were alive, and how gladly they remembered them now they had perished by his means. So he resolved by all the ways possible to get these espousals dissolved.

4. Now he was afraid of going subtilely about this matter with his father, who was hard to be pleased, and was presently moved upon the least suspicion: so he ventured to go to him directly, and to beg of him before his face, not to deprive him of that dignity which he had been pleased to bestow upon him, and that he might not have the bare name of a king, while the power was in other persons; for that he should never be able to keep the government, if Alexander's son was to have both his grandfather Archelaus and Pheroras for his curators; and he besought him earnestly, since there were so many of the royal family alive, that he would change those [intended] marriages. Now the king had nine* wives, and children by seven of them; Antipater was himself born of Doris, and Herod [Philip] of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter; Antipas also, and Archelaus, were by Malthace, the Samaritan, as was his daughter Olympias, which his brother Joseph's† son had married; by Cleopatra of Jerusalem he had Herod and Philip, and by Pallas Phasaelus; he had also two daughters, Roxana and Salome, the one by Phedra, and the other by Elpis; he had also two wives that had no children, the one his first cousin, and the other his niece; and besides these he had two daughters, the sisters of Alexander and Aristobulus, by Mariamne. Since, therefore, the royal family was so numerous, Antipater prayed him to change these [intended] marriages.

5. When the king perceived what disposition he was in towards these orphans, he was angry at it, and a suspicion came into his mind, as to those sons whom he had put to death, whether that had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater; so at that time he made Antipater a long and a peevish answer, and bid him be gone. Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his flatteries, and changed the marriages: he married Aristobulus's daughter to him, and his son to Pheroras's daughter.

6. Now one may learn in this instance how very much this flattering Antipater could do, even what Salome in the like circumstances could not do: for when she who was his sister, and who by the means of Julia, Cæsar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Sylleus the Arabian, Herod swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy, unless she would leave off that project: he also caused her, against her own consent, to be married to Alexas, a friend of his; and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexas's son, and the other to Antipater's uncle by the mother's side. And for the daughters the king had by Mariamne, the one was married to Antipater, his sister's son, and the other to his brother's son Phasaelus.

* Dean Aldrich takes notice here, that those nine wives of Herod were alive at the same time; and that if the celebrated Mariamne, who was now dead, be reckoned, those wives were in all ten. [Yet it is remarkable that he had no more than fifteen children by them all.]

† To prevent confusion, it may not be amiss, with Dean Aldrich, to distinguish between four Josephs in the history of Herod. 1. Joseph, Herod's uncle, and the [second] husband of his sister Salome, slain by Herod, on account of Mariamne. 2. Joseph, Herod's questor, or treasurer, slain on the same account. 3. Joseph, Herod's brother, slain in battle against Antigonus. 4. Joseph, Herod's nephew, the husband of Olympias, mentioned in this place.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Antipater becomes intolerable. He is sent to Rome, and carries Herod's Testament with him. Pheroras leaves his brother, that he may keep his Wife. He dies at Home.*

1. Now when Antipater had cut off the hopes of the orphans, and had contracted such affinities as would be most for his own advantange, he proceeded riskly, as having a certain expectation of the kingdom; and as he had now assurance added to his wickedness he became intolerable; for not being able to void the hatred of all people, he built his security upon the terror he struck into hem. Pheroras also assisted him in his designs, looking upon him as already xed in the kingdom. There was also a company of women in the court, which xcited new disturbances; for Pheroras's wife, together with her mother and ster, as also Antipater's mother, grew very impudent in the palace. She also as so insolent as to affront the king's two daughters,* on which account the king ated her to a great degree; yet although these women were hated by him, they omineered over others: there was only Salome who opposed their good agreeent, and informed the king of their meetings, as not being for the advantage of s affairs. And when those women knew what calumnies she had raised against em, and how much Herod was displeased, they left off their public meetings nd friendly entertainments of one another: nay, on the contrary, they pretendd to quarrel one with another when the king was within hearing. The like ssimulation did Antipater make use of, and when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras; but still they had private cabals and merry meetings in the ght-time; nor did the observation of others do any more than confirm their mutual greement. However, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing Herod.

2. But he was inflamed with anger at them, and chiefly at Pheroras's wife; r Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends nd kindred together, and there accused this woman of many things, and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughters; and that she had supplied e Pharisees with money, by way of rewards for what they had done against him, nd had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions. t length he turned his speech to Pheroras, and told him, that "he would give m his choice of these two things, whether he would keep in with him his broer, or with his wife?" And when Pheroras said that he would die† rather than rsake his wife, Herod not knowing what to do farther in that matter, turned his eech to Antipater, and charged him to have no intercourse either with Pheros's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her. Now ough Antipater did not transgress that his injunction publicly, yet did he in seet come to their night meeting; and because he was afraid that Salome obrved what he did, he procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he ight go and live at Rome: for when they wrote that it was proper for Antipar to be sent to Cæsar for some time, Herod made no delay, but sent him, and at with a splendid attendance and a great deal of money, and gave him his tes-

* These daughters of Herod, whom Pheroras's wife affronted, were Salome and Roxane, two virgins, o were born to him of his two wives, Elpis and Phedra. See Herod's genealogy, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. 1 ct. 3.

† This strange obstinacy of Pheroras in retaining his wife, who was one of a low family, and reing to marry one nearly related to Herod, though he so earnestly desired it, as also that wife's admisn to the counsels of the other great court ladies, together with Herod's own importunity as to Pheroras's vorce and other marriage, all so remarkable here or in the Antiquities, B. xvii. ch. ii. sect. 4, and ch. sect. 3, cannot be well accounted for, but on the supposal that Pheroras believed, and Herod suspect, that the Pharisees' prediction, as if the crown of Judea should be translated from Herod to Phero's posterity, and that most probably to Pheroras's posterity by this his wife, also would prove true. e Antiq. B. xvii. ch. ii. sect. 4. and ch. iii. sect. 1.

tament to carry with him, wherein Antipater had the kingdom bequeathed to hin and wherein Herod was named for Antipater's successor, that Herod, I mea who was the son of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter.

3. Sylleus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Cæsar's i junctions, and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law suit which Nicolaus had with him before. This Sylleus had also a great conte with Aretas his own king; for he had slain many others of Aretas's friends, ar particularly Sohemus, the most potent man in the city Petra. Moreover, he ha prevailed with Phabatus, who was Herod's steward, by giving him a great sum o money, to assist him against Herod; but when Herod gave him more, he induce him to leave Sylleus, and by his means he demanded of him all that Cæsar had r quired of him to pay. But when Sylleus paid nothing of what he was to pay, an did also accuse Phabatus to Cæsar, and said that he was not a steward for Cæsar advantage, but for Herod's, Phabatus was angry at him on that account, but wa still in very great esteem with Herod, and discovered Sylleus's grand secrets and told the king that Sylleus had corrupted Corinthus, one of the guards of h body, by bribing him, and of whom he must therefore have a care. Accordingly the king complied; for this Corinthus, though he were brought up in Herod kingdom, yet was he by birth an Arabian; so the king ordered him to be take up immediately, and not only him, but two other Arabians who were caught wi him; the one of them was Sylleus's friend, the other the head of a tribe. Thes last being put to the torture, confessed that they had prevailed with Corinthu for a large sum of money, to kill Herod; and when they had been farther ex mined before Saturninus the president of Syria, they were sent to Rome.

4. However, Herod did not leave off importuning Pheroras, but proceeded t force him to put away his wife: yet could he not devise any way by which h could bring the woman herself to punishment, although he had many causes o hatred to her, till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he ca both her and his brother out of his kingdom. Pheroras took this injury very p tiently, and went away into his own tetrarchy [Perea beyond Jordan,] and swa that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod's death and that he would never return while he was alive. Nor, indeed, would he retu when his brother was sick, although he earnestly sent for him to come to hi because he had a mind to leave some injunctions with him before he died; b Herod unexpectedly recovered. A little afterward Pheroras himself fell sick, whe Herod showed great moderation; for he came to him, and pitied his case, a took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good, for Pheroras died little afterward. Now though Herod had so great an affection for him to the la day of his life, yet was a report spread abroad that he had killed him by poiso However, he took care to have his dead body carried to Jerusalem, and appoint a very great mourning to the whole nation for him, and bestowed a most pompo funeral upon him. And this was the end that one of Alexander's and Aristob lus's murderers came to.

## CHAP. XXX.

*When Herod made Inquiry about Pheroras's Death, a Discovery was made that A tipater had prepared a poisonous Draught for him. Herod casts Doris and her Accomplices, as also Mariamne, out of the Palace, and blots her Son Herod out of his Testament.*

§ 1. But now the punishment was transferred unto the original author Antip ter, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras: for certain of his freedm came with a sad countenance to the king, and told him, that "his brother h been destroyed by poison, and that his wife had brought him somewhat that w

prepared after an unusual manner; and that, upon his eating it, he presently fell into his distemper: that Antipater's mother and sister two days before brought a woman out of Arabia that was skilful in mixing such drugs, that she might prepare a love potion for Pheroras; and that instead of a love potion, she had given him deadly poison; and that this was done by the management of Sylleus, who was acquainted with that woman."

2. The king was deeply affected with so many suspicions, and had the maid-servants, and some of the free women also, tortured; one of which cried out in her agonies,—"May that God that governs the earth and the heaven punish this author of all these our miseries, Antipater's mother!" The king took a handle from this confession, and proceeded to inquire farther into the truth of the matter. So this woman discovered the friendship of Antipater's mother to Pheroras and Antipater's women, as also their secret meetings, and that Pheroras and Antipater had drunk with them for a whole night together as they returned from the king, and would not suffer any body, either man-servant or maid-servant, to be there; while one of the freewomen discovered the matter.

3. Upon this Herod tortured the maid-servants every one by themselves separately, who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries; and that, accordingly by agreement they went away, Antipater to Rome, and Pheroras to Perea; for that they oftentimes talked to one another thus:—"That after Herod had slain Alexander and Aristobulus, he would fall upon them and upon their wives, because after he had not spared Mariamne and her children, he would spare nobody; and that for this reason it was best to get as far off the wild beast as they were able." And that Antipater oftentimes lamented his own case before his mother, and said to her, that "he had already gray hairs upon his head, and that his father grew younger again every day; and that, perhaps, death would overtake him before he should begin to be a king in earnest; and that in case Herod should die, which yet nobody knew when it would be, the enjoyment of the succession could certainly be but for a little time; for that these heads of Hydra, the sons of Alexander and Aristobulus, were growing up: that he was deprived by his father of the hopes of being succeeded by his children; for that his successor after his death was not to be any one of his own sons, but Herod the son of Mariamne: that in this point Herod was plainly distracted, to think that his testament should therein take place; for he would take care that not one of his posterity should remain, because he was of all fathers the greatest hater of his children. Yet does he hate his brother still worse, whence it was that he a while ago gave himself a hundred talents, that he should not have any intercourse with Pheroras. And when Pheroras said, wherein have we done him any harm? Antipater replied, I wish he would but deprive us of all we have, and leave us naked and alive only; but it is, indeed, impossible to escape this wild beast, who is thus given to murder; who will not permit us to love any person openly, although we be together privately; yet may we be so openly too, if we have but the courage and the hands of men."

4. These things were said by the women upon the torture; as also that Pheroras resolved to fly with them to Perea. Now Herod gave credit to all they said, on account of the affair of the hundred talents; for he had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater. So he vented his anger first of all against Antipater's mother, and took away from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which cost a great many talents, and cast her out of the palace a second time. He also took care of Pheroras's women after their tortures, as being now reconciled to them; but he was in great consternation himself, and inflamed upon every suspicion, and had many innocent persons led to the torture out of his fear lest he should leave any guilty persons untortured.

5. And now it was that he betook himself to examine Antipater of Samaria, who was the steward of [his son] Antipater; and upon torturing him he learned that Antipater had sent for a potion of deadly poison for him out of Egypt, by

Antiphilus a companion of his: that Theudio, the uncle of Antipater, had it from him, and delivered it to Pheroras; for that Antipater had charged him to take his father off while he was at Rome, and so free him from the suspicion of doing it himself: that Pheroras also committed this potion to his wife. Then did the king send for her, and bid her bring to him what she had received immediately. So she came out of her house as if she would bring it with her, but threw herself down from the top of her house, in order to prevent any examination and torture from the king. However, it came to pass, as it seems by the providence of God, when he intended to bring Antipater to punishment, that she fell not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body, and escaped. The king, when she was brought to him, took care of her (for she was at first quite senseless upon her fall,) and asked her why she had thrown herself down? and gave her his oath, that if she would speak the real truth, he would excuse her from punishment; but that if she concealed any thing, he would have her body torn to pieces by tor ments, and leave no part of it to be buried.

6. Upon this the woman paused a little, and then said,—"Why do I spare to speak of these grand secrets, now Pheroras is dead, that would only tend to save Antipater, who is all our destruction? Hear then, O king, and be thou and God himself, who cannot be deceived, witnesses to the truth of what I am going to say. When thou didst sit weeping by Pheroras as he was dying, then it was that he called me to him, and said, "My dear wife, I have been greatly mistaken as to the disposition of my brother towards me, and have hated him that is so affection ate to me, and have contrived to kill him who is in such disorder for me before I am dead. As for myself, I receive the recompense of my impiety; but do thou bring what poison was left with us by Antipater, and which thou keepest in order to destroy him, and consume it immediately in the fire in my sight, that I may no be liable to the avenger in the invisible world. This I brought as he bid me and emptied the greatest part of it into the fire, but reserved a little of it for my own use against uncertain futurity, and out of my fear for thee."

7. When she had said this, she brought the box, which had a small quantity of this potion in it: but the king let her alone, and transferred the tortures to An tiphilus's mother and brother, who both confessed that Antiphilus brough that box out of Egypt, and that they had received the potion from a brother of his, who was a physician at Alexandria. Then did the ghosts of Alexander an Aristobulus go round all the palace, and became the inquisitors and discoverer of what could not otherwise have been found out, and brought such as were th freest from suspicion to be examined; whereby it was discovered, that Mariamn the high priest's daughter was conscious of this plot, and her very brothers, whe they were tortured, declared it so to be. Whereupon the king avenged this in solent attempt of the mother upon her son, and blotted Herod, whom he had b her, out of his testament, who had been before named therein as successor t Antipater.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*Antipater is convicted by Bathyllus; but he still returns from Rome without knowing it. Herod brings him to his Trial.*

§ 1. After these things were over, Bathyllus came under examination, in orde to convict Antipater, who proved the concluding attestation to Antipater's d signs; for, indeed, he was no other than his freedman. This man came an brought another deadly potion, the poison of asps, and the juices of other se pents, that if the first potion did not do the business, Pheroras and his wife mig be armed with this also to destroy the king. He brought also an addition Antipater's insolent attempts against his father which was the letters whi

he wrote against his brethren, Archelaus and Philip, which were the king's sons, and educated at Rome, being yet youths, but of generous dispositions. Antipater set himself to get rid of these as soon as he could, that they might not be prejudicial to his hopes, and to that end he forged letters against them in the name of his friends at Rome. Some of these he corrupted by bribes to write how they grossly reproached their father, and did openly bewail Alexander and Aristobulus, and were uneasy at their being recalled; for their father had already sent for them, which was the very thing that troubled Antipater.

2. Nay, indeed, while Antipater was in Judea, and before he was upon his journey to Rome, he gave money to have the like letters sent against them from Rome, and then came to his father, who as yet had no suspicion of him, and apologized for his brethren, and alleged on their behalf, that some of the things contained in those letters were false, and others of them were only youthful errors. Yet at the same time that he expended a great deal of his money by making presents to such as wrote against his brethren, did he aim to bring his accounts into confusion, by buying costly garments and carpets of various contextures, with silver and gold cups, and a great many more curious things, that so among the very great expenses laid out upon such furniture, he might conceal the money he had used in hiring men [to write the letters;] for he brought in an account of his expenses, amounting to two hundred talents, his main pretence for which was the lawsuit he had been in with Syleus. So while all his rogueries, even those of a lesser sort also, were covered by his greater villany, while all the examinations by torture proclaimed his attempt to murder his father, and the letters proclaimed his second attempt to murder his brethren; yet did no one of those that came to Rome inform him of his misfortunes in Judea, although seven months had intervened between his conviction and his return, so great was the hatred which they all bore to him. And, perhaps, they were the ghosts of those brethren of his that had been murdered, that stopped the mouths of those that intended to have told him. He then wrote from Rome, and informed [his friends] that he would soon come to them, and how he was dismissed with honour by Cæsar.

3. Now the king being desirous to get this plotter against him into his hands, and being also afraid lest he should some way come to the knowledge how his affairs stood, and be upon his guard, he dissembled his anger in his epistle to him, as in other points he wrote kindly to him, and desired him to make haste, because, if he came quickly, he would then lay aside the complaints he had against his mother; for Antipater was not ignorant that his mother had been expelled out of the palace. However, he had before received a letter, which contained an account of the death of Pheroras at Tarentum,* and made great lamentations at it, for which some commended him, as being for his own uncle: though probably this confusion arose on account of his having thereby failed in his plot [on his father's life,] and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than for [an uncle] Pheroras: moreover a sort of fear came upon him as to his designs, lest the poison should have been discovered. However, when he was in Cilicia, he received the forementioned epistle from his father, and made great haste accordingly. But when he had sailed to Celendris, a suspicion came into his mind relating to his mother's misfortunes, as if his soul foreboded some mischief to itself. Those, therefore, of his friends which were the most considerate, advised him not rashly to go to his father, till he had learned what were the occasions why his mother had been ejected, because they were afraid that he might be involved in the calumnies that had been cast upon his mother: but those that were less considerate, and had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make haste home, and not, by delaying his journey, afford his father ground for an ill suspicion, and give a handle to those

* This Tarentum has coins still extant, as Reland informs us here in his note.

that raised stories against him; for that in case any thing had been moved to his disadvantage, it was owing to his absence, which durst not have been done had he been present. And they said it was absurd to deprive himself of certain happiness for the sake of an uncertain suspicion, and not rather to return to his father, and take the royal authority upon him, which was in a state of fluctuation on his account only. Antipater complied with this last advice, for Providence hurried him on [to his destruction.] So he passed over the sea, and landed at Sebastus, the haven of Cæsarea.

4. And here he found a perfect and unexpected solitude, while every body avoided him, and nobody durst come at him; for he was equally hated by all men; and now that hatred had liberty to show itself, and the dread men were in of the king's anger made men keep from him; for the whole city [of Jerusalem] was filled with the rumours about Antipater, and Antipater himself was the only person who was ignorant of them; for as no man was dismissed more magnificently when he began his voyage to Rome, so was no man now received back with greater ignominy. And, indeed, he began already to suspect what misfortunes there were in Herod's family; yet did he cunningly conceal his suspicion and while he was inwardly ready to die for fear, he put on a forced boldness of countenance. Nor could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way of emerging out of the difficulties which encompassed him; nor, indeed, had he ever there any certain intelligence of the affairs of the royal family, by reason of the threats the king had given out: yet had he some small hopes of better tidings; for, perhaps, nothing had been discovered; or, if any discovery had been made, perhaps he should be able to clear himself by impudence and artful tricks, which were the only things he relied upon for his deliverance.

5. And with these hopes did he screen himself, till he came to the palace without any friends with him; for these were affronted, and shut out at the first gate. Now Varus, the president of Syria, happened to be in the palace [at this juncture] so Antipater went in to his father, and, putting on a bold face, he came near to salute him; but Herod stretched out his hands, and turned his head away from him, and cried out,—"Even this is an indication of a parricide, to be desirous to get me into his arms, when he is under such heinous accusations. Go, confound thee, thou vile wretch, do not thou touch me, till thou hast cleared thyself of these crimes that are charged upon thee. I appoint thee a court where thou art to be judged, and this Varus, who is very seasonably here, to be the judge; and get thou thy defence ready against to-morrow; for I give thee so much time to prepare subtile excuses for thyself." And as Antipater was so confounded that he was able to make no answer to this charge, he went away; but his mother and wife came to him, and told him of all the evidence he had gotten against him. Hereupon he recollected himself and considered what defence he should make against the accusations.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*Antipater is accused before Varus, and is convicted of laying a Plot [against his Father] by the strongest Evidence. Herod puts off his Punishment till he should be recovered, and in the mean time alters his Testament*

§ 1. Now the day following the king assembled a court of his kinsmen and friends, and called in Antipater's friends also: Herod himself with Varus were the presidents; and Herod called for all the witnesses, and ordered them to be brought in; among whom some of the domestic servants of Antipater's mother were brought in also, who had but a little while before been caught, as they were carrying the following letter from her to her son.—"Since all those things have

been already discovered by thy father, do not thou come to him unless thou canst procure some assistance from Cæsar." When this and the other witnesses were introduced, Antipater came in, and falling on his face before his father's feet, he said,—"Father, I beseech thee do not condemn me beforehand, but let thy ears be unbiased, and attend to my defence; for if thou wilt give me leave, I will demonstrate that I am innocent."

2. Hereupon Herod cried out to him to hold his peace, and spake thus to Varus:—"I cannot but think that thou, Varus, and every other upright judge, will determine that Antipater is a vile wretch. I am also afraid that thou wilt abhor my ill fortune, and judge me also myself worthy of all sorts of calamity, for begetting such children; while yet I ought rather to be pitied, who have been so affectionate a father to such wretched sons; for when I had settled the kingdom on my former sons, even when they were young, and when, besides the charges of their education at Rome, I had made them the friends of Cæsar, and made them envied by other kings, I found them plotting against me; these have been put to death, and that, in great measure, for the sake of Antipater; for as he was then young, and appointed to be my successor, I took care chiefly to secure him from danger: but this profligate wild beast, when he had been over and above satiated with that patience which I showed him, he made use of that abundance I had given him against myself; for I seemed to him to live too long, and he was very uneasy at the old age I was arrived at; nor could he stay any longer, but would be a king by parricide. And justly am I served by him for bringing him back out of the country to court, when he was of no esteem before, and for thrusting out those sons of mine that were born of the queen, and for making him a successor to my dominions. I confess to thee, O Varus, the great folly I was guilty of; for I provoked those sons of mine to act against me, and cut off their just expectations for the sake of Antipater; and, indeed, what kindness did I do to them that could equal what I have done to Antipater; to whom I have, in a manner, yielded up my royal authority while I am alive, and whom I have openly named for the successor to my dominions in my testament, and given him a yearly revenue of his own of fifty talents, and supplied him with money to an extravagant degree out of my own revenue; and when he was lately about to sail to Rome, I gave him three hundred talents, and recommended him, and him alone of all my children, to Cæsar, as his father's deliverer. Now what crimes were those other sons of mine guilty of like these of Antipater? and what evidence was there brought against them so strong as there is to demonstrate this son to have plotted against me? Yet does this parricide presume to speak for himself, and hopes to obscure the truth by his cunning tricks. Thou, O Varus, must guard thyself against him; for I know the wild beast, and I foresee how plausibly he will talk, and his counterfeit lamentation. This was he who exhorted me to have a care of Alexander, when he was alive, and not intrust my body with all men! This was he who came to my very bed, and looked about lest any one should lay snares for me! This was he who took care of my sleep, and secured me from any fear of danger, who comforted me under the trouble I was in upon the slaughter of my sons, and looked to see what affection my surviving brethren bore me! This was my protector, and the guardian of my body! And when I call to mind, O Varus, his craftiness upon every occasion, and his art of dissembling, I can hardly believe that I am still alive, and I wonder how I have escaped such a deep plotter of mischief. However, since some fate or other makes my house desolate, and perpetually raises up those that are dearest to me against me, I will, with tears, lament my hard fortune, and privately groan under my lonesome condition; yet am I resolved that no one who thirsts after my blood shall escape punishment, although the evidence should extend itself to all my sons."

3. Upon Herod's saying this, he was interrupted by the confusion he was in; but ordered Nicolaus, one of his friends, to produce the evidence against

Antipater. But in the mean time Antipater lifted up his head (for he lay on the ground before his father's feet,) and cried out aloud,—"Thou, O father, hast made my apology for me; for how can I be a parricide, whom thou thyself confessest to have always had for thy guardian? Thou callest my filial affection prodigious lies and hypocrisy; how, then, could it be that I, who was so subtile in other matters, should here be so mad as not to understand that it was not easy that he who committed so horrid a crime could be concealed from men, but impossible that he should be concealed from the Judge of heaven, who sees all things, and is present everywhere? or did not I know what end my brethren came to, on whom God inflicted so great a punishment for their evil designs against thee? And, indeed, what was there that could possibly provoke me against thee? Could the hope of being a king do it? I was a king already. Could I suspect hatred from thee? No. Was not I beloved by thee? And what other fear could I have? Nay, by preserving thee safe, I was a terror to others. Did I want money? No; for who was able to expend so much as myself? Indeed, father, had I been the most execrable of all mankind, and had I had the soul of the most cruel wild beast, must I not have been overcome with the benefits thou hadst bestowed upon me? whom, as thou thyself sayest, thou broughtest [into the palace;] whom thou didst prefer before so many of thy sons; whom thou madest a king in thine own lifetime; and by the vast magnitude of the other advantages thou bestowedst on me, thou madest me an object of envy. O miserable man! that thou shouldst undergo this bitter absence, and thereby afford a great opportunity for envy to arise against thee, and a long space for such as were laying designs against thee! Yet was I absent, father, on thy affairs, that Sylleus might not treat thee with contempt in thine old age. Rome is a witness to my filial affection, and so is Cæsar, the ruler of the habitable earth, who oftentimes called me *Philopater*.* Take here the letters he hath sent thee; they are more to be believed than the calumnies raised here: these letters are my only apology; these I use as the demonstration of that natural affection I have to thee. Remember that it was against my own choice that I sailed [to Rome,] as knowing the latent hatred that was in the kingdom against me. It was thou, O father, however unwillingly, who hast been my ruin, by forcing me to allow time for calumnies against me, and envy at me. However, I am come hither, and am ready to hear the evidence there is against me. If I be a parricide, I have passed by land and by sea without suffering any misfortune on either of them: but this method of trial is no advantage to me; for it seems, O father, that I am already condemned both before God and before thee; and as I am already condemned, I beg that thou wilt not believe the others that have been tortured, but let the fire be brought to torment me; let the racks march through my bowels; have no regard to any lamentations that this polluted body can make; for if I be a parricide, I ought not to die without torture." Thus did Antipater cry out with lamentation and weeping, and moved all the rest, and Varus in particular, to commiserate his case. Herod was the only person whose passion was too strong to permit him to weep, as knowing that the testimonies against him were true.

4. And now it was that, at the king's command, Nicolaus, when he had premised a great deal about the craftiness of Antipater, and had prevented the effect of their commiseration to him, afterwards brought in a bitter and large accusation against him, ascribing all the wickedness that had been in the kingdom to him, and especially the murder of his brethren, and demonstrated that they had perished by the calumnies he had raised against them. He also said, that he had laid designs against them that were still alive, as if they were laying plots for the succession; and [said he] how can it be supposed that he who prepared poison for his father should abstain from mischief as to his brethren? He then proceeded to convict him of the attempt to poison Herod, and gave an account in order of

* A lover of his father.

the several discoveries that had been made, and had great indignation as to the affair of Pheroras, because Antipater had been for making him murder his brother, and had corrupted those that were dearest to the king, and filled the whole palace with wickedness; and when he had insisted on many other accusations, and the proofs for them, he left off.

5. Then Varus bid Antipater make his defence; but he lay long in silence, and said no more but this,—"God is my witness that I am entirely innocent." So Varus asked for the potion, and give it to be drunk by a condemned malefactor who was then in prison, who died upon the spot. So Varus, when he had had a very private discourse with Herod, and had written an account of this assembly to Cæsar, went away, after a day's stay. The king also bound Antipater, and sent away to inform Cæsar of his misfortunes.

6. Now after this it was discovered that Antipater had laid a plot against Salome also; for one of Antiphilus's domestic servants came and brought letters from Rome, from a maid servant of Julia [Cæsar's wife,] whose name was *Acme*. By her a message was sent to the king, that she had found a letter written by Salome among Julia's papers, and had sent it to him privately, out of her good will to him. This letter of Salome contained the most bitter reproaches of the king, and the highest accusations against him. Antipater had forged this letter, and had corrupted Acme, and persuaded her to send it to Herod. This was proved by her letter to Antipater, for thus did this woman write to him.—"As thou desirest, I have written a letter to thy father, and have sent that letter, and am persuaded that the king will not spare his sister when he reads it. Thou wilt do well to remember what thou hast promised when all is accomplished."

7. When this epistle was discovered, and what the epistle forged against Salome contained, a suspicion came into the king's mind, that, perhaps, the letters against Alexander were also forged: he was, moreover, greatly disturbed, and in a passion, because he had almost slain his sister on Antipater's account. He did no longer delay, therefore, to bring him to punishment for all his crimes: yet when he was eagerly pursuing Antipater, he was restrained by a severe distemper he fell into. However, he sent an account to Cæsar about Acme, and the contrivances against Salome: he sent also for his testament and altered it, and therein made Antipas king, as taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater had blasted their reputations with him; but he bequeathed to Cæsar, besides other presents that he gave him, a thousand talents; as also to his wife and children, and friends, and freedmen, about five hundred: he also bequeathed to all others a great quantity of land and of money, and showed his respects to Salome, his sister, by giving her most splendid gifts. And this was what was contained in his testament, as it was now altered.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*The golden Eagle is cut to Pieces. Herod's Barbarity when he was ready to die. He attempts to kill himself. He commands Antipater to be slain. He survives him five Days, and then dies.*

§ 1. Now Herod's distemper became more and more severe to him, and this because these his disorders fell upon him in his old age, and when he was in a melancholy condition; for he was already almost seventy years of age, and had been brought low by the calamities that happened to him about his children, whereby he had no pleasure in life, even when he was in health; the grief also that Antipater was still alive aggravated his disease, whom he resolved to put to death now, not at random, but as soon as he should be well again, and resolved to have him slain [in a public manner.]

2. There also now happened to him, among his other calamities, a certain

popular sedition. There were two men of learning in the city [Jerusalem,] who were thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and were, on that account, had in very great esteem all over the nation; they were, the one Judas, the son of Sepphoris, and the other Matthias, the son of Margalus. There was a great concourse of the young men to these men, when they expounded the laws, and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men. Now when these men were informed that the king was wearing away with melancholy, and with a distemper, they dropped words to their acquaintance how it was now a very proper time to defend the cause of God, and to pull down what had been erected contrary to the laws of their country; for it was unlawful there should be any such thing in the temple as images, or faces, or the like representation of any animal whatsoever. Now the king had put up a golden eagle over the great gate of the temple, which these learned men exhorted them to cut down, and told them, that if there should any danger arise, it was a glorious thing to die for the laws of their country: because that the soul* was immortal, and that an eternal enjoyment of happiness did await such as died on that account; while the mean spirited, and those that were not wise enough to show a right love of their souls, preferred death by a disease before that which is the result of a virtuous behaviour.

3. At the same time that these men made this speech to their disciples, a rumour was spread abroad that the king was dying, which made the young men set about the work with greater boldness: they, therefore, let themselves down from the top of the temple with thick cords, and this at midday, and while a great number of people were in the temple, and cut down that golden eagle with axes. This was presently told to the king's captain of the temple, who came running with a great body of soldiers, and caught about forty of the young men, and brought them to the king. And when he asked them, first of all, whether they had been so hardy as to cut down the golden eagle? they confessed they had done so; and when he had asked them, by whose command they had done it? they replied, At the command of the law of their country; and when he farther asked them, how they could be so joyful when they were to be put to death? they replied, Because they should enjoy greater happiness after they were dead.*

4. At this the king was in such an extravagant passion, that he overcame his disease [for the time,] and went out, and spake to the people; wherein he made a terrible accusation against those men, as being guilty of sacrilege, and as making greater attempts under pretence of their law, and he thought they deserved to be punished as impious persons. Whereupon the people were afraid lest a great number should be found guilty; and desired that when he had first punished those that put them upon this work, and then those that were caught in it, he would leave off his anger as to the rest. With this the king complied, though not without difficulty, and ordered those that had let themselves down, together with their rabbins, to be burnt alive, but delivered the rest that were caught to the proper officers to be put to death by them.

* Since in these two sections we have an evident account of the Jewish opinions in the days of Josephus, about a future happy state, and the resurrection of the dead, as in the New Testament, John, x. 24, I shall here refer to the other places in Josephus, before he became a Catholic Christian, which concern the same matters; Of the War, B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 10, 11; B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 4; B. vii. ch. vi. sect. 7; Contr. Apion, B. ii. sect. 30: where we may observe, that none of these passages are in his books of Antiquities, written peculiarly for the use of the Gentiles, to whom he thought it not proper to insist on topics so much out of their way as these were. Nor is this observation to be omitted here, especially on account of the sensible difference we have now before us in Josephus's representation of the arguments used by the rabbins to persuade their scholars to hazard their lives for the vindication of God's law against images, by Moses, as well as of the answers those scholars made to Herod, when they were caught and ready to die for the same; I mean as compared with the parallel arguments and answers represented in the Antiquities, B. xvii. chap. vi. sect. 2, 3. A like difference between Jewish and Gentile notions the reader will find in my notes on Antiquities, B. iii. ch. vii. sect. 7; B. xv. ch. ix. sect. 1. See the like also in the case of the three Jewish sects in the Antiquities, B. xiii. ch. v. sect. 9, and ch. x. sect. 4, 5; B. xviii. ch. i. sect. 5, and compared with this in his Wars of the Jews, B. ii. ch. viii. sect. 2—14. Nor does St. Paul himself reason to Gentiles at Athens, Acts, xvii. 16, 34, as he does to Jews in his epistles.

5. After this the distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all his parts with various symptoms; for there was a gentle fever upon him, and an intolerable itching over all the surface of his body, and continued pains in his colon, and dropsical tumours about his feet, and an inflammation of the abdomen, and a putrefaction of his privy member, that produced worms. Besides which, he had a great difficulty of breathing upon him, and could not breathe but when he sat upright, and had a convulsion of all his members, insomuch that the diviners said those diseases were a punishment upon him for what he had done to the rabbins. Yet did he struggle with his numerous disorders, and still had a desire to live, and hoped for recovery, and considered of several methods of cure. Accordingly he went over Jordan, and made use of those hot baths at Callirhoe which run into the lake Asphaltitis, but are themselves sweet enough to be drunk. And here the physicians thought proper to bathe his whole body in warm oil, by letting it down into a large vessel full of oil; whereupon his eyes failed him, and he came and went as if he were dying; and as a tumult was then made by his servants, at their voice he revived again. Yet did he after this despair of recovery, and gave orders that each soldier should have fifty drachmæ apiece, and that his commanders and friends should have great sums of money given them.

6. He then returned back and came to Jericho, in such a melancholy state of body as almost threatened him with present death, when he proceeded to attempt a horrid wickedness; for he got together the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation, out of every village, into a place called the *Hippodrome*, and there shut them in. He then called for his sister Salome and her husband Alexas, and made this speech to them:—"I know well enough that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death: however, it is in my power to be mourned for on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will but be subservient to my commands. Do but you take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody, and slay them immediately upon my death, and then all Judea, and every family of them, will weep at it whether they will or no.

7. These were the commands he gave them; when there came letters from his ambassadors at Rome, whereby information was given, that Acme was put to death at Cæsar's command, and that Antipater was condemned to die: however they wrote withal, that if Herod had a mind rather to banish him, Cæsar permitted him so to do. So he for a little while revived, and had a desire to live; but presently after he was overborne by his pains, and was disordered by want of food, and by a convulsive cough, and endeavoured to prevent a natural death; so he took an apple, and asked for a knife; for he used to pare apples, and eat them: he then looked round about to see that there was nobody to hinder him and lift up his right hand, as if he would stab himself; but Achiabus, his first cousin, came running to him and held his hand, and hindered him from so doing, on which occasion a very great lamentation was made in the palace, as if the king were expiring. As soon as ever Antipater heard that, he took courage, and, with joy in his looks, besought his keepers, for a sum of money, to loose him, and let him go; but the principal keeper of the prison did not only obstruct him in that his intention, but ran and told the king what his design was: hereupon the king cried out louder than his distemper would well bear, and immediately sent some of his guards, and slew Antipater; he also gave order to have him buried at Hyrcanium, and altered his testament again, and therein made Archelaus, his eldest son, the brother of Antipas, his successor, and made Antipas tetrarch.

8. So Herod, having survived the slaughter of his son five days, died, having reigned thirty-four years since he caused Antigonus to be slain, and obtained his kingdom; but thirty-seven years since he had been made king by the Romans. Now, as for his fortune, it was prosperous in all other respects, if ever any other

man could be so, since from a private man he obtained a kingdom, and kept it so long, and left it to his own sons; but still, in his domestic affairs he was a most unfortunate man. Now, before the soldiers knew of his death, Salome and her husband came out and dismissed those that were in bonds, whom the king had commanded to be slain, and told them, that he had altered his mind, and would have every one of them sent to their own homes. When these men were gone, Salome told the soldiers [the king was dead,] and got them, and the rest of the multitude together, to an assembly, in the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Ptolemy, who was intrusted by the king with his signet-ring, came before them, and spake of the happiness the king had attained, and comforted the multitude, and read the epistle which had been left for the soldiers, wherein he earnestly exhorted them to bear good will to his successor; and after he had read the epistle, he opened and read his testament, wherein Philip was to inherit Trachonitis and the neighbouring countries, and Antipas was to be tetrarch, as we said before, and Archelaus was made king. He had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Cæsar, and the settlements he had made sealed up, because Cæsar was to be lord of all the settlements he had made, and was to confirm his testament; and he ordered that the dispositions he had made were to be kept as they were in his former testament.

9. So there was an acclamation made to Archelaus, to congratulate him upon his advancement, and the soldiers, with the multitude, went round about in troops, and promised him their good will, and, besides, prayed God to bless his government. After this they betook themselves to prepare for the king's funeral; and Archelaus omitted nothing of magnificence therein, but brought out all the royal ornaments to augment the pomp of the deceased. There was a bier all of gold, embroidered with precious stones, and a purple bed of various contexture, with the dead body upon it covered with purple; and a diadem was put upon his head, and a crown of gold above it, and a sceptre in his right hand; and near to the bier were Herod's sons, and a multitude of his kindred; next to which came his guards, and the regiment of Thracians, the Germans also, and Galls, all accoutred as if they were going to war: but the rest of the army went foremost, armed, and following their captains and officers in a regular manner; after whom five hundred of his domestic servants and freedmen followed with sweet spices in their hands: and the body was carried two hundred furlongs to Herodium, where he had given order to be buried. And this shall suffice for the conclusion of the life of Herod.

# BOOK II.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF SIXTY-NINE YEARS.

*FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TILL VESPASIAN WAS SENT TO SUBDUE THE JEWS BY NERO.*

## CHAP. I.

*Archelaus makes a Funeral Feast for the People on Account of Herod; after which a great Tumult is raised by the Multitude, and he sends the Soldiers out upon them, who destroy about three thousand of them.*

§ I. Now the necessity which Archelaus was under of taking a journey to Rome was the occasion of new disturbances; for when he had mourned for his father seven days,* and had given a very expensive funeral feast to the multitude (which custom is the occasion of poverty to many of the Jews, because they are forced to feast the multitude; for if any one omits it, he is not esteemed a holy person,) he put on a white garment and went up to the holy temple, where the people accosted him with various acclamations. He also spake kindly to the multitude, from an elevated seat and a throne of gold, and returned them thanks for the zeal they had shown about his father's funeral, and the submission they had made to him, as if he were already settled in the kingdom: but he told them withal, that 'he would not at present take upon him either the authority of a king, or the names thereto belonging, until Cæsar, who is made lord of this whole affair by his testament, confirms the succession; for that when the soldiers would have set the diadem on his head at Jericho, he would not accept of it; but that he would make abundant requitals, not to the soldiers only, but to the people, for their alacrity and good will to him, when the superior lords [the Romans] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom: for that it should be his study to appear in all things better than his father."

2. Upon this the multitude were pleased and presently made a trial of what he intended, by asking great things of him: for some made a clamour that he would ease them in their taxes; others, that he would take off the duties upon commodities, and some, that he would loose those that were in prison; in all which cases he answered readily to their satisfaction, in order to get the good will of the multitude; after which he offered [the proper] sacrifices, and feasted with his friends. And here it was that a great many of those who desired innovations came in crowds towards the evening, and began then to mourn on their own account, when the public mourning for the king was over. These lamented those that were put to death by Herod, because they had cut down the golden eagle that had been over the gate of the temple. Nor was this mourning of a private nature, but the lamentations were very great, the mourning solemn, and the weeping such as was loudly heard all over the city, as being for those men who had

* Here Dean Aldrich's note on this place.—"The law, or custom of the Jews," says he, "requires seven days mourning for the dead, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. viii. sect. 4. Whence the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxii. 12, assigns *seven days* as the proper time of mourning for the dead, and ch. xxxviii. 17, enjoins men to mourn for the dead, that they may not be evil spoken of; for as Josephus says presently, if any one omits this mourning [funeral feast] he is not esteemed a holy person. Now it is certain that such a *seven days* mourning has been customary from times of the greatest antiquity, Gen. l 10. Funeral feasts are also mentioned as of considerable antiquity, Ezek. xxiv. 17; Jer. xvi. 7; Prov xxxi. 6; Deut. xxvi. 14; Josephus, Of the War, B. iii. ch. ix. sect. 5."

perished for the laws of their country and for the temple. They cried out that a punishment ought to be inflicted for these men upon those that were honoured by Herod; and that, in the first place, the man whom he had made high priest should be deprived, and that it was fit to choose a person of greater piety and purity than he was.

3. At these clamours Archelaus was provoked, but restrained himself from taking vengeance on the authors, on account of the haste he was in of going to Rome, as fearing lest, upon his making war on the multitude, such an action might detain him at home. Accordingly he made trial to quiet the innovators by persuasion rather than by force, and sent his general in a private way to them, and by him exhorted them to be quiet. But the seditious threw stones at him, and drove him away as he came into the temple, and before he could say any thing to them. The like treatment they showed to others who came to them after him, many of which were sent by Archelaus in order to reduce them to sobriety, and these answered still on all occasions after a passionate manner; and it openly appeared that they would not be quiet, if their numbers were but considerable. And, indeed, at the feast of unleavened bread, which was now at hand, and is by the Jews called the *Passover*, and used to be celebrated with a great number of sacrifices, an innumerable multitude of the people came out of the country to worship: some of these stood in the temple bewailing the rabbins [that had been put to death,] and procured their sustenance by begging, in order to support their sedition. At this Archelaus was affrighted, and privately sent a tribune, with his cohort of soldiers, upon them, before the disease should spread over the whole multitude, and gave orders that they should constrain those that began the tumult by force to be quiet. At these the whole multitude were irritated, and threw stones at many of the soldiers, and killed them: but the tribune fled away wounded, and had much ado to escape so: after which they betook themselves to their sacrifices, as if they had done no mischief; nor did it appear to Archelaus that the multitude could be restrained without bloodshed; so he sent his whole army upon them, the footmen in great multitudes by the way of the city, and the horsemen by the way of the plain, who falling upon them on a sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices, destroyed about three thousand of them; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed upon the adjoining mountains: these were followed by Archelaus's heralds, who commanded every one to retire to their own homes, whither they all went, and left the festival.

## CHAP. II.

*Archelaus goes to Rome with a great Number of his Kindred. He is there accused before Cæsar by Antipater; but is superior to his Accusers in Judgment, by the Means of that Defence which Nicolaus made for him.*

§ 1. Archelaus went down now to the seaside, with his mother and his friends, Poplas, and Ptolemy, and Nicolaus, and left behind him Philip, to be his steward in the palace, and to take care of his domestic affairs. Salome went out also along with him with her sons, as did also the king's brethren and sons-in-law. These, in appearance, went to give him all the assistance they were able, in order to secure his succession, but in reality to accuse him for his breach of the laws, by what he had done at the temple.

2. But as they were come to Cæsarea, Sabinus the procurator of Syria, met them: he was going up to Judea to secure Herod's effects: but Varus [president of Syria,] who was come hither, restrained him from going any farther. This Varus Archelaus had sent for, by the earnest entreaty of Ptolemy. At this time, indeed Sabinus, to gratify Varus, neither went to the citadels, nor did he shut up the treasuries where his father's money was laid up, but promised that he

would lie still, until Cæsar should have taken cognizance of the affair. So he abode at Cæsarea; but as soon as those that were his hinderance were gone, when Varus was gone to Antioch, and Archelaus was sailed to Rome, he immediately went on to Jerusalem, and seized upon the palace. And when he had called for the governors of the citadels, and the stewards [of the king's private affairs,] he tried so sift out the accounts of the money, and to take possession of the citadels. But the governors of those citadels were not unmindful of the commands laid upon them by Archelaus, and continued to guard them, and said the custody of them rather belonged to Cæsar than to Archelaus.

3. In the mean time Antipas went also to Rome, to strive for the kingdom, and to insist that the former testament, wherein he was named to be the king, was valid before the latter testament. Salome had also promised to assist him, as had many of Archelaus's kindred, who sailed along with Archelaus himself also. He also carried along with him his mother, and Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus, who seemed one of great weight, on account of the great trust Herod put in him, he having been one of his most honoured friends. However, Antipas depended chiefly upon Irenæus, the orator; upon whose authority he had rejected such as advised him to yield to Archelaus, because he was his elder brother, and because the second testament gave the kingdom to him. The inclinations also of all Archelaus's kindred, who hated him, were removed to Antipas, when they came to Rome, although, in the first place, every one rather desired to live under their own laws [without a king,] and to be under a Roman governor; but if they should fail in that point, these desired that Antipas might be their king.

4. Sabinus did also afford these his asisstance to the same purpose, by the letters he sent, wherein he accused Archelaus before Cæsar, and highly commended Antipas. Salome also, and those with her, put the crimes which they accused Archelaus of in order, and put him under Cæsar's hands: and after they had done that, Archelaus wrote down the reasons of his claim, and by Ptolemy sent in his father's ring and his father's accounts. And when Cæsar had maturely weighed by himself what both had to allege for themselves, as also had considered of the great burden of the kingdom, and largeness of the revenues, and withal the number of the children Herod had left behind him, and had, moreover, read the letters he had received from Varus and Sabinus on this occasion, he assembled the principal persons among the Romans together (in which assembly Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his daughter Julias, but by himself adopted for his own son, sat in the first seat,) and gave the pleaders leave to speak.

5. Then stood up Salome's son, Antipater (who of all Archelaus's antagonists was the shrewdest pleader,) and accused him in the following speech:—"That Archelaus did in words contend for the kingdom, but that in deeds he had long exercised royal authority; and so did but insult Cæsar in desiring to be now heard on that account; since he had not staid for his determination about the succession, and since he had suborned certain persons, after Herod's death, to move for putting the diadem upon his head; since he had set himself down in the throne, and given answers as a king, and altered the disposition of the army, and granted to some higher dignities: that he had also complied in all things with the people in the requests they had made to him as to their king, and had also dismissed those that had been put into bonds by his father, for most important reasons. Now, after all this, he desires the shadow of that royal authority, whose substance he had already seized to himself, and so hath made Cæsar lord not of things but of words. He also reproached him farther, that his mourning for his father was only pretended, while he put on a sad countenance in the day time, but drank to great excess in the night, from which behaviour, he said, the late disturbances among the multitude came, while they had on indignation thereat. And, indeed, the purport of his whole discourse was to aggravate Archelaus's crime in slaying such a multitude about the temple, which multitude came to the festival, but were barbarously slain in the midst of their own sacrifices; and he

said there was such a vast number of dead bodies heaped together in the temple as even a foreign war, that should come upon them [suddenly,] before it was denounced, could not have heaped together. And he added, that it was the foresight his father had of that his barbarity, which made him never give him any hopes of the kingdom, but when his mind was more infirm than his body, and he was not able to reason soundly, and did not well know what was the character of that son whom in his second testament he made his successor: and this was done by him at a time when he had no complaints to make of him whom he had named before when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all passion: that, however, if any one should suppose Herod's judgment when he was sick was superior to that at another time, yet had Archelaus forfeited his kingdom by his own behaviour, and those his actions which were contrary to the law, and to its disadvantage. Or what sort of a king will this man be, when he hath obtained the government from Cæsar, who hath slain so many before he hath obtained it?"

6. When Antipater had spoken largely to this purpose, and had produced a great number of Archelaus's kindred as witnesses to prove every part of the accusation, he ended his discourse. Then stood up Nicolaus to plead for Archelaus. He alleged, that "the slaughter in the temple could not be avoided: that those that were slain were become enemies not to Archelaus's kingdom only, but to Cæsar, who was to determine about him. He also demonstrated, that Archelaus's accusers had advised him to perpetrate other things, of which he might have been accused. But he insisted that the latter testament should, for this reason above all others, be esteemed valid, because Herod had therein appointed Cæsar to be the person who should confirm the succession; for he who showed such prudence as to recede from his own power, and yield it up to the lord of the world, cannot be supposed mistaken in his judgment about him that was to be his heir; and he that so well knew whom to choose for arbitrator of the succession, could not be unacquainted with him whom he chose for his successor."

7. When Nicolaus had gone through all he had to say, Archelaus came and fell down before Cæsar's knees, without any noise: Upon which he raised him up, after a very obliging manner, and declared, that truly he was worthy to succeed his father. However, he still made no firm determination in his case; but when he had dismissed those assessors that had been with him that day, he deliberated by himself about the allegations which he had heard, whether it were fit to constitute any of those named in the testaments, for Herod's successor, or whether the government should be parted among all his posterity, and this because of the number of those that seemed to stand in need of support therefrom.

## CHAP. III.

*The Jews fight a great Battle with Sabinus's Soldiers, and a great Destruction is made at Jerusalem.*

§ 1. Now before Cæsar had determined any thing about these affairs, Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell sick and died. Letters also were brought out of Syria from Varus about a revolt of the Jews. This was foreseen by Varus, who, accordingly, after Archelaus was sailed, went up to Jerusalem to restrain the promoters of the sedition, since it was manifest that the nation would not be at rest; so he left one of those legions which he brought with him out of Syria in the city, and went himself to Antioch. But Sabinus came after he was gone, and gave them an occasion of making innovations; for he compelled the keepers of the citadels to deliver them up to him, and made a bitter search after the king's money, as depending not only on the soldiers which were left by Varus, but on the multitude of his own servants, all which he armed, and used as the instruments of his covetousness. Now when that feast which was observed after seven weeks,

and which the Jews call *Pentecost* [*i. e.* the 50th day,] was at hand, its name being taken from the number of the days [after the passover,] the people got together, but not on account of the accustomed divine worship, but of the indignation they had [at the present state of affairs.] Wherefore an immense multitude ran together out of Galilee and Idumea, and Jericho and Perea, that was beyond Jordan; but the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest, both in number and in the alacrity of the men. So they distributed themselves into three parts, and pitched their camps in three places: one was at the north side of the temple, another at the south side, by the Hippodrome, and the third part were at the palace on the west. So they lay round about the Romans on every side, and besieged them.

2. Now Sabinus was affrighted both at their multitude, and at their courage, and sent messengers to Varus continually, and besought him to come to his succour quickly, for that, if he delayed, his legion would be cut to pieces. As for Sabinus himself, he got up to the highest tower of the fortress, which was called *Phasaelus:* it is of the same name with Herod's brother, who was destroyed by the Parthians; and then he made signs to the soldiers of that legion to attack the enemy: for his astonishment was so great, that he durst not go down to his own men. Hereupon the soldiers were prevailed upon, and leaped out into the temple, and fought a terrible battle with the Jews; in which while there were none over their heads to distress them, they were too hard for them by their skill, and the others' want of skill in war; but when once many of the Jews had gotten up to the top of the cloisters, and threw their darts downwards upon the heads of the Romans, there were a great many of them destroyed. Nor was it easy to avenge themselves upon those that threw their weapons from on high, nor was it more easy for them to sustain those who came to fight them hand to hand.

3. Since therefore the Romans were sorely afflicted by both these circumstances, they set fire to the cloisters, which were works to be admired, both on account of their magnitude and costliness: Whereupon those that were above them were presently encompassed with the flame, and many of them perished therein; as many of them also were destroyed by the enemy, who came suddenly upon them; some of them also threw themselves down from the walls backward, and some there were who, from the desperate condition they were in, prevented the fire by killing themselves with their own swords; but so many of them as crept out from the walls, and came upon the Romans, were easily mastered by them, by reason of the astonishment they were under; until at last some of the Jews being destroyed, and others dispersed by the terror they were in, the soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers.

4. However, this destruction of the works [about the temple,] and of the men, occasioned a much greater number, and those of a more warlike sort, to get together to oppose the Romans. These encompassed the palace round, and threatened to destroy all that were in it, unless they went their ways quickly: for they promised that Sabinus should come to no harm, if he would go out with his legion. There were also a great many of the king's party, who deserted the Romans, and assisted the Jews: yet did the most warlike body of them all, who were three thousand of the men of Sebaste, go over to the Romans. Rufus also, and Gratus, their captains, did the same (Gratus having the foot of the king's party under him, and Rufus the horse;) each of whom, even without the forces under them, were of great weight on account of their strength and wisdom, which turn the scales in war. Now the Jews persevered in the siege, and tried to break down the walls of the fortress, and cried out to Sabinus and his party, that they should go their ways, and not prove a hindrance to them, now they hoped, after a long time, to recover that ancient liberty which their forefathers had enjoyed. Sabinus, indeed, was well contented to get out of the danger he was in, but he

distrusted the assurances the Jews gave him, and suspected such gentle treatment was but a bait laid as a snare for them: this consideration, together with the hopes he had of succour from Varus, made him bear the siege still longer.

## CHAP. IV.

*Herod's veteran Soldiers become tumultuous. The Robberies of Judas. Simon and Athrongeus take the Name of King upon them.*

§ 1. At this time there were great disturbances in the country, and that in many places; and the opportunity that now offered itself induced a great many to set up for kings. And, indeed, in Idumea two thousand of Herod's veteran soldiers got together, and armed themselves, and fought against those of the king's party: against whom Achiabus, the king's first cousin, fought, and that out of some of the places that were the most strongly fortified, but so as to avoid a direct conflict with them in the plains. In Sepphoris also, a city of Galilee, there was one Judas (the son of that arch robber Hezekiah, who formerly overran the country, and had been subdued by King Herod;) this man got no small multitude together, and brake open the place where the royal armour was laid up, and armed those about him, and attacked those that were so earnest to gain the dominion.

2. In Perea also, Simon, one of the servants to the king, relying upon the handsome appearance and tallness of his body, put a diadem upon his own head also: he also went about with a company of robbers that had gotten together and burnt down the royal palace that was at Jericho, and many other costly edifices besides and procured himself very easily spoils by rapine, as snatching them out of the fire. And he had soon burnt down all the fine edifices, if Gratus, the captain of the foot of the king's party, had not taken the Trachonite archers, and the most warlike of Sebaste, and met the man. His footmen were slain in the battle in abundance; Gratus also cut to pieces Simon himself as he was flying along a strait valley, when he gave him an oblique stroke upon his neck, as he ran away, and brake it. The royal palaces that were near Jordan at Betnaramptha were also burnt down by some of the seditious that came out of Perea.

3. At this time it was that a certain shepherd ventured to set himself up for a king: he was called *Athrongeus*. It was his strength of body that made him expect such a dignity, as well as his soul which despised death; and besides these qualifications, he had four brethren like himself. He put a troop of armed men under each of these his brethren, and made use of them as his generals and commanders, when he made his incursions, while he did himself act like a king, and meddled only with the more important affairs: and at this time he put a diadem about his head, and continued after that to overrun the country for no little time with his brethren, and became their leader in killing both the Romans and those of the king's party; nor did any Jew escape him, if any gain could accrue to him thereby. He once ventured to encompass a whole troop of Romans at Emmaus, who were carrying corn and weapons to their legion: his men, therefore, shot their arrows and darts, and thereby slew their centurion Arius, and forty of the stoutest of his men, while the rest of them, who were in danger of the same fate, upon the coming of Gratus, with those of Sebaste, to their assistance, escaped. And when these men had thus served both their own countrymen and foreigners, and that through this whole war, three of them were after some time subdued, the eldest by Archelaus, the two next by falling into the hands of Gratus and Ptolemeus; but the fourth delivered himself up to Archelaus, upon his giving him his right hand for his security. However, this their end was not till afterward, while at present they filled all Judea with a piratic war.

## CHAP. V.

*Varus composes the Tumults in Judea, and crucifies about two thousand of the seditious.*

§ 1. Upon Varus's reception of the letters that were written by Sabinus and the captains, he could not avoid being afraid for the whole legion [he had left there.] So he made haste to their relief, and took with him the other two legions, with the four troops of horsemen to them belonging, and marched to Ptolemais, having given orders for the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings and governors of cities to meet him there. Moreover, he received from the people of Berytus, as he passed through their city, fifteen hundred armed men. Now as soon as the other body of auxiliaries were come to Ptolemais, as well as Aretas the Arabian (who out of the hatred he bore to Herod, brought a great army of horse and foot,) Varus sent a part of his army presently to Galilee, which lay near to Ptolemais, and Caius one of his friends for their captain. This Caius put those that met him to flight, and took the city Sepphoris, and burnt it, and made slaves of its inhabitants; but as for Varus himself, he marched to Samaria with his whole army, where he did not meddle with the city itself, because he found that it had made no commotion during these troubles, but pitched his camp about a certain village which was called *Arus*. It belonged to Ptolemy, and on that account was plundered by the Arabians, who were very angry even at Herod's friends also. He thence marched on to the village Sampho, another fortified place, which they plundered, as they had done the other. As they carried off all the money they light upon belonging to the public revenues, all was now full of fire and bloodshed, and nothing could resist the plunders of the Arabians. Emmaus was also burnt, upon the flight of its inhabitants, and this at the command of Varus, out of his rage at the slaughter of those that were about Arus.

2. Thence he marched on to Jerusalem, and as soon as he was but seen by the Jews, he made their camps disperse themselves: they also went away, and fled up and down the country; but the citizens received him, and cleared themselves of having any hand in this revolt; and said, that they had raised no commotions, but had only been forced to admit the multitude because of the festival, and that they were rather besieged together with the Romans, than assisted those that had revolted. There had before this met him Joseph, the first cousin of Archelaus, and Gratus, together with Rufus, who led those of Sebaste, as well as the king's army: there also met him those of the Roman legion, armed after their accustomed manner; for as to Sabinus, he durst not come into Varus's sight, but was gone out of the city before this to the seaside: but Varus sent a part of his army into the country against those that had been the authors of this commotion; and as they caught great numbers of them, those that appeared to have been the least concerned in these tumults he put into custody, but such as were the most guilty he crucified: these were in number about two thousand.

3. He was also informed that there continued in Idumea ten thousand men still in arms; but when he found that the Arabians did not act like auxiliaries, but managed the war according to their own passions, and did mischief to the country otherwise than he intended, and this out of their hatred to Herod, he sent them away, but made haste with his own legions, to march against those that had revolted; but these, by the advice of Archiabus, delivered themselves up to him before it came to a battle. Then did Varus forgive the multitude their offences, but sent their captains to Cæsar to be examined by him. Now Cæsar forgave the rest; but gave orders that certain of the king's relations (for some of those there were among them who were Herod's kinsmen) should be put to death; because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family. When,

therefore, Varus had settled matters at Jerusalem after this manner, and had left the former legion there as a garrison, he returned to Antioch.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Jews greatly complain of Archelaus, and desire that they may be made subject to the Roman Governors. But when Cæsar had heard what they had to say, he distributed Herod's Dominions among his Sons, according to his own Pleasure.*

§ 1. But now came another accusation from the Jews against Archelaus at Rome, which he was to answer to. It was made by those ambassadors who, before the revolt, had come, by Varus's permission, to plead for the liberty of their country: those that came were fifty in number, but there were more than eight thousand of the Jews at Rome who supported them. And when Cæsar had assembled a council of the principal Romans in Apollo's temple,* that was in the palace (this was what he had himself built and adorned at a vast expense,) the multitude of the Jews stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus with his friends; but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side; for to stand on Archelaus's side, their hatred to him and envy at him would not give them leave, while yet they were afraid to be seen by Cæsar with his accusers. Besides these, there was present Archelaus's brother, Philip, being sent thither beforehand out of kindness by Varus for two reasons; the one was this, that he might be assisting to Archelaus; and the other was this, that in case Cæsar should make a distribution of what Herod possessed among his posterity, he might obtain some share of it.

2. And now, upon the permission that was given to the accusers to speak, they in the first place went over Herod's breaches of their law, and said, that "he was not a king, but the most barbarous of all tyrants, and that they had found him to be such by the sufferings they underwent from him: that when a very great number had been slain by him, those that were left had endured such miseries, that they called those that were dead happy men; that he had not only tortured the bodies of his subjects, but entire cities, and had done much harm to the cities of his own country, while he adorned those that belonged to foreigners; and he shed the blood of Jews, in order to do kindnesses to those people that were out of their bounds: that he had filled the nation full of poverty and of the greatest iniquity, instead of that happiness and those laws which they had anciently enjoyed: that, in short, the Jews had borne more calamities from Herod in a few years, than had their forefathers during all that interval of time that had passed since they had come out of Babylon, and returned home, in the reign of Xerxes:† that, however, the nation was come to so low a condition, by being inured to hardships, that they submitted to his successor of their own accord, though he brought them into bitter slavery: that, accordingly, they readily called Archelaus, though he was the son of so great a tyrant, *King*, after the decease of his father, and joined with him in mourning for the death of Herod, and in wishing him good success in that his succession; while yet this Archelaus, lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod, began his reign with the murder of three thousand citizens, as if he had a mind to offer so many bloody sacrifices to God for his government, and to fill the temple with the like number of dead bodies at that festival: that, however, those that were left after so many miseries

* This holding a council in the temple of Apollo, in the emperor's palace at Rome, by Augustus, and even the building of this temple magnificently by himself in that palace, are exactly agreeable to Augustus, in his elder years, as Aldrich and Spanheim observe and prove from Suetonius and Propertius.

† Here we have a strong confirmation that it was Xerxes, and not Artaxerxes, under whom the main part of the Jews returned out of the Babylonian captivity, *i. e.* in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. The same thing is in the Antiquities. B. xi. ch. v. sect. 1.

had just reason to consider now at last the calamities they had undergone, and to oppose themselves, like soldiers in war, to receive those stripes upon their faces [but not upon their backs as hitherto.] Wherefore they prayed, that the Romans would have compassion upon the [poor] remains of Judea, and not expose what was left to them to such as barbarously tore them to pieces, and that they would join their country to Syria, and administer the government by their own commanders; whereby it would [soon] be demonstrated, that those who are now under the calumny of seditious persons, and lovers of war, know how to bear governors, that are set over them, if they be but tolerable ones." So the Jews concluded their accusation with this request. Then rose up Nicholas, and confuted the accusations which were brought against the kings, and himself accused the Jewish nation as hard to be ruled, and as naturally disobedient to kings. He also reproached all those kinsmen of Archelaus who had left him, and were gone over to his accusers.

3. So Cæsar, after he had heard both sides, dissolved the assembly for that time; but a few days afterward he gave the one half of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus, by the name of *Ethnarch*, and promised to make him king also afterward, if he rendered himself worthy of that dignity. But as to the other half, he divided it into two tetrarchies, and gave them to two other sons of Herod, the one of them to Philip, and the other to that Antipas who contested the kingdom with Archelaus. Under this last was Perea and Galilee, with a revenue of two hundred talents: but Batanea, and Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and certain parts of Zeno's house about Jamnia, with a revenue of a hundred talents, were made subject to Philip; while Idumea, and all Judea and Samaria, were parts of the ethnarchy of Archelaus, although Samaria was eased of one quarter of its taxes, out of regard to their not having revolted with the rest of the nation. He also made subject to him the following cities, viz. Strato's Tower, and Sebaste, and Joppa, and Jerusalem; but as to the Grecian cities, Gaza, and Gadara, and Hippos, he cut them off from the kingdom, and added them to Syria. Now the revenue of the country that was given to Archelaus was four hundred talents. Salome also, besides what the king had left her in his testaments, was now made mistress of Jamnia, and Ashdod, and Phasaelis. Cæsar did, moreover, bestow upon her the royal palace of Ascalon; by all which she got together a revenue of sixty talents; but he put her house under the ethnarchy of Archelaus. And for the rest of Herod's offspring, they received what was bequeathed to them in his testaments; but, besides that, Cæsar granted to Herod's two virgin daughters five hundred thousand [drachmæ] of silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras: but after this family distribution, he gave between them what had been bequeathed to him by Herod, which was a thousand talents, reserving to himself only some inconsiderable presents in honour of the deceased.

## CHAP. VII.

*The History of the spurious Alexander. Archelaus is banished, and Glaphyra dies, after what was to happen to both of them had been shown them in Dreams.*

§ 1. In the meantime there was a man, who was by birth a Jew, but brought up at Sidon with one of the Roman freedmen, who falsely pretended, on account of the resemblance of their countenances, that he was that Alexander who was slain by Herod. This man came to Rome in hopes of not being detected. He had one who was his assistant, of his own nation, and who knew all the affairs of the kingdom, and instructed him to say how those that were sent to kill him and Aristobulus had pity upon them, and stole them away, by putting bodies that were like theirs in their places. This man deceived the Jews that were at Crete, and got a great deal of money of them for travelling in splendour; and thence

sailed to Melos, where he was thought so certainly genuine, that he got a great deal more money, and prevailed with those that had treated him to sail along with him to Rome. So he landed at Dicearchia [Puteoli,] and got very large presents from the Jews who dwelt there, and was conducted by his father's friends as if he were a king; nay, the resemblance in his countenance procured him so much credit, that those who had seen Alexander, and had known him very well, would take their oaths that he was the very same person. Accordingly, the whole body of the Jews that were at Rome ran out in crowds to see him, and an innumerable multitude there was which stood in the narrow places through which he was carried; for those of Melos were so far distracted, that they carried him in a sedan, and maintained a royal attendance for him at their own proper charges.

2. But Cæsar, who knew perfectly well the lineaments of Alexander's face because he had been accused by Herod before him, discerned the fallacy in his countenance even before he saw the man. However, he suffered the agreeable fame that went of him to have some weight with him, and sent Celadus, one who well knew Alexander, and ordered him to bring the young man to him. But when Cæsar saw him, he immediately discerned a difference in his countenance; and when he had discovered that his whole body was of a more robust texture, and like that of a slave, he understood the whole was a contrivance. But the impudence of what he said greatly provoked him to be angry at him; for when he was asked about Aristobulus, he said, that "he was also preserved alive, and was left on purpose in Cyprus, for fear of treachery, because it would be harder for plotters to get them both in their power while they were separate." Then did Cæsar take him by himself privately, and said to him, "I will give thee thy life, if thou wilt discover who it was that persuaded thee to forge such stories." So he said that he would discover him; and followed Cæsar, and pointed to that Jew who abused the resemblance of his face to get money; for that he had received more presents in every city than ever Alexander did while he was alive. Cæsar laughed at the contrivance, and put this spurious Alexander among his rowers, on account of the strength of his body, but ordered him that persuaded him to be put to death. But for the people of Melos, they had been sufficiently punished for their folly, by the expenses they had been at on his account.

3. And now Archelaus took possession of his ethnarchy, and used not the Jews only but the Samaritans also barbarously, and this out of his resentment to their old quarrels with him. Whereupon they both of them sent ambassadors against him to Cæsar; and in the ninth year of his government he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put into Cæsar's treasury. But the report goes, that before he was sent for by Cæsar, he seemed to see nine ears of corn, full and large, but devoured by oxen. When, therefore, he had sent for the diviners, and some of the Chaldeans, and inquired of them what they thought it portended; and when one of them had one interpretation, and another had another, Simon, one of the sect of the Essens, said, that "he thought the ears of corn denoted years, and the oxen denoted a mutation of things, because by their ploughing they made an alteration of the country: that, therefore, he should reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and after he had passed through various alterations of fortune, should die." Now five days after Archelaus had heard this interpretation, he was called to his trial.

4. I cannot also but think it worthy to be recorded, what dream Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, had, who had at first been wife to Alexander, who was the brother of Archelaus, concerning whom we have been discoursing. This Alexander was the son of Herod the king, by whom he was put to death as we have already related. This Glaphyra was married, after his death, to Juba, king of Libya, and after his death, was returned home, and lived a widow with her father. Then it was that Archelaus the ethnarch saw her, and fell so deeply in love with her, that he divorced Mariamne who was then his wife, and married

her. When, therefore, she was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while, she thought she saw Alexander stand by her, and that he said to her,—"Thy marriage with the king of Libya might have been sufficient for thee; but thou wast not contented with him, but hast returned again to my family, to a third husband, and him, thou impudent woman, hast thou chosen for thine husband who is my brother. However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast offered me; I shall [soon] have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Now Glaphyra hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Archelaus's Ethnarchy is reduced into a [Roman] Province. The Sedition of Judas of Galilee. The Three Sects of the Jews.*

§ 1. And now Archelaus's part of Judea was reduced into a province; and Coponius, one of the equestrian order among the Romans, was sent as a procurator, having the power of [life and] death put into his hands by Cæsar. Under his administration it was that a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards, if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans, and would, after God, submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was a teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders.

2. For there are three philosophical sects among the Jews. The followers of the first of which are the Pharisees, of the second the Sadducees, and the third sect, which pretends to a severer discipline, are called Essens. These last are Jews by birth, and seem to have a greater affection for one another than the other sects have. These Essens reject pleasures as an evil, but esteem continence and the conquest over our passions as a virtue. They neglect wedlock, but choose out other persons children while they are pliable and fit for learning, and esteem them to be of their kindred, and form them according to their own manners. They do not absolutely deny the fitness of marriage, and the succesion of mankind thereby continued; but they guard against the lascivious behaviour of women, and are persuaded that none of them preserve their fidelity to one man.

3. These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them, who hath more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order, insomuch that among them all there is no appearance of poverty or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions, and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren. They think that oil is a defilement; and if any of them be anointed, without his own approbation, it is wiped off his body; for they think to be sweaty is a good thing, as they do also to be clothed in white garments. They also have stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs, who every one of them have no separate business for any, but what is for the uses of them all.

4. They have no one certain city, but many of them dwell in every city; and if any of their sect come from other places, what they have lies open for them, just as if it were their own: and they go into such as they never knew before, as if they had been ever so long acquainted with them: For which reason they carry nothing at all with them when they travel into remote parts, though still they take their weapons with them, for fear of thieves. Accordingly, there is, in every city where they live, one appointed particularly to take care of strangers, and to provide garments and other necessaries for them. But the habit and management of their bodies is such as children use who are in fear of their masters. Nor do they allow the change of garments or of shoes, till they be first entirely torn to

pieces, or worn out by time. Nor do they either buy or sell any thing to one another, but every one of them gives what he hath to him that wanteth it, and receives from him again in lieu of it what may be convenient for himself; and although there be no requital made, they are fully allowed to take what they want of whomsoever they please.

5. And as for their piety towards God, it is very extraordinary: for before sunrising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made supplication for its rising. After this every one of them are sent away by their curators to exercise some of those arts wherein they are skilled, in which they labour with great diligence till the fifth hour: after which they assemble themselves together again into one place; and when they have clothed themselves in white veils, they then bathe their bodies in cold water. And after this purification is over, they every one meet together in an apartment of their own, into which it is not permitted to any one of another sect to enter; while they go, after a pure manner, into the dining-room, as into a certain holy temple, and quietly set themselves down; upon which the baker lays them loaves in order: the cook also brings a single plate of one sort of food, and sets it before every one of them; but a priest says grace before meat, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of the food before grace be said. The same priest, when he hath dined, says grace again after meat; and when they begin and when they end they praise God, as he that bestows their food upon them, after which they lay aside their [white] garments, and betake themselves to their labours again till the evening; then they return home to supper, after the same manner, and if there be any strangers there, they sit down with them. Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance to pollute their house, but they give every one leave to speak in their turn; which silence thus kept in their house appears to foreigners like some tremendous mystery; the cause of which is that perpetual sobriety they exercise, and the same settled measure of meat and drink that is allotted them, and that such as is abundantly sufficient for them.

6. And truly, as for other things, they do nothing but according to the injunctions of their curators; only these two things are done among them at every one's own free will, which are to assist those that want it, and to show mercy; for they are permitted of their own accord to afford succour to such as deserve it, when they stand in need of it, and to bestow food on those that are in distress; but they cannot give any thing to their kindred without the curators. They dispense their anger after a just manner, and restrain their passion. They are eminent for fidelity, and are the ministers of peace: whatsoever they say also is firmer than an oath; but swearing is avoided by them, and they esteem it worse than perjury;* for they say, that he who cannot be believed, without [swearing by] God, is already condemned. They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients, and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body, and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers.

7. But now, if any one hath a mind to come over to their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but he is prescribed the same method of living which they use for a year, while he continues excluded; and they give him also a small hatchet, and the forementioned girdle, and the white garment. And when he

* This practice of the Essens, in refusing to *swear*, and esteeming *swearing* on ordinary occasions worse than *perjury*, is delivered here in general words, as are the parallel injunctions of our Saviour, Matt. v. 34; xxiii. 16; and of St. James, v. 12; but all admit of particular exceptions, for solemn causes, and on great and necessary occasions. Thus these very Essens, who here do zealously avoid swearing, are related, in the very next section, to admit none till they take *tremendous oaths* to perform their several duties to God and to their neighbour, without supposing they thereby break this rule not to swear at all. The case is the same in Christianity, as we learn from the Apostolical Constitutions, which, although they agree with Christ and St. James in forbidding to swear in general, ch. v. 12; ch. vi. 23; yet do they explain it elsewhere, by avoiding to *swear falsely, and to swear often and in vain*, ch. ii. 36; and again, by *not swearing at all*, but withal adding, that *if that cannot be avoided, to swear truly*, ch. vii 3, which abundantly explain to us the nature of the measures of this general injunction

hath given evidence, during that time, that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of the waters of purification; yet is he not even now admitted to live with them; for after this demonstration of his fortitude, his temper is tried two more years, and if he appear to be worthy, they then admit him into their society. And before he is allowed to touch their common food, he is obliged to take tremendous oaths, that, in the first place, he will exercise piety towards God, and then that he will observe justice towards men, and that he will do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by the command of others: that he will always hate the wicked, and be assistant to the righteous: that he will ever show fidelity to all men, and especially to those in authority; because no one obtains the government without God's assistance; and that if he be in authority, he will at no time whatever abuse his authority, nor endeavour to outshine his subjects, either in his garments, or any other finery: that he will be perpetually a lover of truth, and propose to himself to reprove those that tell lies: that he will keep his hands clear from theft and his soul from unlawful gains; and that he will neither conceal any thing from those of his own sect, nor discover any of their doctrines to others, no not though any one should compel him so to do at the hazard of his life. Moreover, he swears to communicate their doctrines to no one any otherwise than as he received them himself: that he will abstain from robbery, and will equally preserve the books belonging to their sect, and the names of the angels* [or messengers.] These are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes to themselves.

8. But for those that are caught in any heinous sins, they cast them out of their society; and he who is thus separated from them, does often die after a miserable manner; for as he is bound by the oath he hath taken, and by the customs he hath been engaged in, he is not at liberty to partake of that food that he meets with elsewhere, but is forced to eat grass, and to famish his body with hunger, till he perish; for which reason they receive many of them again, when they are at their last gasp, out of compassion to them, as thinking the miseries they have endured till they came to the very brink of death, to be a sufficient punishment for the sins they had been guilty of.

9. But in the judgments they exercise they are most accurate and just, nor do they pass sentence by the votes of a court that is fewer than a hundred. And as to what is once determined by that number, it is unalterable. What they most of all honour, after God himself, is the name of their legislator [Moses,] whom if any one blaspheme he is punished capitally. They also think it a good thing to obey their elders and the major part. Accordingly, if ten of them be sitting together, no one of them will speak while the other nine are against it. They also avoid spitting in the midst of them, or on the right side. Moreover, they are stricter than any other of the Jews in resting from their labours on the seventh day; for they not only get their food ready the day before, that they may not be obliged to kindle a fire on that day, but they will not remove any vessel out of its place, nor go to stool thereon. Nay, on the other days, they dig a small pit a foot deep, with a paddle (which kind of hatchet is given them, when they are first admitted among them,) and covering themselves round with their garment, that they may not affront the divine rays of light, they ease themselves into that pit; after which they put the earth that was dug out again into the pit; and even this they do only in the more lonely places, which they choose out for

* This mention of the *names of angels*, so particularly preserved by the Essens, (if it means more than those *messengers* which were employed to bring them the peculiar books of their sect,) looks like a prelude to that *worshipping of angels* blamed by St. Paul as superstitious, and unlawful in some such sort of people as these Essens were, Coloss. ii. 8; as is the prayer to or towards the sun for his rising every morning, mentioned before, sect. 5. very like those not much later observances mademention of in the preaching of Peter, Authent. Rec. Part ii. page 669; and regarding a kind of worship of angels, of the month, and of the moon, and not celebrating the new moons, or other festivals, unless the moon appeared; which, indeed, seems to me the earliest mention of any regard to the moon's phasis in fixing the Jewish calendar; of which the Talmud and later rabbins talk so much, and upon so little very ancient foundation.

this purpose; and although this easement of the body be natural, yet it is a rule with them to wash themselves after it, as if it were a defilement to them.

10. Now after the time of their preparatory trial is over, they are parted into four classes; and so far are the juniors inferior to the seniors, that if the seniors should be touched by the juniors, they must wash themselves, as if they had intermixed themselves with the company of a foreigner. They are long-lived also, insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years, by means of the simplicity of their diet, nay, as I think, by means of the regular course of life they observe also. They contemn the miseries of life, and are above pain, by the generosity of their mind. And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and, indeed, our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could not they be made to do either of them, no nor once to flatter their tormentors, or to shed a tear; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again.

11. For their doctrine is this, that bodies are corruptible, and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue for ever: and that they come out of the most subtile air, and are united to their bodies as to prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural enticement; but that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh, they then, as released from a long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinion of the Greeks, that good souls have their habitations beyond the ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat; but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a west wind, that is perpetually blowing from the ocean; while they allot to bad souls a dark and tempestuous den, full of never ceasing punishments. And, indeed, the Greeks seem to me to have followed the same notion, when they allot the islands of the blessed to their brave men, whom they call heroes and demigods, and to the souls of the wicked the region of the ungodly in Hades, where their fables relate that certain persons, such as Sisyphus, and Tantalus, and Ixion, and Tityus, are punished; which is built on this first supposition, that souls are immortal; and thence are those exhortations to virtue, and dehortations from wickedness, collected, whereby good men are bettered in the conduct of their life by the hope they have of reward after their death, and whereby the vehement inclinations of bad men to vice are restrained, by the fear and expectation they are in, that although they should lie concealed in this life, they should suffer immortal punishment after their death. These are the divine doctrines of the Essens* about the soul, which lay an unavoidable bait for such as have once had a taste of their philosophy.

12. There are also those among them who undertake to foretell† things to come by reading the holy books, and using several sorts of purifications, and being perpetually conversant in the discourses of the prophets; and it is but seldom that they miss in their predictions.

13. Moreover, there is another order of Essens, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage, as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human

* Of these Jewish or Essene, and, indeed, Christian doctrines concerning souls, both good and bad, in Hades, see that excellent discourse or homily of our Josephus concerning Hades, at the end of vol. ii.

† Dean Aldrich reckons up three examples of this gift of prophecy in several of these Essens out of Josephus himself, *viz.* in the History of the War, B. i. ch. iii. sect. 5, Judas foretold the death of Antigonus at Strato's Tower; B. ii. ch. vii. sect. 3; Simon foretold that Archelaus should reign but nine or ten years; and Antiq. B. xv. ch. x. sect. 4, 5, Menehem foretold that Herod should be king, and should reign tyrannically, and that for more than twenty or even thirty years. All which came to pass accordingly

life, which is the prospect of succession; nay, rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail. However, they try their spouses for three years; and if they find that they have their natural purgations thrice, as trials that they are likely to be fruitful, they then actually marry them. But they do not use to accompany with their wives when they are with child, as a demonstration that they do not marry out of regard to pleasure, but for the sake of posterity. Now the women go into the baths with some of their garments on, as the men do with somewhat girded about them. And these are the customs of this order of Essens.

14. But then as to the two other orders at first mentioned, the Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to fate [or providence] and to God, and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men; although fate does cooperate in every action. They say, that all the souls are incorruptible, but that the souls* of good men only are removed into other bodies, but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and they say, that to act what is good or what is evil is at men's own choice; and that the one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord and regard for the public; but the behaviour of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Death of Salome. The Cities which Herod and Philip built. Pilate occasions Disturbances. Tiberius puts Agrippa into Bonds; but Caius frees him from them, and makes him King. Herod Antipas is banished.*

§ 1. And now as the etnarchy of Archelaus was fallen into a Roman province, the other sons of Herod, Philip, and that Herod who was called Antipas, each of them took upon them the administration of their own tetrarchies; for when Salome died she bequeathed to Julia, the wife of Augustus, both her toparchy, and Jamnia, also her plantation of palm-trees that were at Phasaelis.† But when the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius, the son of Julia, upon the death of Augustus, who had

* There is so much more here about the Essens than is cited from Josephus in Porphyry and Eusebius, and yet so much less about the Pharisees and Sadducees, the two other Jewish sects, than would naturally be expected in proportion to the Essens or third sect, nay, than seems to be referred to by himself elsewhere, that one is tempted to suppose Josephus had at first written less of the one and more of the two others than his present copies afford us; as also, that by some unknown accident our present copies are here made up of the larger edition in the first case, and the smaller in the second. See the note in Havercamp's edition. However, what Josephus says in the name of the Pharisees, that only the souls of good men go out of one body into another, although all souls are immortal, and still the souls of the bad are liable to eternal punishment; as also what he says afterward, Antiq. B. xviii. chap. i. sect. 3, that the soul's vigour is immortal; and that under the earth they receive rewards or punishments according as their lives have been virtuous or vicious in the present world; that to the bad is allotted an eternal prison, but that the good are permitted to live again in this world, are nearly agreeable to the doctrines of Christianity. Only Josephus's rejection of the return of the wicked into other bodies, or into this world, which he grants to the good, looks somewhat like a contradiction to St. Paul's account of the doctrine of the Jews, that *they themselves allow that there should be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust*, Acts, ch. xxiv. 15. Yet because Josephus's account is that of the Pharisees, and St. Paul's that of the Jews in general, and of himself, the contradiction is not very certain.

† We have here in that Greek MS. which was once Alexander Petavius's, but it is now in the library at Leyden, two most remarkable additions to the common copies, though deemed worth little remark by the editor; which upon the mention of Tiberius's coming to the empire, inserts first the famous testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, as it stands *verbatim* in the Antiquities, B. xviii. chap. iii. sect 3

reigned fifty-seven years, six months, and two days, both Herod and Philip continued in their tetrarchies; and the latter of them built the city Cæsarea, at the fountains of Jordan, and in the region of Paneas; as also the city of Julias, in the Lower Gaulanitis. Herod also built the city Tiberias in Galilee, and in Perea [beyond Jordan] another that was also called Julias.

2. Now Pilate, who was sent as procurator into Judea by Tiberius, sent by night those images of Cæsar that are called *ensigns* into Jerusalem. This excited a very great tumult among the Jews when it was day; for those that were near them were astonished at the sight of them, as indications that their laws were trodden under foot; for those laws do not permit any sort of image to be brought into the city. Nay, besides the indignation which the citizens had themselves at this procedure, a vast number of people came running out of the country. These came zealously to Pilate to Cæsarea, and besought him to carry those ensigns out of Jerusalem, and to preserve them their ancient laws inviolable; but upon Pilate's denial of their request, they fell down, prostrate upon the ground, and continued immoveable in that posture for five days and as many nights.

3. On the next day Pilate sat upon his tribunal in the open market-place, and called to him the multitude, as desirous to give them an answer; and then gave a signal to the soldiers that they should all by agreement at once encompass the Jews with their weapons; so the band of soldiers stood round about the Jews in three ranks. The Jews were under the utmost consternation at that unexpected sight: Pilate also said to them, that they should be cut in pieces, unless they would admit of Cæsar's images, and gave intimation to the soldiers to draw their naked swords. Hereupon the Jews, as it were at one signal, fell down in vast numbers together, and exposed their necks bare, and cried out, that they were sooner ready to be slain, than that their laws should be transgressed. Hereupon Pilate was greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition, and gave order that the ensigns should be presently carried out of Jerusalem.

4. After this he raised another disturbance, by expending that sacred treasure which is called *Corban** upon aqueducts, whereby he brought water from the distance of four hundred furlongs. At this the multitude had indignation; and when Pilate was come to Jerusalem, they came about his tribunal and made a clamour at it. Now when he was apprized aforehand of this disturbance, he mixed his own soldiers in their armour with the multitude; and ordered them to conceal themselves under the habits of private men, and not, indeed, to use their swords, but with their staves to beat those that made the clamour. He then gave the signal from his tribunal [to do as he had bidden them.] Now the Jews were so sadly beaten, that many of them perished by the stripes they received, and many of them perished as trodden to death by themselves; by which means the multitude was astonished at the calamity of those that were slain, and held their peace.

5. In the meantime Agrippa, the son of that Aristobulus who had been slain by his father Herod, came to Tiberius to accuse Herod the tetrarch; who not admitting of his accusation he stayed at Rome, and cultivated a friendship with others of the men of note, but principally with Caius the son of Germanicus, who was then but a private person. Now this Agrippa, at a certain time, feasted Caius; and as he was very complaisant to him on several other accounts, he at length stretched out his hands, and openly wished that Tiberius might die, and that he might quickly see him emperor of the world. This was told to Tiberius by one of Agrippa's domestics, who thereupon was very angry, and ordered Agrippa to be bound, and

with some parts of that excellent discourse or homily of Josephus concerning Hades, annexed to the work. But what is here principally to be noted is this, that in this homily, Josephus, having just mentioned Christ, as *God the Word, and the Judge of the world, appointed by the Father, &c.* adds, that *he has himself elsewhere spoken about him more nicely or particularly.*

* This use of corban, or oblation, as here applied to the sacred money dedicated to God in the treasure of the temple, illustrates our Saviour's words, Mark, vii. 11, 12.

ıad him very ill treated in the prison for six months, until Tiberius died, after he ıad reigned twenty-two years six months and three days.

6. But when Caius was made Cæsar, he released Agrippa from his bonds, and nade him king of Philip's tetrarchy, who was now dead; but when Agrippa had rrived at that degree of dignity, he inflamed the ambitious desires of Herod he tetrarch, who was chiefly induced to hope for the royal authority by his wife Herodias, who reproached him for his sloth, and told him, that it was only because e would not sail to Cæsar that he was destitute of that great dignity; for since Cæsar had made Agrippa a king from a private person, much more would he advance him from a tetrarch to that dignity. These arguments prevailed with Herd, so that he came to Caius, by whom he was punished for his ambition, by being anished into Spain; for Agrippa followed him in order to accuse him; to whom lso Caius gave his tetrarchy by way of addition. So Herod died in Spain, hither his wife had followed him.

## CHAP. X.

*Caius commands that his Statue should be set up in the Temple itself; and what Petronius did thereupon.*

1. Now Caius Cæsar did so grossly abuse the fortune he had arrived at, as to ke himself to be a god, and to desire to be so called also, and to cut off those of e greatest nobility out of his country. He also extended his impiety as far as e Jews. Accordingly, he sent Petronius with an army to Jerusalem, to place s statues* in the temple: and commanded him, that, in case the Jews would ot admit of them, he would slay those that opposed it, and carry all the rest of e nation into captivity: but God concerned himself with these his commands. owever, Petronius marched out of Antioch into Judea with three legions and any Syrian auxiliaries. Now as to the Jews, some of them could not believe e stories that spake of a war; but those that did believe them were in the utost distress how to defend themselves; and the terror diffused itself presently rough them all; for the army was already come to Ptolemais.

2. This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is ıcompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to alilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it a huned and twenty furlongs; and that on the north is the highest of them all, and called by the people of the country *the ladder of the Tyrians*, which is at the stance of a hundred furlongs. The very small river Belus† runs by it, at the stance of two furlongs; near which there is Memnon's‡ monument, and hath ar it a place no larger than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for e place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of: which ace, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded, it is filled again the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay reote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns into glassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful, that glassy sand ıich is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes bare common nd again. And this is the nature of the place we are speaking of.

3. But now the Jews got together in great numbers, with their wives and chilen, into that plain that was by Ptolemais, and made supplication to Petronius,

* Tacitus owns that Caius commanded the Jews to place his effigies in their temple, though he may mistaken when he adds, that the Jews thereupon took arms.

† This account of the place near the mouth of the river Belus in Phenicia, whence came that sand out which the ancients made their glass, is a known thing in history, particularly in Tacitus and Strabo, d more largely in Pliny.

‡ This Memnon had several monuments, and one of them appears, both by Strabo and Diodorus, to ve been in Syria, and not improbably in this very place.

first for their laws, and in the next place for themselves. So he was preva upon by the multitude of the supplicants, and by their supplications, and left army and the statues at Ptolemais, and then went forward into Galilee and ca together the multitude, and all the men of note, to Tiberias, and showed them power of the Romans and the threatenings of Cæsar; and, besides this, pro that their petition was unreasonable, because, while all the nations in subject o them had placed the images of Cæsar in their several cities among the rest their gods, for them alone to oppose it was almost like the behaviour of revolt and was injurious to Cæsar.

4. And when they insisted on their law, and the custom of their country, a how it was not only not permitted them to make either an image of God, indeed, of a man, and to put it in any despicable part of their country, much l in the temple itself, Petronius replied,—"And am not I also, said he, bound keep the law of my own lord? For if I transgress it, and spare you, it is but j that I perish; while he that sent me, and not I, will commence a war against y for I am under command as well as you." Hereupon the whole multitude cr out, that "they were ready to suffer for their law." Petronius then quieted th and said to them,—"Will you, then, make war against Cæsar;" The Jews s —"We offer sacrifices twice every day for Cæsar, and for the Roman peop but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice whole Jewish nation; and that they were ready to expose themselves, toget with their children, and wives, to be slain." At this Petronius was astonish and pitied them on account of the inexpressible sense of religion the men w under, and that courage of theirs which made them ready to die for it; so th were dismissed without success.

5. But on the following days he got together the men of power privately a the multitude publicly, and sometimes he used persuasions to them, and sometim he gave them his advice, but he chiefly made use of threatenings to them, a insisted upon the power of the Romans and the anger of Caius; and besides, up the necessity he was himself under [to do as he was enjoined.] But as they co be no way prevailed upon, and he saw that the country was in danger of ly without tillage, for it was about seed-time that the multitude continued for fi days together idle; so he at last got them together, and told them, that "it w best for him to run some hazard himself; for either by the divine assistanc shall prevail with Cæsar, and shall myself escape the danger as well as you, wh will be matter of joy to us both: or, in case Cæsar continued in his rage, I w be ready to expose my own life for such a great number as you are." Whereup he dismissed the multitude, who prayed greatly for his prosperity; and he t the army out of Ptolemais, and returned to Antioch; from whence he presen sent an epistle to Cæsar, and informed him of the irruption he had made i Judea, and of the supplications of the nation; and that unless he had a m to lose both the country and the men in it, he must permit them to keep their l and must countermand his former injunction. Caius answered that epistle in violent way, and threatened to have Petronius put to death for his being so ta in the execution of what he had commanded. But it happened that those w brought Caius's epistle were tossed by a storm, and were detained on the sea three months, while others that brought the news of Caius's death had a g voyage. Accordingly, Petronius received the epistle concerning Caius seven a twenty days before he received that which was against himself.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning the Government of Claudius and the Reign of Agrippa. Concerning the Death of Agrippa, and of Herod, and what Children they both left behind them.*

1; Now when Caius had reigned three years and eight months, and had been lain by treachery, Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome o take the government upon him: but the senate, upon the reference of the consuls Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, gave orders to the three regiments of soldiers that stayed with them, to keep the city quiet, and went up into he capitol, in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius: and they determined either to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been overned, or, at least, to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy of it.

2. Now it happened that at this time Agrippa sojourned at Rome, and that both he senate called him to consult with them, and at the same time Claudius sent or him out of the camp, that he might be serviceable to him as he should have ccasion for his service. So he perceiving that Claudius was in effect made æsar already, went to him, who sent him as an ambassador to the senate, to let hem know what his intentions were; that "in the first place, it was without his eeking that he was hurried away by the soldiers; moreover, that he thought it as not just to desert those soldiers in such their zeal for him; and that, if he ould do so, his own fortune would be in uncertainty: for that it was a dangerous ase to have been once called to the empire. He added farther, that he would dminister the government as a good prince, and not like a tyrant; for that he ould be satisfied with the honour of being called emperor, but would, in every he of his actions, permit them all to give him their advice; for that although he ad not been by nature for moderation, yet would the death of Caius afford him sufficient demonstration how soberly he ought to act in that station."

3. This message was delivered by Agrippa: to which the senate replied, that since they had an army, and the wisest consuls on their side, they would not ndure a voluntary slavery." And when Claudius heard what answer the senate ad made, he sent Agrippa to them again, with the following message, that "he ould not bear the thoughts of betraying them that had given their oaths to be ue to him; and that he saw he must fight, though unwillingly, against such he had no mind to fight, that, however [if it must come to that,] it was proper choose a place without the city for the war; because it was not agreeable to ety to pollute the temples of their own city with the blood of their own country-en, and this only on occasion of their imprudent conduct." And when Agrippa ad heard this message, he delivered it to the senators.

4. In the meantime one of the soldiers belonging to the senate drew his sword, d cried out, "O my fellow soldiers, what is the meaning of this choice of ours, kill our brethren, and to use violence to our kindred that are with Claudius? hile we may have him for our emperor whom no one can blame, and who hath many just reasons [to lay claim to the government;] and this with regard to ose against whom we are going to fight." When he had said this, he marched rough the whole senate, and carried all the soldiers along with him. Upon hich all the patricians were immediately in a great fright at their being thus de-rted. But still, because there appeared no other way whither they could turn emselves for deliverance, they made haste the same way with the soldiers, and ent to Claudius. But those that had the greatest luck in flattering the good rtune of Claudius betimes, met them before the walls with their naked swords;

and there was reason to fear that those that came first might have been in danger, before Claudius could know what violence the soldiers were going to offer them, had not Agrippa run before, and told him what a dangerous thing they were going about; and that unless he restrained the violence of these men, who were in a fit of madness against the patricians, he would lose those on whose account it was most desirable to rule, and would be emperor over a desert.

5. When Claudius heard this, he restrained the violence of the soldiery, and received the senate into the camp, and treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them presently to offer their thank-offerings to God, which were proper upon his first coming to the empire. Moreover, he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately; and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these that kingdom which was called *the kingdom of Lysanias*. This gift he declared to the people by a decree, but ordered the magistrates to have the donation engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol. He bestowed on his brother Herod, who was also his son-in-law, by marrying [his daughter] Bernice, the kingdom of Chalcis.

6. So now riches flowed in to Agrippa by his enjoyment of so large a dominion, nor did he abuse the money he had on small matters, but he began to encompass Jerusalem with such a wall which, had it been brought to perfection, had made it impracticable for the Romans to take it by siege; but his death, which happened at Cæsarea, before he had raised the walls to their due height, prevented him. He had then reigned three years, as he had governed his tetrarchies three other years. He left behind him three daughters, born to him by Cypros, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, and a son born of the same mother, whose name was Agrippa: he was left a very young child, so that Claudius made the country a Roman province, and sent Cuspius Fadus to be its procurator, and after him Tiberius Alexander, who, making no alteration of the ancient laws, kept the nation in tranquillity. Now after this Herod the king of Chalcis died, and left behind him two sons, born to him of his brother's daughter Bernice their names were *Bernicianus* and *Hyrcanus*. [He also left behind him] Aristobulus, whom he had by his former wife Mariamne. There was besides another brother of his that died a private person; his name was also *Aristobulus*, who left behind him a daughter whose name was *Jotape:* and these, as I have formerly said, were the children of Aristobulus the son of Herod, which Aristobulus and Alexander were born to Herod by Mariamne, and were slain by him. But as for Alexander's posterity, they reigned in Armenia.

## CHAP. XII.

*Many Tumults under Cumanus, which were composed by Quadratus. Felix is Procurator of Judea. Agrippa is advanced from Chalcis to a greater Kingdom.*

§ 1. Now after the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, Claudius set Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, over his uncle's kingdom, which Cumanus took upon him the office of procurator of the rest, which was a Roman province, and therein he succeeded Alexander, under which Cumanus began the troubles, and the Jews' ruin came on; for when the multitude were come together to Jerusalem, to the feast of unleavened bread, and a Roman cohort stood over the cloisters of the temple (for they always were armed, and kept guard at the festivals, to prevent any innovation which the multitude thus gathered together might make,) one of the soldiers pulled back his garment, and, cowering down after an indecent manner, turned his breech to the Jews, and spake such words as you may expect upon such a posture. At this the whole multitude had indignation, and made a cla-

mcur to Cumanus, that he would punish the soldier; while the rasher part of the youth, and such as were naturally the most tumultuous, fell to fighting, and caught up stones, and threw them at the soldiers: upon which Cumanus was afraid lest all the people should make an assault upon him, and sent to call for more armed men, who when they came in great numbers into the cloisters, the Jews were in a very great consternation; and being beaten out of the temple, they ran into the city; and the violence with which they crowded to get out was so great that they trod upon each other, and squeezed one another, till ten thousand of them were killed, insomuch that this feast became the cause of mourning to the whole nation, and every family lamented [their own relations.]

2. Now there followed after this another calamity, which arose from a tumult made by robbers; for at the public road of Bethhoron, one Stephen, a servant of Cæsar, carried some furniture, which the robbers fell upon and seized: upon this Cumanus sent men to go round about to the neighbouring villages, and to bring their inhabitants to him bound, as laying it to their charge that they had not pursued after the thieves and caught them. Now here it was that a certain soldier finding the sacred book of the law, tore it to pieces, and threw it into the fire.* Hereupon the Jews were in great disorder, as if their whole country were in a flame, and assembled themselves so many of them by their zeal for their religion as by an engine, and ran together with united clamour to Cæsarea to Cumanus, and made supplication to him, that he would not overlook this man, who had offered such an affront to God, and to his law, but punish him for what he had done Accordingly, he perceiving that the multitude would not be quiet unless they had a comfortable answer from him, gave order that the soldier should be brought, and drawn through those that required to have him punished to execution, which being done, the Jews went their ways.

3. After this there happened a fight between the Galileans and the Samaritans: it happened at the village called *Geman*, which is situate in the great plain of Samaria, where, as a great number of Jews were going up to Jerusalem to the feast [of tabernacles,] a certain Galilean was slain: and besides a vast number of people ran together out of Galilee, in order to fight with the Samaritans; but the principal men among them came to Cumanus, and besought him, that, before the evil became incurable, he would come into Galilee, and bring the authors of this murder to punishment; for that there was no other way to make the multitude separate without coming to blows. However, Cumanus postponed their supplications to the other affairs he was then about, and sent the petitioners away without success.

4 But when the affair of this murder came to be told at Jerusalem, it put the multitude into disorder, and they left the feast, and without any generals to conduct them they marched with great violence to Samaria; nor would they be ruled by any of the magistrates that were set over them, but they were managed by one Eleazar, the son of Dineus, and by Alexander, in these their thievish and seditious attempts. These men fell upon those that were in the neighbourhood of the Acrabatene toparchy, and slew them, without sparing any age, and set the villages on fire.

5. But Cumanus took one troop of horsemen, called *the troop of Sebaste*, out of Cæsarea, and came to the assistance of those that were spoiled: he also seized upon a great number of those that followed Eleazar, and slew more of them. And as for the rest of the multitude of those that went so zealously to fight with the Samaritans, the rulers of Jerusalem ran out clothed with sackcloth and having ashes on their heads, and begged of them to go their ways, lest by their attempt to revenge themselves upon the Samaritans they should provoke the Romans to come against Jerusalem; to have compassion upon their country and temple, their children and their wives, and not bring the utmost dangers of

* Reland notes here, that the Talmud, in recounting ten sad accidents for which the Jews ought to rend their garments, reckons this for one. "When they hear that the law of God is burnt."

destruction upon them, in order to avenge themselves upon one Galilean only. The Jews complied with these persuasions of theirs, and dispersed themselves; but still there were a great number who betook themselves to robbing, in hopes of impunity, and rapines and insurrections of the bolder sort happened over the whole country; and the men of power among the Samaritans came to Tyre, to Ummidius Quadratus,* the president of Syria, and desired that they that had laid waste the country might be punished: the great men also of the Jews, and Jonathan the son of Ananus, the high priest, came thither, and said, that the Samaritans were the beginners of the disturbances, on account of that murder they had committed; and that Cumanus had given occasion to what had happened, by his unwillingness to punish the original authors of that murder.

6. But Quadratus put both parties off for that time, and told them, that when he should come to those places, he would make a diligent inquiry after every circumstance. After which he went to Cæsarea, and crucified all those whom Cumanus had taken alive; and when from thence he was come to the city Lydda, he heard the affair of the Samaritans, and sent for eighteen of the Jews whom he had learned to have been concerned in that fight, and beheaded them: but he sent two others of those that were of the greatest power amongst them, and both Jonathan and Ananias, the high priests, as also Ananus, the son of this Ananias, and certain others that were eminent among the Jews, to Cæsar; as he did in like manner by the most illustrious of the Samaritans. He also ordered that Cumanus [the procurator,] and Celer the tribune, should sail to Rome, in order to give an account of what had been done, to Cæsar. When he had finished these matters, he went up from Lydda to Jerusalem, and finding the multitude celebrating their feast of unleavened bread without any tumult, he returned to Antioch.

7. Now when Cæsar at Rome had heard what Cumanus and the Samaritans had to say (where it was done in the hearing of Agrippa, who zealously espoused the cause of the Jews, as in like manner many of the great men stood by Cumanus,) he condemned the Samaritans, and commanded that three of the most powerful men among them should be put to death: he banished Cumanus, and sent Celer bound to Jerusalem, to be delivered over to the Jews to be tormented, that he should be drawn round the city, and then beheaded.

8. After this Cæsar sent Felix,† the brother of Pallas, to be procurator of Galilee, and Samaria, and Perea, and removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulanitis: he added to it the kingdom of Lysanias, and that province [Abilene] which Varus had governed. But Claudius himself, when he had administered the government thirteen years

* This Ummidius, or Numidius, or, as Tacitus calls him, *Vinidius Quadratus*, is mentioned in an ancient inscription, still preserved, as Spanheim here informs us, which calls him Ummidius Quadratus.

† Take the character of this Felix, (who is well known from the Acts of the Apostles, particularly from his *trembling*, when St. Paul discoursed of *righteousness, chastity, and judgment to come*, Acts, xxiv. 25, and no wonder, when we have elsewhere seen that he lived in adultery with Drusilla, another man's wife, Antiq. B. xx. ch. vii. sect. 1,) in the words of Tacitus, produced here by Dean Aldrich:— "Felix exercised," says Tacitus, "the authority of a king, with the disposition of a slave, and relying upon the great power of his brother Pallas at court, thought he might safely be guilty of all kinds of wicked practices." Observe also the time when he was made procurator, *A. D.* 52, that when St. Paul pleaded his cause before him, *A. D.* 58, he might have been *many years a judge unto that nation*, as St. Paul says he had then been, Acts, xxiv. 10. But as to what Tacitus here says, that before the death of Cumanus, Felix was procurator over Samaria only, does not well agree with St. Paul's words, who would hardly have called Samaria a *Jewish nation*. In short, since what Tacitus here says, is about countries very remote from Rome, where he lived; since what he says of two Roman procurators, the one over Galilee, the other over Samaria, at the same time, is without all example elsewhere; and since Josephus, who lived at that very time in Judea, appears to have known nothing of this procuratorship of Felix, before the death of Cumanus, I much suspect the story itself is nothing better than a mistake of Tacitus, especially when it seems not only omitted, but contradicted by Josephus; as any one may find that compare their histories together. Possibly Felix might have been a subordinate judge among the Jews some time before under Cumanus; but that he was in earnest a procurator of Samaria before, I do not believe. Bishop Pearson, as well as Bishop Lloyd, quote this account, but with a doubtful clause; *si fides Tacito*, If we may believe Tacitus. Pears. Annal. Paulin page 8, Marshal's Tables, *A. D.* 49.

eight months and twenty days, died, and left Nero to be his successor in the empire, whom he had adopted by his wife Agrippina's delusions, in order to be his successor, although he had a son of his own, whose name was *Britannicus*, by Messalina his former wife, and a daughter whose name ws *Octavia*, whom he had married to Nero; he had also another daughter by Petina, whose name was *Antonia*.

## CHAP. XIII

*Nero adds four cities to Agrippa's Kingdom; but the other parts of Judea were under Felix. The disturbances which were raised by the Sicarii, the Magicians, and an Egyptian false Prophet. The Jews and Syrians have a Contest at Cæsarea.*

§ 1. Now as to the many things in which Nero acted like a madman, out of the extravagant degree of the felicity and riches which he enjoyed, and by that means used his good fortune to the injury of others; and after what manner he slew his brother, and wife, and mother, from whom his barbarity spread itself to others that were most nearly related to him; and how, at last, he was so distracted, that he became an actor in the scenes, and upon the theatre, I omit to say any more about them, because there are writers enough upon those subjects everywhere; but I shall turn myself to those actions of his time in which the Jews were concerned.

2. Nero, therefore, bestowed the kingdoms of the Lesser Armenia upon Aristobulus, Herod's* son, and he added to Agrippa's kingdom four cities, with the toparchies to them belonging; I mean Abila, and that Julias which is in Perea, Tarichea also, and Tiberias of Galilee; but over the rest of Judea he made Felix procurator. This Felix took Eleazar the arch-robber, and many that were with him, alive, when they had ravaged the country for twenty years together, and sent them to Rome: but as to the number of the robbers whom he caused to be crucified, and of those who were caught among them, and whom he brought to punishment, they were a multitude not to be enumerated.

3. When the country was purged of these, there sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem, which were called Sicarii, who slew men in the daytime, and in the midst of the city: this they did chiefly at the festivals, when they mingled themselves among the multitude, and concealed daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers became a part of those that had indignation against them, by which means they appeared persons of such reputation, that they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whose death many were slain every day, while the fear men were in of being so served was more afflicting than the calamity itself, and while every body expected death every hour, as men do in war, so men were obliged to look before them, and to take notice of their enemies at a great distance; nor, if their friends were coming to them, durst they trust them any onger; but, in the midst of their suspicions and guarding of themselves, they were slain. Such was the celebrity of the plotters against them, and so cunning was their contrivance.

4. There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, which laid waste the happy state of the city no less than did these murderers. These were such men as deceived and deluded the people under pretence of divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government; and these prevailed with

* i. e. Herod, king of Chalcis.

the multitude to act like madmen, and went before them into the wilderness, as pretending that God would there show them the signals of liberty. But Felix thought this procedure was to be the beginning of a revolt; so he sent some horsemen and footmen, both armed, who destroyed a great number of them.

5. But there was an Egyptian false prophet that did the Jews more mischief than the former; for he was a cheat, and pretended to be a prophet also, and got together thirty thousand men that were deluded by him: these he led round about from the wilderness to the mount which was called *the Mount of Olives* and was ready to break into Jerusalem by force from that place; and if he could but once conquer the Roman garrison, and the people, he intended to domineer over them by the assistance of those guards of his that were to break into the city with him. But Felix prevented his attempt, and met him with his Roman soldiers, while all the people assisted him in his attack upon them, insomuch that, when it came to a battle, the Egyptians ran away, with a few others, whilst the greatest part of those that were with him were either destroyed or taken alive; but the rest of the multitude were dispersed every one to their own homes, and there concealed themselves.

6. Now when these were quieted, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that another part was subject to an inflammation; for a company of deceivers and robbers got together, and persuaded the Jews to revolt, and exhorted them to assert their liberty, inflicting death on those that continued in obedience to the Roman government, and saying, that such as willingly chose slavery, ought to be forced from such their desired inclinations; for they parted themselves into different bodies, and lay in wait up and down the country, and plundered the houses of the great men, and slew the men themselves, and set the villages on fire; and this till all Judea was filled with the effects of their madness. And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war.

7. There was also another disturbance at Cæsarea, those Jews who were mixed with the Syrians that lived there raising a tumult against them. The Jews pretended that the city was theirs, and said that he who built it was a Jew, meaning King Herod. The Syrians confessed also, that its builder was a Jew, but they still said, however, that the city was a Grecian city; for that he who set up statues and temples in it could not design it for Jews: on which account both parties had a contest with one another; and this contest increased so much, that it came at last to arms, and the bolder sort of them marched out to fight; for the elders of the Jews were not able to put a stop to their own people that were disposed to be tumultuous, and the Greeks thought it a shame for them to be overcome by the Jews. Now these Jews exceeded the others in riches and strength of body; but the Grecian part had the advantage of assistance from the soldiery: for the greatest part of the Roman garrison was raised out of Syria, and, being thus related to the Syrian part, they were ready to assist it. However, the governors of the city were concerned to keep all quiet, and whenever they caught those that were most for fighting on either side, they punished them with stripes and bonds. Yet did not the sufferings of those that were caught affright the remainder, or make them desist; but they were still more and more exasperated, and deeper engaged in the sedition. And as Felix came once into the market-place, and commanded the Jews, when they had beaten the Syrians, to go their ways, and threatened them if they would not, and they would not obey him, he sent his soldiers out upon them, and slew a great many of them, upon which it fell out that what they had was plundered. And as the sedition still continued, he chose out the most eminent men on both sides, as ambassadors to Nero, to argue about their several privileges.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Festus succeeds Felix, who is succeeded by Albinus, as he is by Florus; who, by the Barbarity of his Government, forces the Jews into the War.*

§ 1. Now it was that Festus succeeded Felix, as procurator, and made it his business to correct those that made disturbances in the country. So he caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them. But then Albinus who succeeded Festus did not execute his office as the other had done; nor was there any sort of wickedness that could be named but he had a hand in it. Accordingly, he did not only, in his political capacity, steal and plunder every one's substance, nor did he only burden the whole nation with taxes, but he permitted the relations of such as were in prison for robbery, and had been laid there either by the senate of every city, or by the former procurators, to redeem them for money; and nobody remained in the prisons as a malefactor, but he who gave him nothing. At this time it was that the enterprises of the seditious at Jerusalem were very formidable: the principal men among them purchasing leave of Albinus to go on with their seditious practices; while that part of the people who delighted in disturbances joined themselves to such as had fellowship with Albinus; and every one of these wicked wretches was encompassed with his own band of robbers, while he himself like an arch-robber or a tyrant, made a figure among his company, and abused his authority over those about him, in order to plunder those that lived quietly: the effect of which was this, that those who lost their goods were forced to hold their peace, when they had reason to show great indignation at what they had suffered; but those who had escaped were forced to flatter him that deserved to be punished, out of the fear they were in of suffering equally with the others. Upon the whole, nobody durst speak their minds, but tyranny was generally tolerated; and at this time were those seeds sown which brought the city to destruction.

2. And although such was the character of Albinus, yet did Gessius Florus,* who succeeded him, demonstrate him to have been a most excellent person, upon the comparison; for the former did the greatest part of his rogueries in private, and with a sort of dissimulation; but Gessius did his unjust actions to the harm of the nation after a pompous manner: and, as though he had been sent as an executioner to punish condemned malefactors, he omitted no sort of rapine or of vexation; where the case was really pitiable, he was most barbarous, and in things of the greatest turpitude he was most impudent. Nor could any one outdo him in disguising the truth, nor could any one contrive more subtle ways of deceit than he did. He, indeed, thought it but a petty offence to get money out of single persons; so he spoiled whole cities, and ruined entire bodies of men at once, and did almost publicly proclaim it all the country over, that they had liberty given them to turn robbers, upon this condition, that he might go shares with them in the spoils they got. Accordingly, this his greediness of gain was the occasion that entire toparchies were brought to desolation, and a great many of the people left their own country, and fled into foreign provinces.

3. And truly while Cestius Gallus was president of the province of Syria, no body durst do so much as send an embassage to him against Florus; but when he was come to Jerusalem, upon the approach of the feast of unleavened bread,

* Not long after this beginning of Florus, the wickedest of all the Roman procurators of Judea, and the immediate occasion of the Jewish war, at the 12th year of Nero, and the 17th of Agrippa, or A. D. 66, the history in the twenty books of Josephus's Antiquities ends; although Josephus did not finish these books till the 13th of Domitian, or A. D. 93, twenty-seven years afterward; as he did not finish their Appendix, containing an account of his own life, till Agrippa was dead, which happened in the 3d year of Trajan, or A. D. 100, as I have several times observed before

the people came about him not fewer in number than three millions:* these besought him to commiserate the calamities of their nation, and cried out upon Florus as the bane of their country. But as he was present, and stood by Cestius, he laughed at their words. However, Cestius, when he had quieted the multitude, and had assured them that he would take care that Florius should hereafter treat them in a more gentle manner, returned to Antioch: Florus also conducted him as far as Cæsarea, and deluded him, though he had at that very time the purpose of showing his anger at the nation, and procuring a war upon them, by which means alone it was that he supposed he might conceal his enormities; for he expected that, if the peace continued, he should have the Jews for his accusers before Cæsar; but that if he could procure them to make a revolt, he should divert their laying lesser crimes to his charge, by a misery that was so much greater; he, therefore, did every day augment their calamities, in order to induce them to a rebellion.

4. Now at this time it happened that the Grecians at Cæsarea had been too hard for the Jews, and had obtained of Nero the government of the city, and had brought the judicial determination: at the same time began the war, in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa, in the month Artemisius [Jyar.] Now the occasion of this war was by no means proportionable to those heavy calamities which it brought upon us: for the Jews that dwelt at Cæsarea had a synagogue near a place, whose owner was a certain Cæsarean Greek: the Jews had endeavoured frequently to have purchased the possession of the place, and had offered many times its value for its price; but as the owner overlooked their offers, so did he raise other buildings upon the place, in way of affront to them, and made working shops of them, and left them but a narrow passage, and such as was very troublesome for them to go along to their synagogue. Whereupon the warmer part of the Jewish youth went hastily to the workmen, and forbade them to build there; but as Florus would not permit them to use force, the great men of the Jews, with John the publican, being in the utmost distress what to do, persuaded Florus, with the offer of eight talents to hinder the work. He then, being intent upon nothing but getting money, promised he would do for them all they desired of him, and then went away from Cæsarea to Sebaste, and left the sedition to take its full course, as if he had sold a license to the Jews to fight it out.

5. Now on the next day, which was the seventh day of the week, when the Jews were crowding apace to their synagogue, a certain man of Cæsarea, of a seditious temper, got an earthen vessel, and set it with the bottom upward, at the entrance of that synagogue, and sacrificed birds.† This thing provoked the Jews to an incurable degree, because their laws were affronted, and the place was polluted: whereupon the sober and moderate part of the Jews thought it proper to have recourse to their governors again, while the seditious part, and such as were in the fervour of their youth, were vehemently inflamed to fight. The seditious also among the [Gentiles of] Cæsarea stood ready for the same purpose; for they had, by agreement, sent the man to sacrifice beforehand [as ready to support him;] so that it soon came to blows. Hereupon Jucundus, the master of the horse, who was ordered to prevent the fight, came thither, and took away the earthen vessel, and endeavoured to put a stop to the sedition; but when he was overcome by the violence of the people of Cæsarea, the Jews caught up their

* Here we may note, that 3,000,000 of the Jews were present at the passover, A. D. 65, which confirms what Josephus elsewhere informs us of, that at a passover a little later, they counted 256,500 paschal lambs, which at twelve to each lamb, which is no immoderate calculation, come to 3,073,000. See B. vi. ch. ix. sect. 3.

† Take here Dr. Hudson's very pertinent note:—"By this action," says he, "the killing of a bird over an earthen vessel, the Jews were exposed as a leprous people; for that was to be done by their law in the cleansing of a leper. (Levit. ch. xiv.) It is also known that the Gentiles reproached the Jews as subject to the leprosy, and believed that they were driven out of Egypt on that account. This that eminent person Mr. Reland suggested to me."

books of the law, and retired to Narbata, which was a place to them belonging, distant from Cæsarea sixty furlongs. But John, and twelve of the principal men with him, went to Florus to Sebaste, and made a lamentable complaint of their case, and besought him to help them; and, with all possible decency, put him in mind of the eight talents they had given him; but he had the men seized upon, and put in prison, and accused them for carrying the books of the law out of Cæsarea.

6. Moreover, as to the citizens of Jerusalem, although they took this matter very ill, yet did they restrain their passion: but Florus acted herein as if he had been hired, and blew up the war into a flame, and sent some to take seventeen talents out of the sacred treasure, and pretended that Cæsar wanted them. At this the people were in confusion immediately, and ran together to the temple, with prodigious clamours, and called upon Cæsar by name, and besought him to free them from the tyranny of Florus. Some also of the seditious cried out upon Florus, and cast the greatest reproaches upon him, and carried a basket about, and begged some spills of money for him, as for one that was destitute of possessions, and in a miserable condition. Yet was he not made ashamed hereby of his love of money, but was more enraged, and provoked to get still more; and instead of coming to Cæsarea, as he ought to have done, and quenching the flame of war which was beginning thence, and so taking away the occasion of any disturbances, on which account it was that he had received a reward [of eight talents,] he marched hastily with an army of horsemen and footmen against Jerusalem, that he might gain his will by the arms of the Romans, and might by his terror and by his threatenings bring the city into subjection.

7. But the people were desirous of making Florus ashamed of his attempt, and met his soldiers with acclamations, and put themselves in order to receive him very submissively. But he sent Capito, a centurion, beforehand, with fifty soldiers, to bid them go back, and not now make a show of receiving him in an obliging manner, whom they had so foully reproached before; and said, that it was incumbent on them, in case they had generous souls and were free speakers, to jest upon him to his face, and appear to be lovers of liberty, not only in words but with their weapons also. With this message was the multitude amazed, and upon the coming of Capito's horsemen into the midst of them, they were dispersed before they could salute Florus, or manifest their submissive behaviour to him. Accordingly, they retired to their own houses, and spent that night in fear and confusion of face.

8. Now at this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace; and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it, when the high priests, and the men of power, and those of the greatest eminence in the city, came all before that tribunal; upon which Florus commanded them to deliver up to him those that had reproached him, and told them, that they should themselves partake of the vengeance to them belonging, if they did not produce the criminals; but these demonstrated that the people were peaceably disposed, and they begged forgiveness for those that had spoken amiss; for that it was no wonder at all that in so great a multitude there should be some more daring than they ought to be, and by reason of their younger age foolish also; and that it was impossible to distinguish those that offended from the rest, while every one was sorry for what he had done, and denied it out of fear of what would follow: that he ought, however, to provide for the peace of the nation, and to take such counsels as might preserve the city for the Romans, and rather, for the sake of a great number of innocent people, to forgive a few that were guilty, than for the sake of a few of the wicked, to put so large and good a body of men into disorder.

9. Florus was more provoked at this, and called out aloud to the soldiers to plunder that which was called the Upper Market-place, and to slay such as they met with. So the soldiers, taking this exhortation of their commander in a sense agreeable to their desire of gain, did not only plunder the place they were sent

to, but, forcing themselves into every house, they slew its inhabitants; so the citizens fled along the narrow lanes, and the soldiers slew those that they caught, and no method of plunder was omitted: they also caught many of the quiet people, and brought them before Florus, whom he first chastised with stripes, and then crucified. Accordingly, the whole number of those that were destroyed that day, with their wives and children (for they did not spare even the infants themselves,) was about three thousand and six hundred. And what made this calamity the heavier was this new method of Roman barbarity: for Florus ventured then to do what no one had done before, that is, to have men of the equestrian order* whipped and nailed to the cross before his tribunal; who although they were by birth Jews, yet were they of Roman dignity notwithstanding.

## CHAP. XV.

*Concerning Bernice's Petition to Florus to spare the Jews, but in vain; as also how after the seditious Flame was quenched, it was kindled again by Florus.*

§ 1. About this very time King Agrippa was going to Alexandria, to congratulate Alexander upon his having obtained the government of Egypt from Nero; but as his sister Bernice was come to Jerusalem, and saw the wicked practices of the soldiers, she was sorely affected at it, and frequently sent the masters of her horse and her guards to Florus, and begged of him to leave off these slaughters; but he would not comply with her request, nor have any regard either to the multitude of those already slain, or to the nobility of her that interceded, but only to the advantage he should make by this plundering; nay, this violence of the soldiers brake out to such a degree of madness, that it spent itself on the queen herself; for they did not only torment and destroy those whom they had caught under her very eyes, but, indeed, had killed herself also, unless she had prevented them by flying to the palace, and had stayed there all night with her guards, which she had about her for fear of an insult from the soldiers. Now she dwelt then at Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow† which she had made to God; for it is usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair off their head. Which things Bernice was now performing, and stood barefoot before Florus's tribunal, and besought him [to spare the Jews.] Yet could she neither have any reverence paid to her, nor could she escape without some danger of being slain herself.

2. This happened upon the sixteenth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar.] Now on the next day the multitude, who were in a great agony, ran together to

* Here we have examples of native Jews who were of the equestrian order among the Romans, and so ought never to have been whipped or crucified, according to the Roman laws. See almost the like case in St. Paul himself, Acts, xxii. 25.—29.

† This vow which Bernice (here and elsewhere called queen, not only as daughter and sister to two kings, Agrippa the Great and Agrippa junior, but the widow of Herod, king of Chalcis) came now to accomplish at Jerusalem, was not that of a Nazarite, but such a one as religious Jews used to make in hopes of any deliverance from a disease, or other danger, as Josephus here intimates. However, these thirty days' abode at Jerusalem, for fasting and preparation against the oblation of a proper sacrifice, seems to be too long, unless it were wholly voluntary in this great lady. It is not required in the law of Moses relating to Nazarites, Numb. vi. and is very different from St. Paul's time for such preparation, which was but one day, Acts, xxi. 26. So we want already the continuation of the Antiquities to afford us light here, as they have hitherto done on so many occasions elsewhere. Perhaps in this age the traditions of the Pharisees had obliged the Jews to this degree of rigour, not only as to these thirty days' preparation, but as to the going barefoot all that time, which here Bernice submitted to also. For we know that as God's and our Saviour's yoke is usually easy, and his burden comparatively light, in such positive injunctions, Matt. xi. 30, so did the Scribes and Pharisees sometimes *bind upon men heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne*, even when *they themselves would not touch them with one of their fingers*, Matt xxiii. 4; Luke, xi. 46. However, Noldius well observes, De Herod. No. 404, 414, that Juvenal in his sixth satire alludes to this remarkable penance or submission of this Bernice to Jewish discipline, and jests upon her for it; as do Tacitus, Dio, Suetonius, and Sextus Aurelius, mention her as one well known at Rome, *ibid*

the upper market-place, and made the loudest lamentations for those that had perished; and the greatest part of the cries were such as reflected on Florus; at which the men of power were affrighted, together with the high priests, and rent their garments, and fell down before each of them, and besought them to leave off, and not provoke Florus to some incurable procedure, besides what they had already suffered. Accordingly, the multitude complied immediately, out of reverence to those that had desired it of them, and out of the hope they had that Florus would do them no more injuries.

3. So Florus was troubled that the disturbances were over, and endeavoured to kindle that flame again; and sent for the high priests, with the other eminent persons, and said, the only demonstration that the people would not make any other innovations should be this, that they must go out and meet the soldiers that were ascending from Cæsarea, whence two cohorts were coming; and while these men were exhorting the multitude so to do, he sent beforehand, and gave directions to the centurions of the cohorts, that they should give notice to those that were under them, not to return the Jews salutations: and that if they made any reply to his disadvantage, they should make use of their weapons. Now the high priests assembled the multitude in the temple, and desired them to go and meet the Romans, and to salute the cohorts very civilly, before their miserable case should become incurable. Now the seditious part would not comply with these persuasions; but the consideration of those that had been destroyed made them incline to those that were the boldest for action.

4. At this time it was that every priest and every servant of God brought out the holy vessels, and the ornamental garments wherein they used to minister about sacred things. The harpers also, and the singers of hymns, came out with their instruments of music, and fell down before the multitude, and begged of them that they would preserve those holy ornaments to them, and not provoke the Romans to carry off those sacred treasures. You might also see then the high priests themselves with dust sprinkled in great plenty upon their heads, with bosoms deprived of any covering but what was rent; these besought every one of the eminent men by name, and the multitude in common, that they would not for a small offence betray their country to those that were desirous to have it laid waste, saying,—"What benefit will it bring to the soldiers to have a salutation from the Jews? or what amendment of your affairs will it bring you, if you do not now go out to meet them? and that if they saluted them civilly, all handle would be cut off from Florus to begin a war: that they should thereby gain their country, and freedom from all farther sufferings: and that, besides, it would be a sign of great want of command of themselves, if they should yield to a few seditious persons, while it was fitter for them, who were so great a people, to force the others to act soberly."

5. By these persuasions, which they used to the multitude and to the seditious, they restrained some by threatenings, and others by the reverence that was paid them. After this they led them out, and they met the soldiers quietly, and after a composed manner; and when they were come up with them they saluted them; but when they made no answer, the seditious exclaimed against Florus, which was the signal given for falling upon them. The soldiers, therefore, encompassed them presently, and struck them with their clubs; and as they fled away the horsemen trampled them down, so that a great many fell down dead by the strokes of the Romans, and more by their own violence in crushing one another. Now there was a terrible crowding about the gates, and while every body was making haste to get before another, the flight of them all was retarded, and a terrible destruction there was among those that fell down, for they were suffocated, and broken to pieces by the multitude of those that were uppermost; nor could any of them be distinguished by his relations in order to the care of his funeral; the soldiers also who beat them fell upon those whom they overtook, without showing them any mercy, and thrust the multitude through

the place called *Bezetha*,* as they forced their way, in order to get in and seize upon the temple and the tower Antonia. Florus also, being desirous to get those places into his possession, brought such as were with him out of the king's palace, and would have compelled them to get as far as the citadel [Antonia;] but his attempts failed; for the people immediately turned back upon him and stopped the violence of his attempt; and as they stood upon the tops of the houses, they threw their darts at the Romans; who as they were sorely galled thereby, because those weapons came from above, and they were not able to make a passage through the multitude which stopped up the narrow passages, they retired to the camp which was at the palace.

6. But for the seditious, they were afraid lest Florus should come again, and get possession of the temple through Antonia; so they got immediately upon those cloisters of the temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down. This cooled the avarice of Florus; for whereas he was eager to obtain the treasures of God [in the temple,] and on that account was desirous of getting into Antonia, as soon as the cloisters were broken down, he left off his attempt: he then sent for the high priests and the sanhedrim, and told them, that he was, indeed, himself going out of the city, but that he would leave them as large a garrison as they should desire. Hereupon they promised that they would make no innovations, in case they would leave them one band, but not that which had fought with the Jews, because the multitude bore ill will against that band on account of what they had suffered from it; so he changed the band, as they desired, and, with the rest of his forces, returned to Cæsarea.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Cestius sends Neopolitanus the Tribune to see in what Condition the Affairs of the Jews were. Agrippa makes a Speech to the people of the Jews, that he may divert them from their Intentions of making War with the Romans*

§ 1. However, Florus contrived another way to oblige the Jews to begin the war, and sent to Cestius, and accused the Jews falsely of revolting [from the Roman government,] and imputed the beginning of the former fight to them, and pretended that they had been the authors of that disturbance, wherein they were only the sufferers. Yet were not the governors of Jerusalem silent upon this occasion, but did themselves write to Cestius, as did Bernice also, about the illegal practices of which Florus had been guilty against the city; who, upon reading both accounts, consulted with his captains [what he should do.] Now some of them thought it best for Cestius to go up with his army, either to punish the revolt, if it was real, or to settle the Roman affairs on a surer foundation, if the Jews continued quiet under them; but he thought it best himself to send one of his intimate friends beforehand, to see the state of affairs, and to give him a faithful account of the intentions of the Jews. Accordingly he sent one of his tribunes, whose name was *Neopolitanus*, who met with king Agrippa, as he was returning from Alexandria, at Jamnia, and told him who it was that sent him, and on what errands he was sent.

2. And here it was that the high priests and men of power among the Jews, as well as the Sanhedrim, came to congratulate the king [upon his safe return;] and after they had paid him their respects, they lamented their own calamities,

* I take this Bezetha to be that small hill adjoining to the north side of the temple, whereon was the hospital with five porticoes or cloisters, and beneath which was the sheep-pools of Bethesda, into which an angel or messenger, at a certain season, descended, and where he or they who were the *first put into the pool*, were cured, John, v. 1, &c. This situation of Bezetha, in Josephus, on the north side of the temple, and not far off the tower Antonia, exactly agrees to the place of the same pool at this day; only the remaining cloisters are now but three. See Maundrel, page 106. The entire buildings seem to have been called the *New City*, and this part, where was the hospital, peculiarly Bezetha or Bethesda. See ch. xix. sect. 4.

and related to him what barbarous treatment they had met with from Florus: at which barbarity Agrippa had great indignation, but transferred after a subtle manner his anger towards those Jews whom he really pitied, that he might beat down their high thoughts of themselves, and would have them believe that they had not been so unjustly treated in order to dissuade them from avenging themselves. So these great men, as of better understanding than the rest, and desirous of peace, because of the possessions they had, understood that this rebuke which the king gave them was intended for their good; but as to the people, they came sixty furlongs out of Jerusalem, and congratulated both Agrippa and Neopolitanus; but the wives of those that had been slain came running first of all and lamenting. The people also, when they heard their mourning, fell into lamentation also and besought Agrippa to assist them: they also cried out to Neopolitanus, and complained of the many miseries they had endured under Florus; and they showed them, when they were come into the city, how the market place was made desolate and the houses plundered. They then persuaded Neopolitanus, by the means of Agrippa, that he would walk round the city, with one servant only, as far as Siloam, that he might inform himself that the Jews submitted to all the rest of the Romans, and were only displeased at Florus, by reason of his exceeding barbarity to them. So he walked round, and had sufficient experience of the good temper the people were in, and then went up to the temple, where he called the multitude together, and highly commended them for their fidelity to the Romans, and earnestly exhorted them to keep the peace; and having performed such parts of divine worship at the temple as he was allowed to do he returned to Cestius.

3. But as for the multitude of the Jews, they addressed themselves to the king and to the high priests, and desired they might have leave to send ambassadors to Nero against Florus, and not by their silence afford a suspicion that they had been the occasion of such great slaughters as had been made were disposed to revolt, alleging that they should seem to have been the first beginners of the war, if they did not prevent the report, by showing who it was that began it; and it appeared openly that they would not be quiet, if any body should hinder them from sending such an embassage. But Agrippa, although he thought it too dangerous a thing for them to appoint men to go as the accusers of Florus, yet did not he think it fit for him to overlook them, as they were in a disposition for war. He therefore, called the multitude together into a large gallery, and placed his sister Bernice in the house of the Asamoneans that she might be seen by them, (which house was over the gallery, at the passage to the upper city, where the bridge joined the temple to the gallery,) and spake to them as follows.—

4. *"Had I perceived that you were all zealously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel; for all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought

* In this speech of king Agrippa we have an authentic account of the extent and strength of the Roman empire when the Jewish war began. And this speech with other circumstances in Josephus demonstrate how wise and how great a person this Agrippa was, and why Josephus elsewhere calls him Θαυμασιωτατος *a most wonderful or admirable man*, Contr. Ap. 1, 9. He is the same Agrippa who said to Paul, *Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian*, Acts. xxvi. 28; and of whom St. Paul said, *He was expert in all the customs and questions of the Jews*, ver. 3. See another intimation of the limits of the same Roman empire, Of the War, B. iii. ch. v. sect. 7. But what seems to me very remarkable here is this, that when Josephus, in imitation of the Greeks and Romans, for whose use he wrote his Antiquities, did himself frequently compose the speeches which he put into others' mouths, they appear, by the politeness of their composition, and their flights of oratory, to be not the real speeches of the persons concerned, who usually were no orators, but of his own elegant composure: the speech before us is of another nature, full of undeniable facts and composed in a plain and unartful, but moving way; so that it appears to be king Agrippa's own speech, and to have been given Josephus by Agrippa himself, with whom Josephus had the greatest friendship. Nor may we omit Agrippa's constant doctrine here, that this vast Roman empire was raised and supported by divine Providence; and that, therefore, it was in vain for the Jews, or any others, to think of destroying it. Nor may we neglect to take notice of Agrippa solemn appeal to the angels here used; the like appeals to which we have in St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 21, and by the apostles, in general, in the form of the ordination of bishops, Constitut. Apost. viii. 4.

to do is superfluous, when the hearers are agreed to do the contrary. But because some are earnest to go to war, because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings, and because some are for it, out of an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and because others hope to get by it, and are, therefore, earnestly bent upon it, that in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist them, I have thought proper to get you all together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage; that so the former may grow wiser, and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill conduct of some others. And let not any one be tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those that admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation is over; but still my discourse will fall to the ground even with relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you all keep silence. I am well aware that many make a tragical exclamation concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators, and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty; but before I begin the inquiry, who you are that must go to war? and who they are against whom you must fight? I shall first separate those pretences that are by some connected together; for if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty. But if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serves your complaint against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is the accusations you have to make against your procurators: now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any provocation; but when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and to lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience, and the quietness of those who are injured diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But let us take it for granted, that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are incurably severe; yet they are not all the Romans who thus injure you; nor hath Cæsar, against whom you are going to war, injured you: it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east; nor, indeed, is it easy for them there even to hear what is done in these parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one; to do so with such mighty people for a small cause; and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain: nay such crimes as we complain of may soon be corrected; for the same procurator will not continue for ever; and probable it is, that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unseasonable to indulge it so late; whereas you ought to have laboured earnestly in old time that you might never have lost it; for the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just; but that slave that hath been once brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty; for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have admitted the Romans [into your city,] when Pompey came first into the country. But so it was that our ancestors, and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money and [strong] bodies, and valiant] souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you, who have now accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted in your

circumstances, will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans; while those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city; who pursued Xerxes, that proud prince, when he sailed upon the sea and walked upon the land, and could not be contained by the seas, but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe, and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia as the Lesser Salamis, are yet at this time servants to the Romans; and those injunctions which are sent from Italy become laws to the principal governing city of Greece. Those Lacedemonians also, who got the great victories of Thermopylæ and Platea, and had Agesilaus [for their king,] and searched every corner of Asia, are contented to admit the same lords. Those Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them the empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of army do you rely upon? What are the arms you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may seize upon the Roman seas? And where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians and with the Arabians? Will not you carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will not you estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighbouring nations; while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth; nay, rather they seek for somewhat still beyond that; for all Euphrates is not a sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north; and for their southern limit Libya hath been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited, as is Cadiz their limit on the west; nay, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What, therefore, do you pretend to? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth? What confidence is it, that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Perhaps it will be said, it is hard to endure slavery. Yes, but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who are esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun. These, though they inhabit in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have juster reasons to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? do not they submit to a single governor and to the consular bundle of rods. What need I speak of the Heniochi, and Cholchi, and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about Pontus and Meotis, who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and where forty long ships kept the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bythinia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphilia, the Lycians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty? But they are made tributary without an army. What are the circumstances of the Thracians? whose country extends in breadth five days journey and in length seven, and is a much more harsh constitution, and much more defensible than yours, and by the rigour of its cold sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them; do not they submit to two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrians, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube, governed by barely two legions? By which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Dacians. And for the Dalmatians, who have made such frequent insurrections in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued but that they always gathered their forces together again, and revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if great advantages might

provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature; on the east by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by the Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean. Now although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attacks upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, nay, have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost the whole world, these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them: and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years, in order to preserve their liberty, but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune, which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, which are hardly so many as are their cities; nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty; nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations. And one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives every where; yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captives became their servants; and the rest of the entire nation was obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had; for the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them, while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than [the continent of] this habitable earth; and four legions are a sufficient guard to so large an island. And why should I speak much more about this matter? while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans; whereby you may see, if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the east, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now, when almost all people under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of the brags of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of their Phœnician original, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor, indeed, have the Cyreneans, derived from the Lacedemonians, nor the Marmaridæ, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for want of water, nor have the Syrtes, a place terrible to such as barely hear it described, the Nasamons and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman valour. And as for the third part of the habitable earth [Africa,] whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them, and which is bounded by the Atlantic sea and the pillars of Hercules, and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians, as far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued entirely. And besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintain the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year, this, over and above, pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenue suitable to the necessities of the government: nor do they, like you, esteem such injunctions a disgrace to them, although they have but one Roman legion that abides among them. And, indeed, what occasion is there for showing

you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt, in your neighbourhood? This country is extended as far as the Ethiopians and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India: it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenue of the poll-tax; yet is it not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and is, besides, exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs and its breadth not less than ten; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year; nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that supports it for four months [in the year:] it is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes; yet have none of these things been found too strong for the Roman good fortune; however, two legions that lie in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where, then, are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from the parts of the world that are uninhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are [under the] Romans; unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance; but certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do; for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenants between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains, therefore, is this, that you have recourse to divine assistance: but this is already on the side of the Romans; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God's providence. Reflect upon it how impossible it is for your zealous observation of your religious customs to be here preserved, which are hard to be observed even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and if you do observe the custom of the Sabbath days, and will not be prevailed on to do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest in his siege on those days on which the besieged rested. But if in time of war you transgress the law of your country, I cannot tell on whose account you will afterward go to war; for your concern is but one, that you do nothing against any of your forefathers, and how will you call upon God to assist you when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now all men that go to war do it either as depending on divine or on human assistance; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? for by this mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being beaten. But it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storm, and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes; for we justly pity those who fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them; but for him who rushes into manifest ruin, he gains reproaches [instead of commiseration.] But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for those of you who shall survive the war will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those of them which dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them

whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war, and on that account also and so every city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter, for the sake of a few men, and they who slay them will be pardoned: but if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not of your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing that is for your preservation: and if you will follow that advice which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge your passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from."

5. When Agrippa had spoken thus, both he and his sister wept, and by their tears repressed a great deal of the violence of the people: but still they cried out,—"That they would not fight against the Romans, but against Florus, on account of what they had suffered by his means." To which Agrippa replied, that "what they had already done was like such as make war against the Romans; for you have not paid the tribute* which is due to Cæsar; and you have cut off the cloisters [of the temple] from joining to the tower Antonia. You will, therefore, prevent any occasion of revolt if you will but join these together again, and if you will but pay your tribute; for the citadel does not now belong to Florus, nor are you to pay the tribute money to Florus."

## CHAP. XVII.

*How the War of the Jews with the Romans began; and concerning Manahem.*

§ 1. This advice the people hearkened to, and went up into the temple, with the king and Bernice, and began to rebuild the cloisters: the rulers also and senators divided themselves into the villages, and collected the tributes, and soon got together forty talents, which was the sum that was deficient. And thus did Agrippa then put a stop to that war which was threatened; moreover, he attempted to persuade the multitude to obey Florus, until Cæsar should send one to succeed him; but they were hereby more provoked, and cast reproaches upon the king, and got him excluded out of the city; nay, some of the seditious had the impudence to throw stones at him. So when the king saw that the violence of those that were for innovations was not to be restrained, and being very angry at the contumelies he had received, he sent their rulers, together with their men of power, to Florus to Cæsarea, that he might appoint whom he thought fit to collect the tribute in the country, while he retired into his own kingdom.

2. And at this time it was that some of those that principally excited the people to go to war, made an assault upon a certain fortress called *Masada*. They took it by treachery, and slew the Romans that were there, and put others of their party to keep it. At the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias, the high priest, a very bold youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Cæsar on this account: and when many of the high priests and principal men besought them not to omit the sacrifice which it was customary for them to offer for their princes, they would not be prevailed

* Julius Cæsar had decreed, that the Jews of Jerusalem should pay an annual tribute to the Romans excepting the city Joppa, and for the Sabbatical year, as Spanheim observes from the Antiq. B. xiv. ch. x. sect. 6

upon. These relied much upon their multitude, for the most flourishing part of the innovators assisted them; but they had the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple.

3. Hereupon the men of power got together, and conferred with the high priests, as did also the principal of the Pharisees: and thinking all was at stake, and that their calamities were becoming incurable, took counsel what was to be done. Accordingly, they determined to try what they could do with the seditious by words, and assembled the people before the brazen gate, which was the gate of the inner temple [court of the priests] which looked towards the sunrising. And, in the first place, they showed the great indignation they had at this attempt for a revolt, and for their bringing so great a war upon their country: after which they confuted their pretence as unjustifiable, and told them, that "their forefathers had adorned their temple in great part with donations bestowed on them by foreigners, and had always received what had been presented to them from foreign nations; and that they had been so far from rejecting any person's sacrifice (which would be the highest instance of impiety,) that they had themselves placed those donations about the temple, which were still visible, and had remained there so long a time: that they did now irritate the Romans to take arms against them, and invited them to make war upon them, and brought up novel rules of a strange divine worship, and determined to run the hazard of having their city condemned for impiety, while they would not allow any foreigner, but Jews only, either to sacrifice or to worship therein. And if such a law should be introduced in the case of a single private person only, he would have indignation at it, as an instance of inhumanity determined against him: while they have no regard to the Romans or to Cæsar, and forbid even their oblations to be received also: that, however, they cannot but fear, lest by thus rejecting their sacrifices they shall not be allowed to offer their own; and that this city will lose its principality, unless they grow wiser quickly, and restore the sacrifices as formerly, and, indeed, amend the injury [they have offered foreigners,] before the report of it comes to the ears of those that have been injured."

4. And as they said these things, they produced those priests that were skilful in the customs of their country, who made the report, that "all their forefathers had received the sacrifices from foreign nations." But still not one of the innovators would hearken to what was said; nay, those that ministered about the temple would not attend their divine service, but were preparing matters for beginning the war. So the men of power, perceiving that the sedition was too hard for them to subdue, and that the danger which would arise from the Romans would come upon them first of all, endeavoured to save themselves, and sent ambassadors, some to Florus, the chief of which was Simon, the son of Ananias, and others to Agrippa, among whom the most eminent were Saul, and Antipas, and Costobarus, who were of the king's kindred; and they desired of them both that they would come with an army to the city, and cut off the sedition before it should be too hard to be subdued. Now this terrible message was good news to Florus; and because his design was to have a war kindled, he gave the ambassadors no answer at all. But Agrippa was equally solicitous for those that were revolting and for those against whom the war was to be made, and was desirous to preserve the Jews for the Romans, and the temple and metropolis for the Jews: he was also sensible that it was not for his own advantage that the disturbances should proceed; so he sent three thousand horsemen to the assistance of the people, out of Auranitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, and these under Darius the master of his horse, and Philip the son of Jacimus, the general of his army.

5. Upon this the men of power, with the high priests, as also all the part of the multitude that were desirous of peace, took courage, and seized upon the upper city [Mount Sion;] for the seditious part had the lower city and the temple in their power: so they made use of stones and slings perpetually against one another, and threw darts continually on both sides; and sometimes it happened

that they made excursions by troops, and fought it out hand to hand, while the seditious were superior in boldness, but the king's soldiers in skill. These last strove chiefly to gain the temple, and to drive those out of it who profaned it; as did the seditious, with Eleazar, besides what they had already, labour to gain the upper city. Thus were there perpetual slaughters on both sides for seven days' time: but neither side would yield up the parts they had seized on.

6. Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory, upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar (that there might never be a want of fuel for that fire which was unquenchable, and always burning;) upon that day they excluded the opposite party from the observation of this part of religion. And when they had joined to themselves many of the Sicarii, who crowded in among the weaker people (that was the name for such robbers as had under their bosoms swords called *Sicæ*,) they grew bolder, and carried their undertakings farther; insomuch that the king's soldiers were overpowered by their multitude and boldness, and so they gave way, and were driven out of the upper city by force. The others then set fire to the house of Ananias the high priest, and to the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice: after which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were deposited, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby to dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorer sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy; so the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them. And when they had thus burnt down the nerves of the city, they fell upon their enemies; at which time some of the men of power and of the high priests went into the vaults under ground, and concealed themselves, while others fled with the king's soldiers to the upper palace, and shut the gates immediately; among whom were Ananias the high priest and the ambassadors that had been sent to Agrippa. And now the seditious were contented with the victory they had gotten, and the buildings they had burnt down, and proceeded no farther.

7. But on the next day, which was the fifteenth of the month Lous [Ab,] they made an assault upon Antonia, and besieged the garrison which was in it two days, and then took the garrison and slew them, and set the citadel on fire; after which they marched to the palace, whither the king's soldiers were fled, and parted themselves into four bodies, and made an attack upon the walls. As for those that were within it, no one had the courage to sally out, because those that assaulted them were so numerous; but they distributed themselves into the breastworks and turrets, and shot at the besiegers, whereby many of the robbers fell under the walls; nor did they cease to fight one with another, either by night or by day, while the seditious supposed that those within would grow weary for want of food, and those without supposed the others would do the like by the tediousness of the siege.

8. In the meantime, one Manahem, the son of Judas that was called the *Galilean* (who was a very cunning sophister, and had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius, that after God they were subject to the Romans,) took some of the men of note with him, and retired to Masada, where he broke open king Herod's armoury, and gave arms not only to his own people, but to other robbers also. These he made use of for a guard, and returned in the state of a king to Jerusalem; he became the leader of a sedition, and gave orders for continuing the siege, but they wanted proper instruments, and it was not practicable to undermine the wall, because the darts came down upon them from above. But still they dug a mine from a great distance under one of the towers, and made it totter; and having done that, they set on fire what was combustible, and left it, and when the foundations were burnt below, the tower fell down suddenly. Yet did they then meet with another wall that had been built within, for the besieged were sensible beforehand of what they were doing; and probably the tower shook

as it was undermining; so they provided themselves of another fortification which when the besiegers unexpectedly saw, while they thought they had already gained the place, they were under some consternation. However, those that were within sent to Manahem, and to the other leaders of the sedition, and desired they might go out upon a capitulation: this was granted to the king's soldiers and their own countrymen only, who went out accordingly; but the Romans that were left alone were greatly dejected, for they were not able to force their way through such a multitude; and to desire them to give them their right hand for their security, they thought it would be a reproach to them; and besides, if they should give it them, they durst not depend upon it; so they deserted their camp, as easily taken, and ran away to the royal towers, that called *Hippicus*, that called *Phasaelus*, and that called *Mariamne*. But Manahem and his party fell upon the place whence the soldiers were fled, and slew as many of them as they could catch, before they got up to the towers, and plundered what they left behind them, and set fire to their camp. This was executed on the sixth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul.]

9. But on the next day the high priest was caught, where he had concealed himself in an aqueduct; he was slain, together with Hezekiah his brother, by the robbers: hereupon the seditious besieged the towers, and kept them guarded, lest any one of the soldiers should escape. Now the overthrow of the places of strength, and the death of the high priest Ananias, so puffed up Manahem, that he became barbarously cruel; and as he thought he had no antagonist to dispute the management of affairs with him, he was no better than an insupportable tyrant: but Eleazar and his party, when words had passed between them, how "it was not proper when they revolted from the Romans, out of the desire of liberty, to betray that liberty to any of their own people, and to bear a lord, who, though he should be guilty of no violence, was yet meaner than themselves: as also, that, in case they were obliged to set some one over their public affairs, it was fitter they should give that privilege to any one rather than to him," they made an assault upon him in the temple: for he went up thither to worship in a pompous manner, and adorned with royal garments, and had his followers with him in their armour. But Eleazar and his party fell violently upon him, as did also the rest of the people, and taking up stones to attack him withal, they threw them at the sophister, and thought that if he were once ruined, the entire sedition would fall to the ground. Now Manahem and his party made resistance for a while, but when they perceived that the whole multitude were falling upon them, they fled which way every one was able: those that were caught were slain, and those that hid themselves were searched for. A few there were of them who privately escaped to Masada, among whom was Eleazar, the son of Jairus, who was of kin to Manahem, and acted the part of a tyrant at Masada afterward: as for Manahem himself, he ran away to the place called *Ophla*, and there lay skulking in private: but they took him alive, and drew him out before them all: they then tortured him with many sorts of torments, and after all slew him, as they did by those that were captains under him also, and particularly by the principal instrument of his tyranny, whose name was *Apsalom*.

10. And, as I said, so far truly the people assisted them, while they hoped this might afford some amendment to the seditious practices; but the others were not in haste to put an end to the war, but hoped to prosecute it with less danger, now they had slain Manahem. It is true, that when the people earnestly desired that they would leave off besieging the soldiers, they were the more earnest in pressing it forward, and this till Metellius, who was the Roman general, sent to Eleazar, and desired that they would give them security to spare their lives only, but agreed to deliver up their arms, and what else they had with them. The others readily complied with their petition, sent to them Gorion, the son of Nicodemus, and Ananias the son of Sadduk, and Judas, the son of Jonathan, that they might give them the security of their right hands and of their oaths; after which Metel-

lius brought down his soldiers, which soldiers while they were in arms, were not meddled with by any of the seditious, nor was there any appearance of treachery; but as soon as, according to the articles of capitulation, they had all laid down their shields and their swords, and were under no farther suspicion of any harm but were going awa Eleazar's men attacked them after a violent manner, and encompassed them round, and slew them while they neither defended themselves, nor entreated for mercy but only cried out upon the breach of their articles of capitulation and their oaths. And thus were all these men barbarously murdered excepting Metellius; for when he entreated for mercy, and promised that he would turn Jew and be circumcised, they saved him alive, but none else. This loss to the Romans was but light, there being no more than a few slain out of an immense army: but still it seemed to be a prelude to the Jews' own destruction, while men made public lamentation when they saw that such occasions were afforded for a war as were incurable; that the city was all over polluted with such abominations from which it was but reasonable to expect some vengeance, even though they should escape revenge from the Romans; so that the city was filled with sadness, and every one of the moderate men in it were under great disturbance, as likely themselves to undergo punishment for the wickedness of the seditious; for, indeed, it so happened, that this murder was perpetrated on the Sabbath day, on which day the Jews have a respite from their works on account of divine worship.

## CHAP. XVIII.

### *The Calamities and Slaughters that came upon the Jews.*

§ 1. Now the people of Cæsarea had slain the Jews that were among them on the very same day and hour [when the soldiers were slain,] which one would think must have come to pass by the direction of Providence; insomuch that in one hour's time above twenty thousand Jews were killed, and all Cæsarea was emptied of its Jewish inhabitants; for Florus caught such as ran away, and sent them in bonds to the galleys. Upon which stroke that the Jews received at Cæsarea, the whole nation was greatly enraged; so they divided themselves into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and their neighbouring cities, Philadelphia, and Sebonitis, and Gerasa, and Pella, and Scythopolis, and after them Gadara and Hippos; and falling upon Gaulanitis, some cities they destroyed there, and some they set on fire, and then went to Kedasa, belonging to the Tyrians, and to Ptolemais, and to Gaba, and to Cæsarea; nor was either Sebaste [Samaria] or Askalon able to oppose the violence with which they were attacked; and when they had burnt these to the ground, they entirely demolished Anthedon and Gaza; many also of the villages that were about every one of those cities were plundered, and an immense slaughter was made of the men who were caught in them.

2. However, the Syrians were even with the Jews in the multitude of the men whom they slew; for they killed those whom they caught in their cities, and that not only out of the hatred they bare them, as formerly, but to prevent the danger under which they were from them; so that the disorders in all Syria were terrible, and every city was divided into two armies encamped one against another, and the preservation of the one party was in the destruction of the other; so the daytime was spent in shedding of blood, and the night in fear, which was of the two the more terrible; for when the Syrians thought they had ruined the Jews, they had the Judaizers in suspicion also; and as each side did not care to slay those whom they only suspected on the other, so did they greatly fear them when they were mingled with the other, as if they were certainly foreigners. Moreover, greediness of gain was a provocation to kill the opposite party, even to such as had of old appeared very mild and gentle towards them; for they without fear

plundered the effects of the slain, and carried off the spoils of those whom they slew to their own houses, as if they had been gained in a set battle; and he was esteemed a man of honour who got the greatest share, as having prevailed over the greatest number of his enemies. It was then common to see cities filled with dead bodies, still lying unburied, and those of old men, mixed with infants, all dead, and scattered about together: women also lay amongst them, without and covering for their nakedness: you might then see the whole province full of inexpressible calamities, while the dread of still more barbarous practices which were threatened, were everywhere greater than what had been already perpetrated.

3. And thus far the conflict had been between Jews and foreigners, but when they made excursions to Scythopolis, they found Jews that acted as enemies: for as they stood in battle array with those of Scythopolis, and preferred their own safety before their relation to us, they fought against their own countrymen: nay, their alacrity was so very great, that those of Scythopolis suspected them. These were afraid, therefore, lest they should make an assault upon the city in the night-time, and, to their great misfortune, should thereby make an apology for themselves to their own people for their revolt from them. So they commanded them, that in case they would confirm their agreement, and demonstrate their fidelity to them, who were of a different nation, they should go out of the city with their families to a neighbouring grove; and when they had done as they were commanded, without suspecting any thing, the people of Scythopolis lay still for the interval of two days, to tempt them to be secure; but on the third night they watched their opportunity, and cut all their throats, some as they lay unguarded and some as they lay asleep. The number that was slain was above thirteen thousand, and then they plundered them of all that they had.

4. It will deserve our relation what befell Simon; he was the son of one Saul, a man of reputation among the Jews. This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body and the boldness of his conduct, although he abused them both to the mischieving of his countrymen; for he came every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis, and he frequently put them to flight, and became himself alone the cause of his army's conquering. But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him; for when the people of Scythopolis threw their darts at them in the grove, he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy; for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude; but he cried out after a very moving manner, and said,—"O you people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such security of my fidelity to you, by slaying so many of those that were related to me: wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will, therefore, die, polluted wretch as I am, by mine own hands; for it is not fit I should die by the hands of our enemies; and let the same action be to me both a punishment for my great crimes, and a testimony of my courage to my commendation, that so no one of our enemies may have it to brag of, that he it was that slew me, and no one may insult upon me as I fall." Now when he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family with eyes of commiseration and of rage (that family consisted of a wife and children, and his aged parents;) so, in the first place, he caught his father by his gray hairs, and ran his sword through him, and after him he did the same to his mother, who willingly received it; and after them he did the like to his wife and children, every one almost offering themselves to his sword, as desirous to prevent being slain by their enemies: so when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword into his own bowels. This young man was to be pitied on account of

the strength of his body and the courage of his soul; but since he had assured foreigners of his fidelity [against his own countrymen,] he suffered deservedly.

5. Besides this murder at Scythopolis, the other cities rose up against the Jews that were among them: those of Askalon slew two thousand five hundred and those of Ptolemais two thousand, and put not a few into bonds; those of Tyre also put a great number to death, but kept a great number in prison: moreover, those of Hippos and those of Gadara did the like, while they put to death the boldest of the Jews. but kept those of whom they were most afraid in custody; as did the rest of the cities of Syria, according as they every one either hated them or were afraid of them; only the Antiochians, the Sidonians, and Apamians spared those that dwelt with them, and would not endure either to kill any of the Jews, or to put them in bonds. And, perhaps, they spared them, because their own number was so great that they despised their attempts; but I think the greatest part of this favour was owing to their commiseration of those whom they saw to make no innovations. As for the Gerasans, they did no harm to those that abode with them, and for those who had a mind to go away, they conducted them as far as their borders reached.

6. There was also a plot laid against the Jews in Agrippa's kingdom; for he was himself gone to Cestius Gallus to Antioch, but had left one of his companions, whose name was *Noarus*, to take care of the public affairs; which Noarus was of kin to king Sohemus.* Now there came certain men, seventy in number, out of Batanea, who were the most considerable for their families and prudence of the rest of the people; these desired to have an army put into their hands, that if any tumult should happen, they might have about them a guard sufficient to restrain such as might rise up against them. This Noarus sent out some of the king's armed men by night, and slew all those [seventy] men; which bold action he ventured upon without the consent of Agrippa, and was such a lover of money, that he chose to be so wicked to his own countrymen, though he brought ruin on the kingdom thereby; and thus cruelly did he treat that nation, and this contrary to the laws also, until Agrippa was informed of it, who did not, indeed, dare to put him to death, out of regard to Sohemus, but still he put an end to his procuratorship immediately. But as to the seditious, they took the citadel which was called *Cypros*, and was above Jericho, and cut the throats of the garrison, and utterly demolished the fortifications: this was about the same time that the multitude of the Jews that were at Macherus persuaded the Romans who were in garrison to leave the place, and deliver it up to them. These Romans, being in great fear lest the place should be taken by force, made an agreement with them to depart upon certain conditions; and when they had obtained the security they desired, they delivered up the citadel, into which the people of Macherus put a garrison for their own security, and held it in their own power.

7. But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual, and this from that very time when Alexander [the Great,] upon finding the readiness of the Jews in assisting him against the Egyptians, and as a reward for such their assistance, gave them equal privileges in this city with the Grecians themselves; which honorary reward continued among them under his successors, who also set apart for them a particular place, that they might live without being polluted [by the Gentiles,] and were thereby not so much intermixed with foreigners as before; they also gave them this farther privilege, that they should be called *Macedonians*. Nay, when the Romans got possession of Egypt, neither the first Cæsar, nor any one that came after him, thought of diminishing the honours which Alexander had bestowed on the Jews. But still

* Of this Sohemus we have mention made by Tacitus. We also learn from Dio, that his father was king of the Arabians of Iturea, which Iturea is mentioned by [St. Luke, iii. 1] both, whose testimonies are quoted here by Dr. Hudson. See Noldius, No. 371.

conflicts perpetually arose with the Grecians; and although the governors did every day punish many of them, yet did the sedition grow worse; but at this time especially, when there were tumults in other places also, the disorders among them were put into a greater flame; for when the Alexandrians had once a public assembly, to deliberate about an ambassage they were sending to Nero, a great number of Jews came flocking to the theatre; but when their adversaries saw them, they immediately cried out, and called them their enemies, and said they came as spies upon them; upon which they rushed out, and laid violent hands upon them; and as for the rest, they were slain as they ran away; but there were three men whom they caught, and hauled them along, in order to have them burnt alive; but all the Jews came in a body to defend them, who at first threw stones at the Grecians, but after that they took lamps, and rushed with violence into the theatre, and threatened that they would burn the people to a man: and this they had soon done, unless Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had restrained their passions. However, this man did not begin to teach them wisdom by arms, but sent among them privately some of the principal men, and thereby entreated them to be quiet, and not provoke the Roman army against them; but the seditious made a jest of the entreaties of Tiberius, and reproached him for so doing.

8. Now when he perceived that those who were for innovations would not be pacified till some great calamity should overtake them, he sent out upon them those two Roman legions that were in the city, and together with them five thousand other soldiers, who, by chance were come together out of Libya, to the ruin of the Jews. They were also permitted not only to kill them, but to plunder them of what they had, and to set fire to their houses. These soldiers rushed violently into that part of the city that was called *Delta*, where the Jewish people lived together, and did as they were bidden, though not without bloodshed on their own side also; for the Jews got together, and set those that were the best armed among them in the forefront, and made resistance for a great while; but when once they gave back they were destroyed unmercifully; and this their destruction was complete, some being caught in the open field, and others forced into their houses; which houses were first plundered of what was in them, and then set on fire by the Romans; wherein no mercy was shown to the infants, and no regard had to the aged; but they went on in the slaughter of persons of every age, till all the place was overflowed with blood, and fifty thousand of them lay dead upon heaps: nor had the remainder been preserved, had they not betaken themselves to supplication. So Alexander commiserated their condition, and gave orders to the Romans to retire: accordingly, these being accustomed to obey orders, left off killing at the first intimation; but the populace of Alexandria bare so very great a hatred to the Jews, that it was difficult to recall them, and it was a hard thing to make them leave their dead bodies.

9. And this was the miserable calamity which at this time befell the Jews at Alexandria. Hereupon Cestius thought fit no longer to lie still, while the Jews were everywhere up in arms: so he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of each of the rest he selected two thousand, with six cohorts of footmen and four troops of horsemen, besides those auxiliaries which were sent by the kings; of which Antiochus* sent two thousand horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with as many archers; and Agrippa sent the same number of footmen, and one thousand horsemen: Sohemus also followed with four thousand, a third part whereof were horsemen, but most part were archers, and thus did he march to Ptolemais. There were also great numbers of auxiliaries gathered together from the [free] cities, who had not, indeed, the same skill in martial affairs, but made up in their alacrity, and in their hatred to the Jews, what they wanted in

* Spanheim notes on the place, that this latter Antiochus, who was called *Epiphanes*, is mentioned by Dio, lix. page 645, and that he is mentioned by Josephus elsewhere twice also, B. v. ch. xi. sect. 3, and Antiq. B. xix. ch. viii. sect. 1.

skill. There came also along with Cestius, Agrippa himself, both as a guide in his march over the country, and a director what was fit to be done; so Cestius took part of his forces, and marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which was called *the city of men*, and divides the country of Ptolemais from our nation: this he found deserted by its men, the multitude having fled to the mountains, but full of all sorts of good things: those he gave leave to the soldiers to plunder, and set fire to the city, although it was of admirable beauty, and had its houses built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. After this he overran all the country, and seized upon whatsoever came in his way, and set fire to the villages that were round about them, and then returned to Ptolemais. But when the Syrians, and especially those of Berytus, were busy in plundering, the Jews pulled up their courage again, for they knew that Cestius was retired, and fell upon those that were left behind unexpectedly, and destroyed about two thousand of them.

10. And now Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais and came to Cæsarea; but he sent part of his army before him to Joppa, and gave order, that if they could take that city [by surprise,] they should keep it; but that in case the citizens should perceive they were coming to attack them, that they then should stay for him and for the rest of the army. So some of them made a brisk march by the seaside, and some by land, and so coming upon them on both sides, they took the city with ease: and as the inhabitants had made no provision aforehand for a flight, nor had gotten any thing ready for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. The number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred. In like manner Cestius sent also a considerable body of horsemen to the toparchy of Narbatene, that adjoined to Cæsarea, who destroyed the country, and slew a great multitude of its people; they also plundered what they had, and burnt their villages.

11. But Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, and delivered to him as many of his forces as he supposed sufficient to subdue that nation. He was received by the strongest city of Galilee, which was Sephoris, with acclamations of joy; which wise conduct of that city occasioned the rest of the cities to be in quiet; while the seditious part and the robbers ran away to that mountain which lies in the very middle of Galilee, and is situated over against Sepphoris; it is called *Asamon*. So Gallus brought his forces against them; but while those men were in the superior parts above the Romans, they easily threw their darts upon the Romans, as they made their approaches, and slew about two hundred of them. But when the Romans had gone round the mountains, and were gotten into the parts above their enemies, the others were soon beaten; nor could they who had only light armour on sustain the force of them that fought them armed all over; nor when they were beaten could they escape the enemies horsemen; insomuch that only some few concealed themselves in certain places hard to be come at among the mountains, while the rest, above two thousand in number, were slain.

## CHAP. XIX.

*What Cestius did against the Jews; and how, upon his besieging Jerusalem, he retreated from the City, without any just Occasion in the World; as also, what severe Calamities he underwent from the Jews in his Retreat.*

§ 1. And now Gallus, seeing nothing more that looked towards an innovation in Galilee, returned with his army to Cæsarea: but Cestius removed with his whole army, and marched to Antipatris. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain

tower called *Aphek*, he sent a party before to fight them; but this party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them, before it came to a battle: so they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it, as well as the villages that lay about it. But when Cestius had marched from Antipatris to Lydda, he found the city empty of its men, for the whole multitude* were gone up to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles; yet did he destroy fifty of those that showed themselves, and burnt the city, and so marched forwards; and ascending by Beth-horon, he pitched his camp at a certain place called *Gabao*, fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem.

2. But as for the Jews, when they saw the war approaching to their metropolis, they left the feast, and betook themselves to their arms; and taking courage greatly from their multitude, went in a sudden and disorderly manner to the fight, with a great noise, and without any consideration had of the rest of the seventh day, although the Sabbath was the day to which they had the greatest regard; but that rage which made them forget the religious observation [of the Sabbath] made them too hard for their enemies in the fight: with such violence, therefore, did they fall upon the Romans, as to break into their ranks, and to march through the midst of them, making a great slaughter as they went, insomuch that unless the horsemen and such part of the footmen as were not yet tired in the action had wheeled round, and succoured that part of the army which was not yet broken, Cestius, with his whole army, had been in danger: however, five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain, of which number four hundred were footmen, and the rest horsemen, while the Jews lost only twenty-two, of whom the most valiant were the kinsmen of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and their names were Monobazus and Kenedius; and next to them were Niger of Perea and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from King Agrippa to the Jews; for he had formerly served in his army. When the front of the Jewish army had been cut off, the Jews retired into the city; but still Simon, the son of Giora, fell upon the backs of the Romans, as they were ascending up Beth-horon, and put the hindmost of the army into disorder, and carried off many of the beasts that carried the weapons of war, and led them into the city. But as Cestius tarried there three days, the Jews seized upon the elevated parts of the city, and set watches at the entrances into the city, and appeared openly resolved not to rest, when once the Romans should begin to march.

3. And now when Agrippa observed that even the affairs of the Romans were likely to be in danger, while such an immense multitude of their enemies had seized upon the mountains round about, he determined to try what the Jews would agree to by words, as thinking that he should either persuade them all to desist from fighting, or, however, that he should cause the sober part of them to separate themselves from the opposite party. So he sent Borceus and Phebus, the persons of his party that were the best known to them, and promised them that Cestius should give them his right hand to secure them of the Romans' entire forgiveness of what they had done amiss, if they would throw away their arms, and come over to them; but the seditious fearing lest the whole multitude, in hopes of security to themselves, should go over to Agrippa, resolved immediately to fall

* Here we have an eminent example of that Jewish language, which Dr. Wall truly observes we several times find used in the sacred writings; I mean where the words *all* or *whole multitude*, &c. are used for much the greatest part only; but not so as to include every person without exception; for when Josephus had said that the *whole multitude* [all the males] of Lydda were gone to the feast of tabernacles, he immediately adds, that, however, no fewer than fifty of them appeared, and were slain by the Romans. Other examples somewhat like this I have observed elsewhere in Josephus, but, as I think, none so remarkable as this. See Wall's Critical Observations on the old Testament, p. 49, 50.

We have also in this and the next section two eminent facts to be observed, *viz.* the first example, that I remember in Josephus, of the onset of the Jews' enemies upon their country when their males were gone up to Jerusalem to one of their three sacred festivals, which, during the theocracy, God had promissed to preserve them from, Exod. xxxiv. 24. The second fact is this, the breach of the Sabbath by the seditious Jews in an offensive fight, contrary to the universal doctrine and practice of their nation in these ages, and even contrary to what they themselves afterward practised in the rest of this war. See the note on Antiq. B xvi. ch. ii. sect. 4.

upon and kill the ambassadors: accordingly, they slew Phebus before he said a word, but Borceus was only wounded, and so prevented his fate by flying away: and when the people were very angry at this, they had the seditious beaten with stones and clubs, and drove them before them into the city.

4. But now Cestius, observing that the disturbances that were begun among the Jews afforded him a proper opportunity to attack them, took his whole army along with him, and put the Jews to flight, and pursued them to Jerusalem. He then pitched his camp upon the elevation called *Scopus* [or watch tower,] which was distant seven furlongs from the city; yet did not he assault them in three days time, out of expectation that those within might, perhaps, yield a little; and in the meantime he sent out a great many of his soldiers into the neighbouring villages, to seize upon their corn. And on the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperbereteus [Tisri,] when he had put his army in array, he brought it into the city. Now for the people, they were kept under by the seditious; but the seditious themselves were greatly affrighted at the good order of the Romans, and retired from the suburbs, and retreated into the inner part of the city and into the temple. But when Cestius was come into the city, he set the part called *Bezetha*, which is called *Cenopolis* [or the new city,] on fire; as he did also to the timber market; after which he came into the upper city, and pitched his camp over against the royal palace; and had he but at this very time attempted to get within the walls by force, he had won the city presently, and the war had been put an end to at once; but Tyrannicus Priscus, the muster-master of the army, and a great number of the officers of the horse, had been corrupted by Florus, and diverted him from that his attempt; and that was the occasion that this war lasted so very long, and thereby the Jews were involved in such incurable calamities.

5. In the meantime many of the principal men of the city were persuaded by Ananus, the son of Jonathan, and invited Cestius into the city, and were about to open the gates for him; but he overlooked this offer, partly out of his anger at the Jews, and partly because he did not thoroughly believe they were in earnest; whence it was that he delayed the matter so long, that the seditious perceived the treachery, and threw Ananus and those of his party down from the wall, and pelting them with stones, drove them into their houses; but they stood themselves at proper distances in the towers, and threw their darts at those that were getting over the wall. Thus did the Romans make their attack against the wall for five days, but to no purpose: but on the next day Cestius took a great many of his choicest men, and with them the archers, and attempted to break into the temple at the northern quarter of it; but the Jews beat them off from the cloisters, and repulsed them several times when they were gotten near to the wall, till at length the multitude of the darts cut them off, and made them retire: but the first rank of the Romans rested their shields upon the wall, and so did those that were behind them, and the like did those that were still more backward, and guarded themselves with what they call *Testudo*, [the back of] a tortoise, upon which the darts that were thrown fell, and slided off without doing them any harm; so the soldiers undermined the wall, without being themselves hurt, and got all things ready for setting fire to the gate of the temple.

6. And now it was that a horrible fear seized upon the seditious, insomuch that many of them ran out of the city, as though it were to be taken immediately; but the people upon this took courage, and where the wicked part of the city gave ground, thither did they come, in order to set open the gates, and to admit Cestius as their benefactor, who, had he but continued the siege a little longer, had certainly taken the city; but it was, I suppose, owing to the aversion* God had already at

* There may another very important and very providential reason be here assigned for this strange and foolish retreat of Cestius; which, if Josephus had been now a Christian, he might probably have

e city and the sanctuary that he was hindered from putting an end to the war at very day.

7. It then happened that Cestius was not conscious either how the besieged espaired of success, nor how courageous the people were for him; and so he called his soldiers from the place, and by despairing of any expectation of taking without having received any disgrace, he retired from the city, without any eason in the world. But when the robbers perceived this unexpected retreat of is, they resumed their courage, and ran after the hinder parts of his army, and estroyed a considerable number of both their horsemen and footmen; and now estius lay all night at the camp which was at Scopus, and as he went off farther ext day, he thereby invited the enemy to follow him, who still fell upon the indmost, and destroyed them; they also fell upon the flank on each side of the rmy, and threw darts upon them obliquely; nor durst those that were hindmost urn back upon those who wounded them behind, as imagining that the multitude f those that pursued them was immense; nor did they venture to drive away those hat pressed upon them on each side, because they were heavy with their arms, and ere afraid of breaking their ranks to pieces, and because they saw the Jews ere light, and ready for making incursions upon them. And this was the rea- on why the Romans suffered greatly, without being able to revenge themselves pon their enemies; so they were galled all the way, and their ranks were put into isorder, and those that were thus put out of their ranks were slain; among whom ere Priscus, the commander of the sixth legion, and Longinus, the tribune, and Emilius Secundus, the commander of a troop of horsemen. So it was not with- ut difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former camp, and that not without the oss of a great part of their baggage. There it was that Cestius staid two days, nd was in great distress to know what he should do in these circumstances; but vhen, on the third day, he saw a still much greater number of enemies, and all he parts round about him full of Jews, he understood that his delay was to his wn detriment, and that if he stayed any longer there, he should have still more nemies upon him.

8. That, therefore, he might fly the faster, he gave orders to cast away what night hinder his army's march; so they killed the mules, and other creatures, xcepting those that carried their darts and machines, which they retained for heir own use, and this principally because they were afraid lest the Jews should eize upon them. He then made his army march on as far as Beth-horon. Now he Jews did not so much press upon them when they were in large open places, ut when they were penned up in their descent through narrow passages, then lid some of them get before, and hindered them from getting out of them, and others of them thrust the hindermost down into the lower places, and the whole multitude extended themselves over against the neck of the passage, and covered the Roman army with their darts. In which circumstances, as the footmen knew not how to defend themselves, so the danger pressed the horsemen still more: for they were so pelted, that they could not march along the road in their ranks, and the ascents were so high that the cavalry were not able to march against the enemy; the precipices also and valleys into which they frequently fell, and tum- bled down, were such on each side of them, that there were neither place for their flight, nor any contrivance could be thought of for their defence, till the distress they were at last in was so great, that they betook themselves to lamen-

taken notice of also; and that is the affording the Jewish Christians in the city an opportunity of calling to mind the prediction and caution given them by Christ about thirty-three and a half years before, that *when they should see the abomination of desolation* [the idolatrous Roman armies, with the images of their idols in their ensigns, ready to lay Jerusalem desolate,] *stand where it ought not*, or *in the holy place*, or *when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies*, they should then *flee to the mountains*. By complying with which those Jewish Christians fled to the mountains of Perea, and escaped this destruction. See Lit. Accompl. of Proph. page 69, 70. Nor was there, perhaps, any one instance of a more unpolitic, but more providential, conduct, than this retreat of Cestius visible during this whole siege of Jerusalem; which yet was providentially such a *great tribulation, as had not been from the beginning of the world to that time; no, nor ever should be.* Ibid. page 70, 71.

tations, and to such mournful cries as men use in the utmost despair; the joyful acclamations of the Jews also, as they encouraged one another, echoed the sounds back again, these last composing a noise of those that at once rejoiced and were in a rage. Indeed, things were come to such a pass, that the Jews had almost taken Cestius's entire army prisoners, had not the night come on, when the Romans fled to Beth-horon, and the Jews seized upon all the places round about them, and watched for their coming out [in the morning.]

9. And then it was that Cestius, despairing of obtaining room for a public march, contrived how he might best run away: and when he had selected four hundred of the most courageous of his soldiers, he placed them at the strongest of their fortifications, and gave order, that when they went up to the morning guard, they should erect their ensigns, that the Jews might be made to believe that the entire army was there still, while he himself took the rest of his forces with him, and marched without any noise thirty furlongs. But when the Jews perceived, in the morning, that the camp was empty, they ran upon those four hundred who had deluded them, and immediately threw their darts at them, and slew them, and then pursued after Cestius. But he had already made use of a great part of the night in his flight, and still marched quicker when it was day; insomuch that the soldiers through the astonishment and fear they were in, left behind them their engines for sieges and for throwing of stones, and a great part of the instruments of war. So the Jews went on pursuing the Romans as far as Antipatris: after which, seeing they could not overtake them, they came back, and took the engines, and spoiled the dead bodies, and gathered their prey together which the Romans had left behind them, and came back running and singing to their metropolis; while they had themselves lost a few only, but had slain of the Romans five thousand and three hundred footmen, and three hundred and eighty horsemen. This defeat happened on the eighth day of the month Dius [Marhesvan,] in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero.

## CHAP. XX.

*Cestius sends Ambassadors to Nero. The People of Damascus slay those Jews that lived with them. The People of Jerusalem, after they had [left off] pursuing Cestius, return to the City, and get Things ready for its Defence, and make a great many Generals for their Armies, and particularly Josephus, the Writer of these Books. Some Account of his Administration.*

§ 1. After this calamity had befallen Cestius, many of the most eminent of the Jews swam away from the city, as from a ship when it was going to sink. Costobarus, therefore, and Saul, who were brethren, together with Philip, the son of Jacimus, who was the commander of King Agrippa's forces, ran away from the city, and went to Cestius. But then how Antipas, who had been besieged with them in the king's palace, but would not fly away with them, was afterwards slain by the seditious, we shall relate hereafter. However, Cestius sent Saul and his friends, at their own desire, to Achaia, to Nero, to inform him of the great distress they were in, and to lay the blame of their kindling the war upon Florus, as hoping to alleviate his own danger, by provoking his indignation against Florus.

2. In the meantime, the people of Damascus, when they were informed of the destruction of the Romans, set about the slaughter of those Jews that were among them; and as they had them already cooped up together in the place of public exercises, which they had done out of the suspicion they had of them, they thought they should meet with no difficulty in the attempt: yet did they distrust their own wives, which were almost all of them addicted to the Jewish religion: on which account it was that their greatest concern was how they might conceal the

things from them; so they came upon the Jews, and cut their throats, as being in a narrow place, in number ten thousand, and all of them unarmed, and this in one hour's time, without any body to disturb them.

3. But as to those who had pursued after Cestius, when they were returned back to Jerusalem, they overbore some of those that favoured the Romans by violence, and some they persuaded [by entreaties] to join with them, and got together in great numbers in the temple, and appointed a great many generals for the war. Joseph also, the son of Gorion,* and Ananus the high priest, were chosen as governors of all affairs within the city, and with a particular charge to repair the walls of the city: for they did not ordain Eleazar the son of Simon to that office, although he had gotten into his possession the prey they had taken from the Romans, and the money they had taken from Cestius, together with a great part of the public treasuries, because they saw he was of a tyrannical temper, and that his followers were, in their behaviour, like guards about him. However, the want they were in of Eleazar's money, and the subtle tricks used by him, brought all so about that the people were circumvented, and submitted themselves to his authority in all public affairs.

4. They also chose other generals for Idumea, Jesus the son of Sapphias, one of the high priests, and Eleazar the son of Ananias, the high priest; they also enjoined Niger, the then governor of Idumea,† who was of a family that belonged to Perea, beyond Jordan, and was thence called the *Peraite*, that he should be obedient to those forenamed commanders. Nor did they neglect the care of other parts of the country; but Joseph the son of Simon was sent as general to Jericho, as was Manasseh to Perea, and John, the Essene, to the toparchy of Thamna, Lydda was also added to his portion, and Joppa, and Emmaus. But John, the son of Matthias, was made governor of the toparchies of Gophnitica and Acrabatene, as was Josephus, the son of Matthias, of both the Galilees. Gamala also, which was the strongest city in those parts, was put under his command.

5. So every one of the other commanders administered the affairs of his portion with what alacrity and prudence they were masters of; but as to Josephus, when he came into Galilee, his first care was to gain the good will of the people of that country, as sensible that he should thereby have in general good success, although he should fail in other points. And being conscious to himself, that if he communicated part of his power to the great men, he should make them his fast friends, and that he should gain the same favour from the multitude, if he executed his commands by persons of their own country, and with whom they were well acquainted, he chose out seventy‡ of the most prudent men, and those elders in age, and appointed them to be rulers of all Galilee, as he chose seven

* From this name of Joseph the son of Gorion, or Gorion the son of Joseph, as B. iv. ch. iii. sect. 9 one of the governors of Jerusalem, who was slain at the beginning of the tumults by the zealots, B. iv. ch. i. sect. 1. the much later Jewish author of a history of that nation takes his titles and yet personates our true Josephus, the son of Matthias: but the cheat is too gross to be put upon the learned world.

† We may observe here, that the Idumeans, as having been proselytes of justice since the days of John Hyrcanus, during about 195 years, were now esteemed as part of the Jewish nation, and here provided of a Jewish commander accordingly. See the note upon Antiq. B. xiii. ch. ix. sect. 1.

‡ We see here, and in Josephus's account of his own life, sect. 14, how exactly he imitated his legislator Moses, or, perhaps, only obeyed what he took to be his perpetual law, in appointing seven lesser judges, for smaller causes, in particular cities, and, perhaps, for the first hearing of greater causes, with the liberty of an appeal to seventy-one supreme judges, especially in those causes where life and death were concerned: as Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 14, and of his life, sect. 14. See also Of the War, B. iv. ch. v. sect. 4. Moreover, we find, sect. 7, that he imitated Moses, as well as the Romans, in the number and distribution of the subaltern officers of his army, as Exod. xviii. 25; Deut. i. 15; and in his charge against the offences common amongst the soldiers, as Deut. xxiii. 9, in all which he showed his great wisdom, and piety, and skilful conduct in martial affairs. Yet may we discern in his very high character of Ananus the high priest, B. iv. ch. v. sect. 2, who seems to have been the same who condemned St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, to be stoned, under Albinus the procurator, that when he wrote these books of the war, he was not so much as an Ebionite Christian; otherwise he would not have failed, according to his usual custom, to have reckoned this his barbarous murder as a just punishment upon him for that his cruelty to the chief, or, rather, only Christian bishop of the circumcision. Nor had he been then a Christian, could he immediately have spoken so movingly of the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem, without one word of either the condemnation of James or crucifixion of Christ, as he did when he was become a Christian afterward.

judges in every city to hear the lesser quarrels; for as to the greater causes, ar those wherein life and death were concerned, he enjoined they should be broug to him and the seventy elders.

6. Josephus also, when he had settled these rules for determining causes l the law with regard to the people's dealings one with another, betook himself make provision for their safety, against external violence; and as he knew th Romans would fall upon Galilee, he built walls, in proper places, about Jotapat and Barsabee, and Salamis; and, besides these, about Capharecchо, and Japh and Sigo, and what they call Mount Tabor, and Taricheæ, and Tiberias. Mor over, he built walls about the caves near the lake of Gennesar, which places la in the Lower Galilee: the same he did to the places of Upper Galilee, as we to the rock called *the Rock of the Achabari*, and to Seph, and Jamneth, and M oth; and in Gaulanitis he fortified Seleucia, and Sogane, and Galama; but a to those of Sepphoris, they were the only people to whom he gave leave to bui their own walls, and this because he perceived they were rich and wealthy, ar ready to go to war, without standing in need of any injunctions for that purpos The case was the same with Gischala, which had a wall built about it by Joh the son of Levi himself, but with the consent of Josephus: but for the buildir of the rest of the fortresses, he laboured together with all the other builders, ar was present to give all the necessary orders for that purpose. He also got tog ther an army out of Galilee of more than a hundred thousand young men, all c which he armed with the old weapons, which he had collected together and pr pared for them.

7. And when he considered that the Roman power became invincible, chief by their readiness in obeying orders, and the constant exercise of their arms, h despaired of teaching these his men the use of their arms, which was to be obtain by experience; but observing that their readiness in obeying orders was owing the multitude of their officers, he made his partitions in his army more after th Roman manner, and appointed a great many subalterns. He also distributed th soldiers into various classes, whom he put under captains of tens, and captai of hundreds, and then under captains of thousands; and, besides these, he ha commanders of larger bodies of men. He also taught them to give the signa one to another, and to call and recall the soldiers by the trumpets; how to expan the wings of an army, and make them wheel about; and when one wing ha had success, to turn again and assist those that were hard set, and to join in th defence of what had most suffered. He also continually instructed them in wh concerned the courage of the soul, and the hardiness of the body; and, above a he exercised them for war, by declaring to them distinctly the good order of th Romans, and that they were to fight with men who both by the strength of the bodies, and courage of their souls, had conquered in a manner the whole hab able earth. He told them, that he should make trial of the good order they wou observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would absta from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in, such as theft, and robber and rapine, and from defrauding their own countrymen, and never to esteem th harm done to those that were so near of kin to them to be any advantage to ther selves; for that wars are then managed the best when the warriors preserve good conscience; but that such as are ill men in private life, will not only ha those for enemies which attack them, but God himself also for their antagonis

8. And thus did he continue to admonish them. Now he chose for the w such an army as was sufficient, that is, sixty thousand footmen, and two hundr and fifty horsemen:* and, besides these, on which he put the greatest trust, the were about four thousand five hundred mercenaries: he had also six hundr men as guards of his body. Now the cities easily maintained the rest of his arm

* I should think that an army of 60,000 footmen should require many more than 250 horsemen, a we find Josephus had more horsemen under his command than 250 in his future history. I suppose number of the thousands is dropped in our present copies.

excepting the mercenaries; for every one of the cities enumerated above sent out half their men to the army, and retained the other half at home, in order to get provisions for them; insomuch that the one part went to the war, and the other part to their work, and so those that sent out their corn were paid for it by those that were in arms, by that security which they enjoyed from them.

## CHAP. XXI.

*Concerning John of Gischala. Josephus uses Stratagems against the Plots John laid against him, and recovers certain Cities which had revolted from him.*

§ 1. Now as Josephus was thus engaged in the administration of the affairs of Galilee, there arose a treacherous person, a man of Gischala, the son of Levi, whose name was John. His character was that of a very cunning and very knavish person, beyond the ordinary rate of the other men of eminence there, and for wicked practices he had not his fellow anywhere. Poor he was at first, and for a long time his wants were a hinderance to him in his wicked designs. He was a ready liar, and yet very sharp in gaining credit to his fictions: he thought it a point of virtue to delude people, and would delude even such as were the dearest to him. He was a hypocritical pretender to humanity, but where he had hopes of gain, he spared not the shedding of blood: his desires were ever carried to great things, and he encouraged his hopes from these mean wicked tricks which he was the author of. He had a peculiar knack at thieving; but in some time he got certain companions in his impudent practices: at first they were but few, but as he proceeded on his evil course they became still more and more numerous. He took care that none of his partners should be easily caught in their rogueries, but chose such out of the rest as had the strongest constitutions of body, and the greatest courage of soul, together with great skill in martial affairs; so he got together a band of four hundred men, who came principally out of the country of Tyre, and were vagabonds that had run away from its villages: and by the means of these he laid waste all Galilee, and irritated a considerable number, who were in great expectation of a war then suddenly to arise among them.

2. However, John's want of money had hitherto restrained him in his ambition after command, and in his attempts to advance himself. But when he saw that Josephus was highly pleased with the activity of his temper, he persuaded him, in the first place, to intrust him with the repairing of the walls of his native city [Gischala,] in which work he got a great deal of money from the rich citizens. He after that contrived a very shrewd trick, and pretending that the Jews who dwelt in Syria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation, he desired leave of Josephus to send oil to their borders: so he bought four amphoræ with such Tyrian money as was of the value of four Attic drachmæ, and sold every half amphora at the same price. And as Galilee was very fruitful in oil, and was peculiarly so at that time, by sending away great quantities, and having the sole privilege so to do, he gathered an immense sum of money together, which money he immediately used to the disadvantage of him who gave him that privilege; and as he supposed, that if he could once overthrow Josephus, he should himself obtain the government of Galilee, so he gave order to the robbers that were under his command, to be more zealous in their thievish expeditions, that by the rise of many that desired innovations in the country, he might either catch their general in his snares, as he came to the country's assistance, and then kill him; or if he should overlook the robbers, he might accuse him for his negligence to the people of the country. He also spread abroad a report far and near, that Josephus was delivering up the administration of affairs to the Romans; and many such plots did he lay in order to ruin him.

3. Now at the same time that certain young men of the village Dabaritta, who kept guard in the great plain, laid snares for Ptolemy, who was Agrippa's and Bernice's steward, and took from him all that he had with him, among which things there were a great many costly garments, and no small number of silver cups, and six hundred pieces of gold, yet were they not able to conceal what they had stolen, but brought it all to Josephus to Taricheæ. Hereupon he blamed them for the violence they had offered to the king and queen, and deposited what they brought to him with Eneas, the most potent man of Taricheæ, with an intention of sending the things back to the owners at a proper time; which act of Josephus brought him into the greatest danger: for those that had stolen the things had an indignation at him, both because they gained no share of it for themselves, and because they perceived beforehand what was Josephus's intention, and that he would freely deliver up what had cost them so much pains to the king and queen. These ran away by night to their several villages, and declared to all men that Josephus was going to betray them: they also raised great disorders in all the neighbouring cities, insomuch that in the morning a hundred thousand armed men came running together, which multitude was crowded together in the hippodrome at Taricheæ, and made a very peevish clamour against him; while some cried out, that "they should depose the traitor," and others that "they should burn him." Now John irritated a great many, as did also one Jesus, the son of Sapphias, who was then governor of Tiberias. Then it was that Josephus's friends and the guards of his body were so affrighted at this violent assault of the multitude, that they all fled away but four; and as he was asleep they awaked him, as the people were going to set fire to the house. And although those four that remained with him persuaded him to run away, he was neither surprised at his being himself deserted, nor at the great multitude that came against him, but leaped out to them with his clothes rent, and ashes sprinkled on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword hanging at his neck. At this sight his friends, especially those of Taricheæ, commiserated his condition; but those that came out of the country, and those in their neighbourhood, to whom his government seemed burdensome, reproached him, and bid him produce the money which belonged to them all immediately, and to confess the agreement he had made to betray them: for they imagined, from the habit in which he appeared, that he would deny nothing of what they suspected concerning him, and that it was in order to obtain pardon that he had put himself entirely in so pitiable a posture. But this humble appearance was only designed as preparatory to a stratagem of his, who thereby contrived to set those that were so angry at him at variance one with another about the things they were angry at. However, he promised he would confess all: hereupon he was permitted to speak, when he said,—"I did neither intend to send this money back to Agrippa, nor to gain it myself; for I did never esteem one that was your enemy to be my friend, nor did I look upon what would tend to your disadvantage to be my advantage. But, O you people of Taricheæ, I saw that your city stood in more need than others of fortifications for your security, and that it wanted money in order for the building it a wall. I was also afraid lest the people of Tiberias and other cities should lay a plot to seize upon these spoils; and, therefore, it was that I intended to retain this money privately, that I might encompass you with a wall. But if this does not please you, I will produce what was brought me, and leave it to you to plunder it; but if I have conducted myself so well as to please you, you may, if you please, punish your benefactor."

4. Hereupon the people of Taricheæ loudly commended him, but those of Tiberias, with the rest of the company, gave him hard names, and threatened what they would do to him; so both sides left off quarrelling with Josephus, and fell on quarrelling with one another. So he grew bold upon the dependence he had on his friends, which were the people of Taricheæ, and about forty thousand in number, and spake more freely to the whole multitude, and reproached them

greatly for their rashness, and told them that "with this money he would build walls about Taricheæ, and would put the other cities in a state of security also; for that they should not want money, if they would but agree for whose benefit it was to be procured, and would not suffer themselves to be irritated against him who procured it for them."

5. Hereupon the rest of the multitude that had been deluded retired; but yet so that they went away angry, and two thousand of them made an assault upon him in their armour; and as he was already gone to his own house, they stood without, and threatened him. On which occasion Josephus again used a second stratagem to escape them; for he got upon the top of his house, and with his right hand desired them to be silent, and said to them,—"I cannot tell what you would have, nor can hear what you say, for the confused noise you make; but he said that he would comply with all their demands, in case they would but send some of their number in to him that might talk with him about it." And when the principal of them, with their leaders, heard this, they came into the house. He then drew them to the most retired part of the house, and shut the door of that hall where he put them, and then had them whipped, till every one of their inward parts appeared naked. In the meantime, the multitude stood round the house, and supposed that he had a long discourse with those that were gone in about what they claimed of him. He had then the doors set open immediately, and sent the men out all bloody, which so terribly affrighted those that had before threatened him, that they threw away their arms and ran away.

6. But as for John, his envy grew greater [upon this escape of Josephus,] and he framed a new plot against him: he pretended to be sick, and by a letter desired that Josephus would give him leave to use the hot baths that were at Tiberias for the recovery of his health. Hereupon Josephus, who hitherto suspected nothing of John's plots against him, wrote to the governors of the city, that they would provide a lodging and necessaries for John; which favours when he had made use of, in two days' time he did what he came about: some he corrupted with delusive frauds, and others with money, and so persuaded them to revolt from Josephus. This Silas, who was appointed guardian of the city by Josephus, wrote to him immediately, and informed him of the plot against him, which epistle, when Josephus had received, he marched with great diligence all night, and came early in the morning to Tiberias; at which time the rest of the multitude met him. But John, who suspected that his coming was not for his advantage, sent, however, one of his friends, and pretended that he was sick, and that being confined to his bed he could not come to pay him his respects. But as soon as Josephus had got the people of Tiberias together in the Stadium, and tried to discourse with them about the letters that he had received, John privately sent some armed men, and gave them orders to slay him. But when the people saw that the armed men were about to draw their swords, they cried out; at which cry Josephus turned himself about, and when he saw that the swords were just at his throat, he marched away in great haste to the sea shore, and left off that speech which he was going to make to the people, upon an elevation of six cubits high. He then seized on a ship which lay in the haven, and leaped into it, with two of his guards, and fled away into the midst of the lake.

7. But now the soldiers he had with him took up their arms immediately, and marched against the plotters; but Josephus was afraid lest a civil war should be raised by the envy of a few men, and bring the city to ruin; so he sent some of his party to tell them that they should do no more than provide for their own safety; that they should not kill any body, nor accuse any, for the occasion they had afforded [of a disorder.] Accordingly, these men obeyed his orders, and were quiet; but the people of the neighbouring country, when they were informed of this plot, and of the plotter, they got together in great multitudes to oppose John. But he prevented their attempt, and fled away to Gischala, his native city, while the Galileans came running out of their several cities to Josephus;

and as they were now become many ten thousands of armed men, they cried out, that they were come against John, the common plotter against their interest, and would at the same time burn him, and that city which had received him. Hereupon Josephus told them that he took their good will to him kindly, but still he restrained their fury, and intended to subdue his enemies by prudent conduct rather than by slaying them: so he excepted those of every city which had joined in this revolt with John by name, who had readily been showed him by those that came from every city, and caused public proclamation to be made, that he would seize upon the effects of those that did not forsake John within five days' time, and would burn both their houses and their families with fire. Whereupon three thousand of John's party left him immediately, who came to Josephus, and threw their arms down at his feet. John then betook himself, together with his two thousand Syrian runagates, from open attempts to more secret ways of treachery. Accordingly, he privately sent messengers to Jerusalem to accuse Josephus as having too great power, and to let them know that he would soon come, as a tyrant, to their metropolis, unless they prevented him. This accusation the people were aware of beforehand, but had no regard to it. However, some of the grandees, out of envy, and some of the rulers also, sent money to John privately, that he might be able to get together mercenary soldiers, in order to fight Josephus: they also made a decree of themselves, and this for recalling him from his government; yet did they not think that decree sufficient; so they sent withal two thousand five hundred armed men, and four persons of the highest rank among them; Joazar, the son of Nomicus, and Ananias, the son of Sadduk, as also Simon and Judas, the sons of Jonathan, all very able men in speaking, that these persons might withdraw the good will of the people from Josephus. These had it in charge, that if he would voluntarily come away, they should permit him to [come and] give an account of his conduct; but if he obstinately insisted upon continuing in his government, they should treat him as an enemy. Now Josephus's friends had sent him word that an army was coming against him, but they gave him no notice beforehand what the reason of their coming was, that being only known among some secret counsels of his enemies; and by this means it was that four cities revolted from him immediately, Sepphoris, and Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias. Yet did he recover these cities without war; and when he had routed those four commanders by stratagems, and had taken the most potent of their warriors, he sent them to Jerusalem: and the people [of Galilee] had great indignation at them, and were in a zealous disposition to slay not only these forces, but those that sent them also, had not these forces prevented it by running away.

8. Now John was detained afterward within the walls of Gischala by the fear he was in of Josephus; but within a few days Tiberias revolted again, the people within it inviting King Agrippa [to return to the exercise of his authority there.] And when he did not come at the time appointed, and when a few Roman horsemen appeared that day, they expelled Josephus out of the city. Now this revolt of theirs was presently known at Taricheæ; and as Josephus had sent out all the soldiers that were with him to gather corn, he knew not how either to march out alone against the revolters, or to stay where he was, because he was afraid the king's soldiers might prevent him if he tarried, and might get into the city; for he did not intend to do any thing on the next day, because it was the Sabbath day, and would hinder his proceeding. So he contrived to circumvent the revolters by a stratagem; and, in the first place, he ordered the gates of Taricheæ to be shut, that nobody might go out and inform [those of Tiberias] for whom it was intended, what stratagem he was about: he then got together all the ships that were upon the lake, which were found to be two hundred and thirty, and in each of them he put no more than four mariners. So he sailed to Tiberias with haste, and kept at such a distance from the city that it was not easy for the people to see the vessels, and ordered that the empty vessels should float up and

down there, while himself, who had but seven of his guards with him, and those unarmed also, went so near as to be seen; but when his adversaries, who were still reproaching him, saw him from the walls, they were so astonished that they supposed all the ships were full of armed men, and threw down their arms, and by signals of intercession they besought him to spare the city.

9. Upon this Josephus threatened them terribly, and reproached them, that when they were the first that took up arms against the Romans, they should spend their force beforehand in civil dissensions, and do what their enemies desired above all things; and that, besides, they should endeavour so hastily to seize upon him, who took care of their safety, and had not been ashamed to shut the gates of their city against him that built their walls: that, however, he would admit of any intercessors from them that might make some excuse for them, and with whom he would make such agreements as might be for the city's security. Hereupon ten of the most potent men of Tiberias came down to him presently: and when he had taken them into one of his vessels, he ordered them to be carried a great way off from the city. He then commanded that fifty others of their senate, such as were men of the greatest eminence, should come to him, that they also might give him some security on their behalf. After which, under one new pretence or another, he called forth others, one after another, to make the leagues between them. He then gave order to the masters of those vessels which he had thus filled to sail away immediately for Taricheæ, and to confine those men in the prison there; till at length he took all their senate, consisting of six hundred persons, and about two thousand of the populace, and carried them away to Taricheæ.

10. And when the rest of the people cried out, that it was one Clitus that was the chief author of this revolt, they desired him to spend his anger upon him [only;] but Josephus, whose intention it was to slay nobody, commanded one Levius, belonging to his guards, to go out of the vessel in order to cut off both Clitus's hands; yet was Levius afraid to go out by himself alone to such a large body of enemies, and refused to go. Now Clitus saw that Josephus was in a great passion in the ship, and ready to leap out of it, in order to execute the punishment himself: he begged, therefore, from the shore, that he would leave him one of his hands, which Josephus agreed to upon condition that he would himself cut off the other hand; accordingly he drew his sword, and with his right hand cut off his left, so great was the fear he was in of Josephus himself. And thus he took the people of Tiberias prisoners, and recovered the city again with empty ships* and seven of his guard. Moreover, a few days afterward he retook Gischala, which had revolted with the people of Sepphoris, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder it; yet did he get all the plunder together, and restored it to the inhabitants, and the like he did to the inhabitants of Sepphoris and Tiberias. For when he had subdued those cities, he had a mind, by letting them be plundered, to give them some good instruction, while at the same time he regained their good will by restoring their money again.

## CHAP. XXII.

*The Jews make all ready for the War. And Simon the Son of Gioras falls to plundering.*

§ 1. And thus were the disturbances of Galilee quieted, when, upon their ceasing to prosecute their civil dissensions, they betook themselves to make preparations for the war with the Romans. Now in Jerusalem the high priest Ananus, and as many of the men of power as were not in the interest

* I cannot but think this stratagem of Josephus, which is related both here and in his life. sect. 32, 33. to be one of the finest that ever was invented and executed by any warrior whatsoever

of the Romans, both repaired the walls, and made a great many warlike instruments, insomuch that in all parts of the city darts and all sorts of armour were upon the anvil; although the multitude of the young men were engaged in exercises, without any regularity, and all places were full of tumultuous doings; but the moderate sort were exceedingly sad, and a great many there were, who, out of the prospect they had of the calamities that were coming upon them, made great lamentations. There were also such omens observed as were understood to be forerunners of evils by such as loved peace, but were by those that kindled the war, interpreted so as to suit their own inclinations; and the very state of the city, even before the Romans came against it, was that of a place doomed to destruction. However, Ananus's concern was this, to lay aside, for a while, the preparations for the war, and to persuade the seditious to consult their own interest, and to restrain the madness of those that had the name of *Zealots*; but their violence was too hard for him, and what end he came to we shall relate hereafter.

2. But as for the Acrabene toparchy, Simon the son of Gioras, got a great number of those that were fond of innovations together, and betook himself to ravage the country; nor did he only harass the rich men's houses, but tormented their bodies, and appeared openly and beforehand to affect tyranny in his government. And when an army was sent against him by Ananus and the other rulers, he and his band retired to the robbers that were at Masada, and staid there, and plundered the country of Idumea with them, till both Ananus and his other adversaries were slain, and until the rulers of that country were so afflicted with the multitude of those that were slain, and with the continual ravage of what they had, that they raised an army, and put garrisons into the villages, to secure them from those insults; and in this state were the affairs of Judea at that time.

# BOOK III.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.

*FROM VESPASIAN'S COMING TO SUBDUE THE JEWS TO THE TAKING OF GAMALA.*

## CHAP. I.

*Vespasian is sent into Syria by Nero, in order to make war with the Jews.*

§ 1. When Nero was informed of the Romans' ill success in Judea, a concealed consternation and terror, as is usual in such cases, fell upon him; although he openly looked very big, and was very angry, and said, that what had happened was rather owing to the negligence of the commander than to any valour of the enemy: and as he thought it fit for him, who bare the burden of the whole empire, to despise such misfortunes, he now pretended so to do, and to have a soul superior to all such sad accidents whatsoever. Yet did the disturbance that was in his soul plainly appear by the solicitude he was in [how to recover his affairs again.]

2. And as he was deliberating to whom he should commit the care of the east, now it was in so great a commotion, and who might be best able to punish the Jews for their rebellion, and might prevent the same distemper from seizing upon the neighbouring nations also, he found no one but Vespasian equal to the task, and able to undergo the great burden of so mighty a war, seeing he was grown an old man already in the camp, and from his youth had been exercised in warlike exploits: he was also a man that had long ago pacified the west, and made it subject to the Romans, when it had been put into disorder by the Germans; he had also recovered to them Britain by his arms, which had been little known before;* whereby he procured to his father Claudius to have a triumph bestowed on him without any sweat or labour of his own.

3. So Nero esteemed these circumstances as favourable omens, and saw that Vespasian's age gave him sure experience and great skill, and that he had his sons as hostages for his fidelity to himself, and that the flourishing are they were in would make them fit instruments under their father's prudence. Perhaps also there was some interposition of providence, which was paving the way for Vespasian's being himself emperor afterwards. Upon the whole, he sent this man to take upon him the command of the armies that were in Syria; but this not without great encomiums and flattering compellations, such as necessity required, and such as might mollify him into complaisance. So Vespasian sent his son Titus from Achaia, where he had been with Nero, to Alexandria, to bring back with him from thence the fifth and the tenth legions, while he himself, when he had passed over the Hellespont, came by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the kings in that neighbourhood.

* Take the confirmation of this in the words of Suetonius, here produced by Dr. Hudson.—"In the reign of Claudius," says he, "Vespasian, for the sake of Narcissus, was sent as a lieutenant of a legion into Germany. Thence he removed into Britain, and fought thirty battles with the enemy." In Vesp. sect. 4. We may also here note from Josephus, that Claudius the emperor, who triumphed for the conquest of Britain, was enabled so to do by Vespasian's conduct and bravery, and that he is here styled *the father of Vespasian.*

## CHAP. II.

*A great Slaughter of the Jews about Ascalon. Vespasian comes to Ptolemais*

§ 1. Now the Jews, after they had beaten Cestius, were so much elevated with their unexpected success, that they could not govern their zeal, but like people blown up into a flame by their good fortune, carried the war to remoter places. Accordingly, they presently got together a great multitude of all their most hardy soldiers, and marched away for Ascalon. This is an ancient city that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, and was always an enemy to the Jews; on which account they determined to make their first effort against it, and to make their approaches to it as near as possible. This excursion was led on by three men, who were the chief of them all both for strength and sagacity. Niger called the *Peraite*, Silas of Babylon, and, besides them, John the Essene. Now Ascalon was strongly walled about, but had almost no assistance to be relied on [near them,] for the garrison consisted of one cohort of footmen, and one troop of horsemen, whose captain was Antonius.

2. These Jews, therefore, out of their anger, marched faster than ordinary, and, as if they had come but a little way, approached very near the city, and were come even to it; but Antonius, who was not unapprized of the attack they were going to make upon the city, drew out his horsemen beforehand, and being neither daunted at the multitude nor at the courage of the enemy, received their first attacks with great bravery; and when they crowded to the very walls, he beat them off. Now the Jews were unskilful in war, but were to fight with those that were skilful therein; they were footmen to fight with horsemen; they were in disorder to fight those that were united together; they were poorly armed to fight those that were completely so; they were to fight more by their rage than by sober counsel, and were exposed to soldiers that were exactly obedient, and did every thing they were bidden upon the least intimation: So they were easily beaten; for as soon as ever their first ranks were once in disorder, they were put to flight by the enemy's cavalry; and those of them that came behind such as crowded to the wall fell upon their own party's weapons, and became one another's enemies and this so long till they all were forced to give way to the attacks of the horsemen, and were dispersed all over the plain; which plain was wide, and all fit for the horsemen; which circumstance was very commodious for the Romans, and occasioned the slaughter of the greatest number of the Jews; for such as ran away they could overrun them and make them turn back; and when they had brought them back after their flight, and driven them together, they ran them through, and slew a vast number of them, insomuch that others encompassed others of them, and drove them before them whithersoever they turned themselves, and slew them easily with their arrows; and the great number there were of the Jews seemed a solitude to themselves, by reason of the distress they were in, while the Romans had such good success with their small number, that they seemed to themselves to be the greater multitude. And as the former strove zealously under their misfortunes, out of the shame of a sudden flight, and hopes of the change in their success, so did the latter feel no weariness, by reason of their good fortune; insomuch that the fight lasted till the evening, till ten thousand men of the Jews' side lay dead, with two of their generals, John and Silas, and the greater part of the remainder were wounded, with Niger, their remaining general, who fled away together to a small city of Idumea called *Sallis:* some few also of the Romans were wounded in this battle.

3. Yet were not the spirits of the Jews broken by so great a calamity, but the losses they had sustained rather quickened their resolution for other attempts; for, overlooking the dead bodies which lay under their feet, they were enticed by

their former glorious actions to venture on a second destruction; so when they had lain still so little a while that their wounds were not yet thoroughly cured, they got together all their forces, and came with greater fury, and in much greater numbers, to Ascalon. But their former ill fortune followed them, as the consequence of their unskilfulness, and other deficiencies in war; for Antonius laid ambushes for them in the passages they were to go through, where they fell into snares unexpectedly, and where they were compassed about with horsemen, before they could form themselves into a regular body for fighting, and were above eight thousand of them slain: so all the rest of them ran away, and with them Niger, who still did a great many bold exploits in his flight. However, they were driven along together by the enemy, who pressed hard upon them, into a certain strong tower belonging to a village called *Bezedel*. However, Antonius and his party, that they might neither spend any considerable time about this tower, which was hard to be taken, nor suffer their commander, and the most courageous man of them all, to escape from them, they set the wall on fire; and as the tower was burning, the Romans went away rejoicing, as taking it for granted that Niger was destroyed; but he leaped out of the tower into a subterraneous cave, in the innermost part of it, and was preserved; and on the third day afterward he spake out of the ground to those that, with great lamentation, were searching for him, in order to give him a decent funeral: and when he was come out, he filled all the Jews with an unexpected joy, as though he were preserved by God's providence to be their commander for the time to come.

4. And now Vespasian took along with him his army from Antioch (which is the metropolis of Syria, and, without dispute, deserves the place of the third* city in the habitable earth that was under the Roman empire, both in magnitude and other marks of prosperity,) where he found King Agrippa, with all his forces, waiting for his coming, and marched to Ptolemais. At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care of their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand, and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time withal they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen. Now the general delivered them, at their desire, as many horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient to oppose the incursions of the Jews, if they should come against them. And, indeed, the danger of losing Sepphoris would be no small one, in this war that was now beginning, seeing it was the largest city of Galilee, and built in a place by nature very strong, and might be a security of the whole nation's [fidelity to the Romans.]

## CHAP. III.

### *A Description of Galilee, Samaria, and Judea.*

§ 1. Now Phœnicia and Syria encompass about the Galilees, which are two, and called the *Upper Galilee* and the *Lower*. They are bounded, towards the sun-setting, with the borders of the territory belonging to Ptolemais, and by Carmel; which mountain had formerly belonged to the Galileans, but now belonged to the Tyrians, to which mountain adjoins Gaba, which is called *the city of horsemen*, because those horsemen that were dismissed by Herod the king dwelt therein: they are bounded on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; on the east with Hippene and Gadaris, and also with Gaulanitis and the

* Spanheim and Reland both agree, that the two cities here esteemed greater than Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, were Rome and Alexandria; nor is there any occasion for doubt in so plain a case.

borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; its northern parts are bounded by Tyre and the country of the Tyrians. As for that Galilee which is called the *Lower*, it extends in length from Tiberias to Zabulon, and of the maritime places Ptolemais is its neighbour; its breadth is from the village called *Xaloth*, which lies in the great plain, as far as Bersabe, from which beginning also is taken the breadth of the Upper Galilee, as far as the village Baca, which divides the land of the Tyrians from it; its length is also from Meloth to Thella, a village near to Jordan.

2. These two Galilees, of so great largeness, and encompassed with so many nations of foreigners, have been always able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war; for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor hath the country been ever destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them: for their soil is universally rich and fruitful, and full of the plantations of trees of all sorts, insomuch that it invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation by its fruitfulness: accordingly, it is all cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Moreover, the cities lie here very thick, and the very many villages there are here are every where so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contained above fifteen thousand inhabitants.

3. In short, if any one will suppose that Galilee is inferior to Perea in magnitude, he will be obliged to prefer it before it in its strength; for this is all capable of cultivation, and is every where fruitful; but for Perea, which is, indeed, much larger in extent, the greater part of it is desert and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder kinds of fruits; yet hath it a moist soil [in other parts,] and produces all kinds of fruits, and its plains are planted with trees of all sorts, while yet the olive-tree, the vine, and the palm-trees, are chiefly cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, which issue out of the mountains, and with springs that never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dogdays. Now the length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan: its northern parts are bounded by Pella, as we have already said, as well as its western with Jordan; the land of Moab is its southern border, and its eastern limits reach to Arabia and Silbonitis, and besides to Philadelphene and Gerasa.

4. Now as to the country of Samaria, it lies between Judea and Galilee: it begins at a village that is in the great plain called *Ginea*, and ends at the Acrabene toparchy, and is entirely of the same nature with Judea; for both countries are made up of hills and valleys, and are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fruitful. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain-water, of which they have no want; and for those rivers which they have, all their waters are exceeding sweet: by reason also of the excellent grass they have, their cattle yield more milk than do those in other places; and, what is the greatest sign of excellency and of abundance, they each of them are very full of people.

5. In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anuath, which is also named *Borceos*. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia; the Jews that dwell there call it *Jordan*. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. The city Jerusalem is situated in the very middle; on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country. Nor, indeed, is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais: it was parted into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighbouring country, as the head does over the body. As to the other cities that were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies; Gophna was the second of those cities, and next to that Acrabatta: after them Thamna, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idu

nea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring people: and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulanitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa. This [last] country begins at Mount Libanus and the fountains of Jordan, and reaches breadthways to the lake of Tiberias; and in length is extended from a village called Arpha as far as Julias. Its inhabitants are a mixture of Jews and Syrians. And thus have I, with all possible brevity, described the country of Judea, and those that lie round about it.

## CHAP. IV.

*Josephus makes an Attempt upon Sepphoris, but is repelled. Titus comes with a great Army to Ptolemais.*

§ 1. Now the auxiliaries which were sent to assist the people of Sepphoris, being a thousand horsemen and six thousand footmen, under Placidus the tribune, pitched their camp in two bodies in the great plain. The foot were put into the city to be a guard to it, but the horse lodged abroad in the camp. These last, by marching continually one way or other, and overrunning the parts of the adjoining country, were very troublesome to Josephus and his men; they also plundered all the places that were out of the city's liberty, and intercepted such as durst go abroad. On this account it was that Josephus marched against the city, as hoping to take what he had lately encompassed with so strong a wall, before they revolted from the rest of the Galileans, that the Romans would have had much ado to take it: by which means he proved too weak, and failed of his hopes, both as to the forcing the place, and as to his prevailing with the people of Sepphoris to deliver it up to him. By this means he provoked the Romans to treat the country according to the law of war; nor did the Romans, out of the anger they bore at this attempt, leave off either by night or by day burning the places in the plain, and stealing away the cattle that were in the country, and killing whatsoever appeared capable of fighting, perpetually, and leading the weaker people as slaves into captivity: so that Galilee was all over filled with fire and blood; nor was it exempted from any kind of misery or calamity; for the only refuge they had was this, that when they were pursued, they could retire to the cities which had walls built them by Josephus.

2. But as to Titus, he sailed over from Achaia to Alexandria, and that sooner than the winter season did usually permit; so he took with him those forces he was sent for; and marching with great expedition, he came suddenly to Ptolemais, and there finding his father, together with the two legions, the fifth and the tenth, which were the most eminent legions of all, he joined them to that fifteenth legion which was with his father: eighteen cohorts followed these legions: there came also five cohorts from Cæsarea, with one troop of horsemen, and five other troops of horsemen from Syria. Now these ten cohorts had severally a thousand footmen, but the other thirteen cohorts had no more than six hundred footmen apiece, with a hundred and twenty horsemen. There were also a considerable number of auxiliaries got together, that came from the kings Antiochus and Agrippa, and Sohemus, each of them contributing one thousand footmen that were archers, and a thousand horsemen. Malchus also, the king of Arabia, sent a thousand horsemen, besides five thousand footmen, the greatest part of which were archers: so that the whole army, including the auxiliaries sent by the kings, as well horsemen as footmen, when all were united together, amounted to sixty thousand, besides the servants, who, as they followed in vast numbers, so because they had been trained up in war with the rest, ought not to be distinguished from the fighting men; for as they were in their master's service in

times of peace, so did they undergo the like dangers with them in times of war insomuch that they were inferior to none either in skill or in strength, only they were subject to their masters.

## CHAP. V.

*A Description of the Roman Armies and Roman Camps; and of other Particulars, for which the Romans are commended.*

§ 1. Now here one cannot but admire at the precaution of the Romans, in providing themselves of such household servants as might not only serve at other times for the common offices of life, but might also be of advantage to them in their wars. And, indeed, if any one does but attend to the other parts of their military discipline, he will be forced to confess, that their obtaining so large a dominion hath been the acquisition of their valour, and not the bare gift of fortune: for they do not begin to use their weapons first in time of war, nor do they then put their hands first into motion, while they avoided so to do in times of peace: but as if their weapons did always cling to them, they have never any truce from warlike exercises; nor do they stay till times of war admonish them to use them; for their military exercises differ not at all from the real use of their arms, but every soldier is every day exercised, and that with great diligence, as if it were in time of war, which is the reason why they bear the fatigues of battles so easily; for neither can any disorder remove them from their usual regularity nor can fear affright them out of it, nor can labour tire them: which firmness of conduct makes them always to overcome those that have not the same firmness; nor would he be mistaken that should call those their exercises unbloody battles, and their battles bloody exercises. Nor can their enemies easily surprise them with the suddenness of their incursions; for as soon as they have marched into an enemy's land, they do not begin to fight till they have walled their camp about; nor is the fence they raise rashly made or uneven; nor do they all abide in it, nor do those that are in it take their places at random; but if it happens that the ground is uneven, it is first levelled: their camp is also four square by measure, and carpenters are ready in great numbers, with their tools, to erect the buildings for them.*

2. As for what is within the camp, it is set apart for tents, but the outward circumference hath the resemblance to a wall, and is adorned with towers at equal distances, where between the towers stand the engines for throwing arrows and darts, and for slinging stones, and where they lay all other engines that can annoy the enemy, all ready for their several operations. They also erect four gates, one at every side of the circumference, and those large enough for the entrance of the beasts, and wide enough for making excursions, if occasion should require. They divide the camp within into streets very conveniently, and place the tents of the commanders in the middle, but in the very midst of all is the general's own tent, in the nature of a temple, insomuch that it appears to be a city built on the sudden, with its market-place, and place for handicraft trades, and with seats for the officers superior and inferior, where, if any differences arise, their causes are heard and determined. The camp, and all that is in it, is encompassed with a wall round about, and that sooner than one would imagine, and this by the multitude and the skill of the labourers; and, if occasion require, a trench is drawn round the whole, whose depth is four cubits, and its breadth equal.

* This description of the exact symmetry and regularity of the Roman army and of the Roman encampments, with the sounding their trumpets, &c. and order of war, described in this and the next chapter, is so very like to the symmetry and regularity of the people of Israel in the wilderness (see the description of the temples, ch. ix.,) that one cannot well avoid the supposal, that the one was the ultimate pattern of the other, and that the tactics of the ancients were taken from the rules given by God to Moses. And it is thought by some skilful in these matters, that these accounts of Josephus as to the Roman camp and armour, and conduct in war, are preferable to those in the Roman authors themselves

3. When they have thus secured themselves, they live together by companies, with quietness and decency, as are all their other affairs managed with good order and security. Each company hath also their wood, and their corn, and their water brought them, when they stand in need of them; for they neither sup nor dine as they please themselves singly, but altogether. Their times also for sleeping, and watching, and rising, are notified beforehand by the sound of trumpets, nor is any thing done without such a signal: and in the morning the soldiery go every one to their centurions, and these centurions to their tribunes, to salute them; with whom all the superior officers go to the general of the whole army, who then gives them of course the watchword, and other orders, to be by them carried to all that are under their command; which is also observed when they go to fight, and thereby they turn themselves about on the sudden, when there is occasion for making sallies, as they come back when they are recalled in crowds also.

4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which time nobody lies still, but at the first intimation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march; when also they set fire to their camp; and this they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that, on any account, are a little tardy, that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and ask them thrice in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go out to war or not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them: they do this as filled with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands also.

5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and every one keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breast-plates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side; but the sword which is on their left side is much longer than the other; for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those footmen also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself have a lance and a buckler; but the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pickaxe and an axe, a thong of leather and a hook, with provisions for three days so that a footman hath no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses, with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces and breast-plates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armour no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and he always leads the legions forth to whom the lot assigns that employment.

6. This is the manner of the marching and resting of the Romans, as also these are the several sorts of weapons they use. But when they are to fight they leave nothing without forecast, nor to be done off-hand, but counsel is ever first taken before any work is begun, and what hath been there resolved upon is put into execution presently: for which reason they seldom commit any errors, and if they have been mistaken at any time, they easily correct those mistakes. They also esteem any errors they commit upon taking counsel beforehand to be better than such rash success as is owing to fortune only: because such a fortuitous advantage tempts them to be inconsiderate, while consultation, though it may sometimes fail of success, hath this good in it, that it makes men more careful

hereafter; but for the advantages that arise from chance, they are not owing to him that gains them, and as to what melancholy accidents happen unexpectedly, there is this comfort in them, that they had however taken the best consultations they could to prevent them.

7. Now they so manage their preparatory exercises of their weapons, that not the bodies of the soldiers only, but their souls may also become stronger: they are moreover hardened for war by fear; for their laws inflict capital punishments, not only for soldiers running away from their ranks, but for slothfulness and inactivity, though it be but in a lesser degree; as are their generals more severe than their laws: for they prevent any imputation of cruelty towards those under condemnation, by the great rewards they bestow on the valiant soldiers; and the readiness of obeying their commanders is so great, that it is very ornamental in peace; but when they come to a battle, the whole army is but one body, so well coupled together are their ranks, so sudden are their turnings about, so sharp their hearing as to what orders are given them, so quick their sight of the ensigns, and so nimble are their hands when they set to work: whereby it comes to pass, that what they do is done quickly, and what they suffer they bear with the greatest patience. Nor can we find any examples where they have been conquered in battle, when they came to a close fight, either by the multitude of the enemies, or by their stratagems, or by the difficulties in the places they were in, no nor by fortune neither; for their victories have been surer to them than fortune could have granted them. In a case, therefore, where counsel still goes before action, and where, after taking the best advice, that advice is followed by so active an army, what wonder is it that Euphrates on the east, the ocean on the west, the most fertile regions of Libya on the south, and the Danube and Rhine on the north, are the limits of this empire? One migh well say, that the Roman possessions are not inferior to the Romans themselves.

8. This account I have given the reader, not so much with the intention of commending the Romans, as of comforting those that have been conquered by them, and for the deterring others from attempting innovations under their government. This discourse of the Roman military conduct may also perhaps be of use to such of the curious as are ignorant of it, and yet have a mind to know it. I return now from this digression.

## CHAP. VI.

*Placidus attempts to take Jotapata, and is beaten off. Vespasian marches into Galilee.*

§ 1. And now Vespasian with his son Titus, had tarried some time at Ptolemais and had put his army in order. But when Placidus, who had overrun Galilee, and had besides slain a number of those whom he had caught (which were only the weaker part of the Galileans, and such as were of timorous souls,) saw that the warriors ran always to those cities whose walls had been built by Josephus, he marched furiously against Jotapata, which was of them all the strongest, as supposing he should easily take it by a sudden surprise, and that he should thereby obtain great honour to himself among the commanders, and bring a great advantage to them in their future campaign; because, if this strongest place of them all were once taken, the rest would be so affrighted as to surrender themselves. But he was mightily mistaken in his undertaking; for the men of Jotapata were apprized of his coming to attack them, and came out of the city, and expected him there. So they fought the Romans briskly when they least expected it, being both many in number, and prepared for fighting, and of great alacrity, as esteeming their country, their wives, and their children to be in danger, and easily

put the Romans to flight, and wounded many of them, and slew seven* of them, because their retreat was not made in a disorderly manner; because the strokes only touched the surface of their bodies, which were covered with their armour in all parts, and because the Jews did rather throw their weapons upon them from a great distance, than venture to come hand to hand with them, and had only light armour on while the others were completely armed. However, three men of the Jews' side were slain, and a few wounded; so Placidus, finding himself unable to assault the city, ran away.

2. But as Vespasian had a great mind to fall upon Galilee, he marched out to Ptolemais, having put his army into that order wherein the Romans used to march. He ordered those auxiliaries which were lightly armed and the archers to march first, that they might prevent any sudden insults from the enemy, and might search out the woods that looked suspiciously, and were capable of ambuscades. Next to these followed that part of the Romans which was completely armed, both footmen and horsemen. Next to these followed ten out of every hundred, carrying along with them their arms, and what was necessary to measure out a camp withal; and after them such as were to make the road even and straight, and if it were anywhere rough and hard to be passed over, to plain it, and to cut down the woods that hindered their march, that the army might not be in distress or tired with their march. Behind these he set such carriages of the army as belonged both to himself and to the other commanders, with a considerable number of their horsemen for their security. After these he marched himself, having with him a select body of footmen, and horsemen, and pikemen. After these came the peculiar cavalry of his own legion; for there were a hundred and twenty horsemen that peculiarly belonged to every legion. Next to these came the mules that carried the engines for sieges, and the other warlike machines of that nature. After these came the commanders of the cohorts and tribunes, having about them soldiers chosen out of the rest. Then came the ensigns encompassing the eagle, which is at the head of every Roman legion, the king and the strongest of all birds, which seems to them a signal of dominion, and an omen that they shall conquer all against whom they march: these sacred ensigns are followed by the trumpeters. Then came the main army in their squadrons and battalions, with six men in depth, which were followed at last by a centurion, who, according to custom, observed the rest. As for the servants of every legion, they all followed the footmen, and led the baggage of the soldiers, which was borne by the mules and other beasts of burden. But behind all the legions came the whole multitude of the mercenaries; and those that brought up the rear came last of all for the security of the whole army, being both footmen, and those in their armour also, with a great number of horsemen.

3. And thus did Vespasian march with his army, and came to the bounds of Galilee, where he pitched his camp, and restrained his soldiers, who were eager for war: he also showed his army to the enemy, in order to affright them, and to afford them a season for repentance, to see whether they would change their minds before it came to a battle, and at the same time he got things ready for besieging their strong holds. And, indeed, this sight of the general brought many to repent of the revolt, and put them all into a consternation: for those that were in Josephus's camp, which was at the city called *Garis*, not far from Sepphoris, when they heard that the war was come near them, and that the Romans would suddenly fight them hand to hand, dispersed themselves, and fled not only before they came to a battle, but before the enemy ever came in sight, while Josephus

* I cannot but here observe an eastern way of speaking, frequent among them, but not usual among us, where the word *only* or *alone* is not set down, but, perhaps, someway supplied by the pronunciation. Thus Josephus here says, that those of Jotapata slew seven of the Romans, as they were marching off; because the Romans' retreat was regular, their bodies were covered over with their armour, and the Jews fought at some distance: his meaning is clear, that these were the reasons why they slew only, or no more than seven. I have met with many the like examples in the scripture, in Josephus, &c. but did not note down the particular places. This observation ought to be borne in mind upon many occasions.

and a few others were left behind; and as he saw that he had not an army sufficient to engage the enemy, that the spirits of the Jews were sunk, and that the greater part would willingly come to terms, if they might be credited, he already despaired of the success of the whole war, and determined to get as far as he possibly could out of danger; so he took those that stayed along with him, and fled to Tiberias.

## CHAP. VII.

*Vespasian, when he had taken the City Gadara, marches to Jotapata. After a long Siege, the City is betrayed by a Deserter, and taken by Vespasian.*

§ 1. So Vespasian marched to the city Gadara, and took it upon the first onset, because he found it destitute of any considerable number of men grown up and fit for war. He then came into it, and slew all the youth, the Romans having no mercy on any age whatsoever; and this was done out of the hatred they bore the nation, and because of the iniquity they had been guilty of in the affair of Cestius. He also set fire not only to the city itself, but to all the villas and small cities that were round about it; some of which were quite destitute of inhabitants, and out of some of them he carried the inhabitants as slaves into captivity.

2. As to Josephus, his retiring into that city which he chose as the most fit for his security, put it into great fear; for the people of Tiberias did not imagine that he would have run away, unless he had entirely despaired of the success of the war. And, indeed, as to that point, they were not mistaken about his opinion; for he saw whither the affairs of the Jews would tend at last, and was sensible that they had but one way of escaping, and that was by repentance. However, although he expected that the Romans would forgive him, yet did he choose to die many times over rather than to betray his country, and to dishonour that supreme command of the army which had been intrusted with him, or to live happily under those against whom he was sent to fight. He determined, therefore, to give an exact account of affairs to the principal men at Jerusalem by a letter, that he might not by too much aggrandizing the power of the enemy make them too timorous, nor by relating that their power beneath the truth might encourage them to stand out, when they were, perhaps, disposed to repentance. He also sent them word, that if they thought of coming to terms, they must suddenly write him an answer; or if they resolved upon war, they must send him an army sufficient to fight the Romans. Accordingly, he wrote these things, and sent messengers immediately to carry his letter to Jerusalem.

3. Now Vespasian was very desirous of demolishing Jotapata, for he had gotten intelligence that the greatest part of the enemy had retired thither, and that it was, on other accounts, a place of great security to them. Accordingly, he sent both footmen and horsemen to level the road, which was mountainous and rocky, not without difficulty to be travelled over by footmen, but absolutely impracticable for horsemen. Now these workmen accomplished what they were about in four days time, and opened a broad way for the army. On the fifth day, which was the twenty-first of the month Artemisius [Jyar,] Josephus prevented him, and came from Tiberias, and went into Jotapata, and raised the drooping spirits of the Jews. And a certain deserter told this good news to Vespasian, that Josephus had removed himself thither, which made him make haste to the city, as supposing that with taking that he should take all Judea, in case he could but withal get Josephus under his power. So he took this news to be of the vastest advantage to him, and believed it to be brought about by the providence of God that he who appeared to be the most prudent man of all their enemies, had of his own accord shut himself up in a place of sure custody. Accordingly, he sent Placidus with a thousand horsemen, and Ebutius a decurion a person that was

of eminency both in counsel and in action, to encompass the city round, that Josephus might not escape away privately.

4. Vespasian also, the very next day, took his whole army and followed them, and by marching till late in the evening, arrived then at Jotapata; and bringing his army to the northern side of the city, he pitched his camp on a certain small hill which was seven furlongs from the city, and still greatly endeavoured to be well seen by the enemy, to put them into a consternation; which was, indeed, so terrible to the Jews immediately, that no one of them durst go out beyond the wall. Yet did the Romans put off the attack at that time, because they had marched all the day although they placed a double row of battalions round the city, with a third row beyond them round the whole, which consisted of cavalry, in order to stop up every way for an exit; which thing making the Jews despair of escaping, excited them to act more boldly; for nothing makes men fight so desperately in war as necessity.

5. Now when the next day an assault was made by the Romans, the Jews at first stayed out of the walls, and opposed them, and met them, as having formed themselves a camp before the city walls. But when Vespasian had set against them the archers and slingers, and the whole multitude that could throw to a great distance, he permitted them to go to work, while he himself with the footmen go upon an acclivity, whence the city might easily be taken. Josephus was then in fear for the city, and leaped out, and all the Jewish multitude with him: these fell together upon the Romans in great numbers, and drove them away from the wall, and performed a great many glorious and bold actions. Yet did they suffer as much as they made the enemy suffer; for as despair of deliverance encouraged the Jews, so did a sense of shame equally encourage the Romans. These last had skill as well as strength; the other had only courage, which armed them and made them fight furiously. And when the fight had lasted all day, it was put an end to by the coming on of the night. They had wounded a great many of the Romans, and killed them thirteen men; of the Jews' side seventeen were slain, and six hundred wounded.

6. On the next day the Jews made another attack upon the Romans and went out of the walls, and fought a much more desperate battle with them than before: for they were now become more courageous than formerly, and that on account of the unexpected good opposition they had made the day before; as they found the Romans also to fight more desperately; for a sense of shame inflamed these into a passion, as esteeming their failure of a sudden victory to be a kind of defeat. Thus did the Romans try to make an impression upon the Jews, till the fifth day continually, while the people of Jotapata made sallies out, and fought at the walls most desperately; nor were the Jews affrighted at the strength of the enemy, nor were the Romans discouraged at the difficulties they met with in taking the city.

7. Now Jotapata is almost all of it built on a precipice, having on all the other sides of it every way valleys immensely deep and steep, insomuch that those who would look down, would have their sight fail them before it reaches to the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, and can no way be seen till a man comes just upon it. And this was the strong situation of Jotapata.

8. Vespasian, therefore, in order to try how he might overthrow the natural strength of the place, as well as the bold defence of the Jews, made a resolution to prosecute the siege with vigour. To that end he called the commanders that were under him to a council of war, and consulted with them which way the assault might be managed to the best advantage. And when the resolution was there taken to raise a bank against that part of the wall which was practicable, he sent his whole army abroad to get the materials together. So when they had

cut down all the trees on the mountains that adjoined to the city, and had gotten together a vast heap of stones, besides the wood they had cut down, some of them brought hurdles, in order to avoid the effects of the darts that were shot from above them. These hurdles they spread over their banks, under cover whereof they formed their bank, and so were little or nothing hurt by the darts that were thrown upon them from the wall, while others pulled the neighbouring hillocks to pieces, and perpetually brought earth to them; so that while they were busy three sorts of ways, nobody was idle. However, the Jews cast great stones from the walls upon the hurdles which protected the men, with all sorts of darts also; and the noise of what could not reach them was yet so terrible, that it was some impediment to the workmen.

9. Vespasian then set the engines for throwing stones and darts round about the city. The number of the engines was in all a hundred and sixty, and bid them fall to work, and dislodge those that were upon the wall. At the same time such engines as were intended for that purpose threw at once lances upon them with a great noise; and stones of the weight of a talent were thrown by the engines that were prepared for that purpose, together with fire, and a vast multitude of arrows, which made the wall so dangerous, that the Jews durst not only not come upon it, but durst not come to those parts within the wall which were reached by the engines: for the multitude of the Arabian archers, as well as those also that threw darts and flung stones, fell to work at the same time with the engines. Yet did not the others lie still, when they could not throw at the Romans from a higher place; for they then made sallies out of the city, like private roobers, by parties, and pulled away the hurdles that covered the workmen, and killed them when they were thus naked: and when those workmen gave way, these cast away the earth that composed the bank, and burnt the wooden parts of it, together with the hurdles, till at length Vespasian perceived that the intervals there were between the works were of disadvantage to him; for those spaces of ground afforded the Jews a place for assaulting the Romans. So he united the hurdles, and at the same time joined one part of the army to the other, which prevented the private excursions of the Jews.

10. And when the bank was now raised, and brought nearer than ever to the battlements that belonged to the walls, Josephus thought it would be entirely wrong in him if he could make no contrivances in opposition to theirs, and that might be for the city's preservation: so he got together his workmen, and ordered them to build the wall higher: and when they said this was impossible to be done while so many darts were thrown at them, he invented this sort of cover for them: he bid them fix piles, and expand before them the raw hides of oxen, newly killed, that these hides, by yielding and hollowing themselves when the stones were thrown at them, might receive them; for that the other darts would slide off them, and the fire that was thrown would be quenched by the moisture that was in them: and these he set before the workmen; and under them these workmen went on with their works in safety, and raised the wall higher, and that both by day and by night, till it was twenty cubits high. He also built a good number of towers upon the wall, and fitted to it strong battlements. This greatly discouraged the Romans, who, in their own opinions, were already gotten within the walls, while they were now at once astonished at Josephus's contrivance, and at the fortitude of the citizens that were in the city.

11. And now Vespasian was plainly irritated at the great subtilty of this stratagem, and at the boldness of the citizens of Jotapata; for taking heart again, upon the building of this wall, they made fresh sallies upon the Romans, and had every day conflicts with them by parties, together with all such contrivances as robbers make use of, and with the plundering of all that came to hand, as also with the setting fire to all the other works; and this till Vespasian made his army leave off fighting them, and resolved to lie round the city, and to starve them into a surrender, as supposing that either they would be forced to petition him for

mercy, by want of provisions, or if they should have the courage to hold out till the last, they would perish by famine; and he concluded he should conquer them the more easily in fighting, if he gave them an interval, and then fell upon them when they were weakened by famine; but still he gave orders that they should guard against their coming out of the city.

12. Now the besieged had plenty of corn within the city, and, indeed, of all other necessaries, but they wanted water, because there was no fountain in the city, the people being there usually satisfied with rain water; yet it is a rare thing in that country to have rain in summer: and at this season, during the siege, they were in great distress for some contrivance to satisfy their thirst; and they were very sad at this time particularly, as if they were already in want of water entirely; for Josephus seeing that the city abounded with other necessaries, and that the men were of good courage, and being desirous to protract the siege to the Romans longer than they expected, ordered their drink to be given them by measure; but this scanty distribution of water by measure was deemed by them as a thing more hard upon them than the want of it; and their not being able to drink as much as they would made them more desirous of drinking than they had otherwise been; nay, they were as much disheartened thereby as if they were come to the last degree of thirst. Nor were the Romans unacquainted with the state they were in; for when they stood over against them beyond the wall, they could see them running together, and taking their water by measure, which made them throw their javelins thither, the place being within their reach, and kill a great many of them.

13. Hereupon Vespasian hoped that their receptacles of water would in no long time be emptied, and that they would be forced then to deliver up the city to him; but Josephus being minded to break such his hope, gave command that they should wet a great many of their clothes, and hang them about the battlements, till the entire wall was of a sudden all wet with the running down of the water. At this sight the Romans were discouraged and under consternation, when they saw them able to throw away in sport so much water, when they supposed them not to have enough to drink themselves. This made the Roman general despair of taking the city by their want of necessaries, and to betake himself again to arms, and to try to force them to surrender, which was what the Jews greatly desired: for as they despaired of either themselves or the city's being able to escape, they preferred a death in battle before one by hunge and thirst.

14. However, Josephus contrived another stratagem besides the foregoing to get plenty of what they wanted. There was a certain rough and uneven place that could hardly be ascended, and on that account was not guarded by the soldiers: so Josephus sent out certain persons along the western parts of the valley, and by them sent letters to whom he pleased of the Jews that were out o. the city, and procured from them what necessaries soever they wanted in the city in abundance: he enjoined them also to creep generally along by the watch, as they came into the city, and to cover their backs with such sheep-skins as had their wool upon them, that if any one should spy them out in the night-time, they might be believed to be dogs. This was done till the watch perceived the contrivance, and encompassed that rough place about themselves.

15. And now it was that Josephus perceived that the city could not hold out long, and that his own life would be in doubt if he continued in it; so he consulted how he and the most potent men of the city might fly out of it. When the multitude understood this, they came all round about him, and begged of him "not to overlook them, while they entirely depended on him, and him alone; for that there was still hope of the city's deliverance if he would stay with them, because every body would undertake any pains with great cheerfulness on his account; and in that case there would be some comfort for them also, though they should be taken: that it became him neither to fly from his enemies, nor to de-

sert his friends, nor to leap out of that city, as out of a ship that was sinking in a storm, into which he came when it was quiet and in a calm; for that by going away he would be the cause of drowning the city, because nobody would then venture to oppose the enemy when he was once gone, upon whom they wholly confided.

16. Hereupon Josephus avoided letting them know that he was to go away to provide for his own safety, but told them, that "he would go out of the city for their sakes; for that if he stayed with them he should be able to do them little good, while they were in a safe condition, and that if they were once taken he should only perish with them to no purpose; but that if he were once gotten free from this siege, he should be able to bring them very great relief; for that he would then immediately get the Galileans together out of the country in great multitudes, and draw the Romans off their city by another war: that he did not see what advantage he could bring to them now by staying among them, but only provoke the Romans to besiege them more closely, as esteeming it a most valuable thing to take him; but that if they were once informed that he was fled out of the city, they would greatly remit of their eagerness against it." Yet did not this plea move the people, but inflamed them the more to hang about him. Accordingly, both the children, and the old men, and the women, with their infants, came mourning to him, and fell down before him, and all of them caught hold of his feet, and held him fast, and besought him, with great lamentations, that he would take his share with them in their fortune: and I think they did this, not that they envied my deliverance, but that they hoped for their own; for they could not think they should suffer any great misfortune, provided Josephus would but stay with them.

17. Now Josephus thought that if he resolved to stay, it would be ascribed to their entreaties, and if he resolved to go away by force he should be put into custody. His commiseration also of the people under their lamentations had much broken that his eagerness to leave them; so he resolved to stay, and arming himself with the common despair of the citizens, he said to them,—"Now is the time to begin to fight in earnest, when there is no hope of deliverance left. It is a brave thing to prefer glory before life, and to set about some such noble undertaking as may be remembered by late posterity." Having said this, he fell to work immediately, and made a sally, and dispersed the enemies' out-guards, and ran as far as the Roman camp itself, and pulled the coverings of their tents to pieces, that were upon their banks, and set fire to their works. And this was the manner in which he never left off fighting, neither the next day nor that after it, but went on with it for a considerable number both of days and nights.

18. Upon this Vespasian, when he saw the Romans distressed by these sallies (though they were ashamed to be made to run away by the Jews, and when at any time they made the Jews run away, their heavy armour would not let them pursue them far, while the Jews, when they had performed any action, and before they could be hurt themselves, still retired into the city,) ordered his armed men to avoid their onsets, and not fight it out with men under desperation, while nothing is more courageous than despair; but that their violence would be quenched when they saw they failed of their purposes, as fire is quenched when it wants fuel; and that it was proper for the Romans to gain their victories as cheap as they could, since they were not forced to fight, but only to enlarge their own dominions. So he repelled the Jews in great measure by the Arabian archers and the Syrian slingers, and by those that threw stones at them; nor was there any intermission of the great number of their offensive engines. Now the Jews suffered greatly by these engines, without being able to escape from them, and when these engines threw their stones or javelins a great way, and the Jews were within their reach, they pressed hard upon the Romans, and fought desperately, without sparing either soul or body, one part succouring another by turns, when it was tired down.

19. When, therefore, Vespasian looked upon himself as in a manner besieged

by these sallies of the Jews, and when his banks were not now far from the walls, he determined to make use of his battering-ram. This ram is a vast beam of wood, like the mast of a ship; its forepart is armed with a thick piece of iron at the head of it, which is so carved as to be like the head of a ram, whence its name is taken. This ram is slung in the air by ropes passing over its middle, and is hung like the balance in a pair of scales from another beam, and braced by strong beams that pass on both sides of it in the nature of a cross. When this ram is pulled backward by a great number of men with united force, and then thrust forward by the same men with a mighty noise, it batters the wall with that iron part which is prominent. Nor is there any tower so strong or walls so broad that can resist any more than its first batteries, but are all forced to yield to it at last. This was the experiment which the Roman general betook himself to, when he was eagerly bent upon taking the city; but found lying in the field so long to be to his disadvantage, because the Jews would never let him be quiet. So these Romans brought the several engines for galling an enemy nearer to the walls, that they might reach such as were upon the walls, and endeavoured to frustrate their attempts; these threw stones and javelins at them; in the like manner did the archers and slingers come both together closer to the walls. This brought matters to such a pass, that none of the Jews durst mount the walls; and then it was that the other Romans brought the battering-ram, which was cased with hurdles all over, and in the upper part was secured by skins that covered it, and this both for the security of themselves and of the engine. Now at the very first stroke of this engine the wall was shaken, and a terrible clamour was raised by the people within the city, as if they were already taken.

20. And now when Josephus saw this ram still battering the same place, and that the wall would quickly be thrown down by it, he resolved to elude for a while the force of the engine: with this design he gave orders to fill sacks with chaff, and to hang them down before that place where they saw the ram always battering, that the stroke might be turned aside, or that the place might feel less of the strokes by the yielding nature of the chaff. This contrivance very much delayed the attempts of the Romans, because, let them remove their engine to what part they pleased, those that were above it removed their sacks, and placed them over against the strokes it made, insomuch that the wall was no way hurt, and this by diversion of the strokes, till the Romans made an opposite contrivance of long poles, and by tying hooks at their ends, cut off the sacks. Now when the battering ram thus recovered its force, and the wall, having been but newly built, was giving way, Josephus and those about him had afterward immediate recourse to fire to defend themselves withal; whereupon they took what materials soever they had that were but dry, and made a sally three ways, and set fire to the machines, and the hurdles, and the banks of the Romans themselves: nor did the Romans well know how to come to their assistance, being at once under a consternation at the Jews' boldness, and being prevented by the flames from coming to their assistance; for the materials being dry with the bitumen and pitch that were among them, as was brimstone also, the fire caught hold of every thing immediately, and what cost the Romans a great deal of pains was in one hour consumed.

21. And here a certain Jew appeared worthy of our relation and commendation; he was the son of Sameas, and was called *Eleazar*, and was born at Saab in Galilee. This man took up a stone of a vast bigness, and threw it down from the wall upon the ram, and this with so great a force, that it break off the head of the engine. He also leaped down, and took up the head of the ram from the midst of them, and without any concern carried it to the top of the wall, and this while he stood as a fit mark to be pelted by all his enemies. Accordingly, he received the strokes upon his naked body, and was wounded with five darts; nor did he mind any of them while he went up to the top of the wall, where he stood in the sight of them all, as an instance of the greatest boldness; after which he

threw himself on a heap with his wounds upon him, and fell down together with the head of the ram. Next to him two brothers showed their courage; their names were *Netir* and *Philip*, both of them of the village of Ruma, and both of them Galileans also: these men leaped upon the soldiers of the tenth legion, and fell down upon the Romans with such a noise and force as to disorder their ranks, and to put to flight all upon whomsoever they made their assaults.

22. After these men's performances, Josephus, and the rest of the multitude with him, took a great deal of fire, and burnt both the machines and their coverings, with the works belonging to the fifth and to the tenth legion, which they put to flight; when others followed them immediately, and buried those instruments, and all the materials under ground. However, about the evening the Romans erected the battering-ram against that part of the wall which had suffered before; where a certain Jew that defended the city from the Romans hit Vespasian with a dart in his foot, and wounded him a little, the distance being so great that no mighty impression could be made by the dart thrown so far off. However, this caused the greatest disorder among the Romans; for when those who stood near him saw his blood, they were disturbed at it, and a report went abroad through the whole army that the general was wounded, while the greatest part left the siege, and came running together with surprise and fear to the general; and before them all came Titus, out of the concern he had for his father, inso much that the multitude were in great confusion, and this out of the regard they had for their general, and by reason of the agony that the son was in. Yet did the father soon put an end to the son's fear, and to the disorder the army was under; for being superior to his pains, and endeavouring soon to be seen by all that had been in a fright about him, he excited them to fight the Jews more briskly for now every body was willing to expose himself to danger immediately, in order to avenge their general, and then they encouraged one another with loud voices, and ran hastily to the walls.

23. But still Josephus and those with him, although they fell down dead upon one another by the darts and stones which the engines threw upon them, yet did not they desert the wall, but fell upon those who managed the ram, under the protection of the hurdles, with fire, and iron weapons, and stones; and these could do little or nothing, but fell themselves perpetually, while they were seen by those whom they could not see; for the light of their own flame shone about them, and made them a most visible mark to the enemy, as they were in the daytime, while the engines could not be seen at a great distance, and so what was thrown at them was hard to be avoided; for the force with which these engines threw stones and darts made them hurt several at a time, and the violent noise of the stones that were cast by the engines was so great that they carried away the pinnacles of the wall, and broke off the corners of the towers; for no body of men could be so strong as not to be overthrown to the last rank by the largeness of the stones. And any one may learn the force of the engines by what happened this very night; for as one of those that stood round about Josephus was near the wall, his head was carried away by such a stone, and his skull was flung as far as three furlongs. In the daytime also, a woman with child had her belly so violently struck, as she was just come out of her house, that the infant was carried to the distance of half a furlong, so great was the force of that engine. The noise of the instruments themselves was very terrible; the sound of the darts and stones that were thrown by them was so also: of the same sort was the noise the dead bodies made when they were dashed against the wall; and, indeed, dreadful was the clamour which these things raised in the women within the city, which was echoed back at the same time by the cries of such as were slain, while the whole space of ground whereon they fought ran with blood, and the wall might have been ascended over by the bodies of the dead carcasses; the mountains also contributed to increase the noise by their echoes; nor was there on that night any thing of terror wanting that could either affect the hearing or

the sight; yet did a great part of those that fought so hard for Jotapata fall manfully, as were a great part of them wounded. However, the morning watch was come ere the wall yielded to the machines employed against it, though it had been battered without intermission. However, those within covered their bodies with their armour, and raised works over against that part which was thrown down before those machines were laid, by which the Romans were to ascend into the city.

24. In the morning Vespasian got his army together in order to take the city [by storm,] after a little recreation upon the hard pains they had been at the night before; and as he was desirous to draw off those that opposed him from the places where the wall had been thrown down, he made the most courageous of the horsemen get off their horses, and placed them in three ranks over against those ruins of the wall, but covered with their armour on every side, and with poles in their hands, that so these might begin their ascent as soon as the instruments for such assent were laid: behind them he placed the flower of the footmen; but for the rest of the horse, he ordered them to extend themselves over against the wall, upon the whole hilly country, in order to prevent any from escaping out of the city when it should be taken; and behind these he placed the archers round about, and commanded them to have their darts ready to shoot. The same commands he gave to the slingers, and to those that managed the engines, and bid them to take up other ladders, and have them ready to lay upon those parts of the wall which were yet untouched, that the besieged might be engaged in trying to hinder their ascent by them, and leave the guard of the parts that were thrown down, while the rest of them should be overborne by the darts cast at them, and might afford his men an entrance into the city.

25. But Josephus, understanding the meaning of Vespasian's contrivance, set the old men, together with those that were tired out, at the sound parts of the wall, as expecting no harm from those quarters, but set the strongest of his men at the place where the wall was broken down, and before them all six men by themselves, among whom he took his share of the first and greatest danger. He also gave orders, that "when the legions made a shout they should stop their ears, that they might not be affrighted at it, and that, to avoid the multitude of the enemies' darts, they should bend down on their knees, and cover themselves with their shields; and that they should retreat a little backward for a while, till the archers should have emptied their quivers; but that, when the Romans should lay their instruments for ascending the walls, they should leap out on the sudden, and with their own instruments should meet the enemy; and that every one should strive to do his best, in order not to defend his own city, as if it were possible to be preserved, but in order to revenge it when it was already destroyed; and that they should set before their eyes how their old men were to be slain, and their children and wives were to be killed immediately by the enemy; and that they would beforehand spend all their fury on account of the calamities just coming upon them, and pour it out on the actors."

26. And thus did Josephus dispose of both his bodies of men: but then for the useless part of the citizens, the women and children, when they saw their city encompassed by a threefold army (for none of the usual guards that had been fighting before were removed;) when they also saw not only the walls thrown down, but their enemies, with swords in their hands, as also the hilly country above them shining with their weapons, and the darts in the hands of the Arabian archers, they made a final and lamentable outcry of destruction, as if the misery were not only threatened, but actually come upon them already. But Josephus ordered the women to be shut up in their houses, lest they should render the warlike actions of the men too effeminate, by making them commiserate their condition, and commanded them to hold their peace, and threatened them if they did not, while he came himself before the breach, where his allotment was; for all

those who brought ladders to the other places he took no notice of them, but earnestly waited for the shower of arrows that was coming.

27. And now the trumpeters of the several Roman legions sounded together, and the army made a terrible shout, and the darts, as by order, flew so fast, that they intercepted the light. However, Josephus's men remembered the charges he had given them; they stopped their ears at the sounds, and covered their bodies against the darts; and as to the engines that were set ready to go to work, the Jews ran out upon them, before those that should have used them were gotten upon them. And now, on the ascending of the soldiers, there was a great conflict, and many actions of the hands and of the soul were exhibited, while the Jews did earnestly endeavour, in the extreme danger they were in, not to show less courage than those who, without being in danger, fought so stoutly against them; nor did they leave struggling with the Romans till they either fell down dead themselves or killed their antagonists. But the Jews grew weary with defending themselves continually, and had not enow to come in their places and succour them; while on the side of the Romans, fresh men still succeeded those that were tired, and still new men soon got upon the machines for ascent in the room of those that were thrust down: those encouraging one another, and joining side to side with their shields, which were a protection to them, they became a body of men not to be broken; and as this band thrust away the Jews, as though they were themselves but one body, they began already to get upon the wall.

28. Then did Josephus take necessity for his counsellor in this utmost distress (which necessity is very sagacious in invention, when it is irritated by despair,) and gave orders to pour scalding oil upon those whose shields protected them: whereupon they soon got it ready, being many that brought it, and what they brought being a great quantity also, and poured it on all sides upon the Romans, and threw down upon them their vessels as they were still hissing from the heat of the fire; this so burnt the Romans, that it dispersed that united band, who now tumbled down from the wall, with horrid pains; for the oil did easily run down the whole body from head to foot, under their entire armour, and fed upon their flesh like flame itself, its fat and unctuous nature rendering it soon heated and slowly cooled; and as the men were cooped up in their head-pieces and breast-plates, they could no way get free from this burning oil; they could only leap and roll about in their pains, as they fell down from the bridges they had laid. And as they thus were beaten back, and retired to their own party, who still pressed them forward, they were easily wounded by those that were behind them.

29. However, in this ill success of the Romans their courage did not fail them, nor did the Jews want prudence to oppose them; for the Romans, although they saw their own men thrown down, and in a miserable condition, yet were they vehemently bent against those that poured the oil upon them, while every one reproached the man before him as a coward, and one that hindered him from exerting himself; and while the Jews made use of another stratagem to prevent their ascent, and poured boiling senegreek upon the boards in order to make them slip and fall down: by which means neither could those that were coming up nor those that were going down stand on their feet, but some of them fell backward upon the machines on which they ascended, and were trodden upon; many of them fell down on the bank they had raised, and when they were fallen upon it were slain by the Jews: for when the Romans could not keep their feet, the Jews being freed from fighting hand to hand, had leisure to throw their darts at them. So the general called off those soldiers in the evening that had suffered so sorely, of whom the number of the slain was not a few, while that of the wounded was still greater; but of the people of Jotapata no more than six men were killed, although more than three hundred were carried off wounded. This fight happened on the twentieth day of the month Desius [Sivan.]

30. Hereupon Vespasian comforted his army on occasion of what happened; and as he found them angry indeed, but rather wanting somewhat to do than any farther exhortations, he gave orders to raise the banks still higher, and to erect three towers, each fifty feet high, and that they should cover them with plates of iron on every side, that they might be both firm by their weight, and not easily liable to be set on fire. These towers he set upon the banks, and placed upon them such as could shoot darts and arrows, with the lighter engines for throwing stones and darts also; and, besides these, he set upon them the stoutest men among the slingers, who not being to be seen by reason of the height they stood upon, and the battlements that protected them, might throw their weapons at those that were upon the wall, and were easily seen by them. Hereupon the Jews, not being easily able to escape those darts that were thrown down upon their heads, nor to avenge themselves on those whom they could not see, and perceiving that the height of the towers was so great, that a dart which they threw with their hand could hardly reach it, and that the iron plates about them made it very hard to come at them by fire, they ran away from the walls, and fled hastily out of the city, and fell upon those that shot at them. And thus did the people of Jotapata resist the Romans, while a great number of them were every day killed, without their being able to retort the evil upon their enemies, nor could they keep them out of the city without danger to themselves.

31. About this time it was that Vespasian sent out Trajan against a city called *Japha*, that lay near to Jotapata, and that desired innovations, and was puffed up with the unexpected length of the opposition of Jotapata. This Trajan was the commander of the tenth legion, and to him Vespasian committed one thousand horsemen and two thousand footmen. When Trajan came to the city he found it too hard to be taken; for besides the natural strength of its situation, it was also secured by a double wall; but when he saw the people of this city coming out of it, and ready to fight him, he joined battle with them, and after a short resistance which they made, he pursued after them, and as they fled to their first wall, the Romans followed them so closely, that they fell in together with them; but when the Jews were endeavouring to get again within their second wall, their fellow citizens shut them out, as being afraid that the Romans would force themselves in with them. It was certainly God, therefore, who brought the Romans to punish the Galileans, and did then expose the people of the city every one of them manifestly to be destroyed by their bloody enemies; for they fell upon the gates in great crowds, and earnestly calling to those that kept them, and that by their names also, yet had they their throats cut in the very midst of their supplications; for the enemy shut the gates of the first wall, and their own citizens shut the gates of the second, so they were enclosed between two walls, and were slain in great numbers together: many of them were run through by swords of their own men, and many by their own swords, besides an immense number that was slain by the Romans. Nor had they any courage to revenge themselves; for there was added to the consternation they were in from the enemy, their being betrayed by their own friends, which quite broke their spirits; and at last they died, cursing not the Romans, but their own citizens, till they were all destroyed, being in number twelve thousand. So Trajan gathered that the city was empty of people that could fight, and, although there should a few of them be therein, he supposed that they would be too timorous to venture upon any opposition; so he reserved the taking of the city to the general. Accordingly, he sent messengers to Vespasian, and desired him to send his son Titus to finish the victory he had gained. Vespasian hereupon imagining there might be some pains still necessary sent his son with an army of five hundred horsemen, and one thousand footmen. So he came quickly to the city, and put his army in order, and set Trajan over the left wing, while he had the right himself, and led them to the siege; and when the soldiers brought ladders to be laid against the wall on every side, the Galileans opposed them from above for a while, but soon afterward they left the walls.

Then did Titus's men leap into the city, and seized upon it presently; but when those that were in it were gotten together, there was a fierce battle between them: for the men of power fell upon the Romans in the narrow streets, and the women threw whatsoever came next to hand at them, and sustained a fight with them for six hours time; but when the fighting men were spent, the rest of the multitude had their throats cut, partly in the open air and partly in their own houses, both young and old together. So there were no males now remaining besides infants, which, with the women, were carried as slaves into captivity: so that the number of the slain both now in the city and at the former fight was fifteen thousand, and the captives were two thousand one hundred and thirty. This calamity befell the Galileans on the twenty-fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan.]

32. Nor did the Samaritans escape their share of misfortunes at this time; for they assembled themselves together upon the mountain called *Gerizzim*, which is with them a holy mountain, and there they remained: which collection of theirs, as well as the courageous minds they showed, could not but threaten somewhat of war; nor were they rendered wiser by the miseries that had come upon their neighbouring cities. They also, notwithstanding the great success the Romans had, marched on in an unreasonable manner, depending on their own weakness, and were disposed for any tumult upon its first appearance. Vespasian, therefore, thought it best to prevent their motions, and to cut off the foundation of their attempts; for although all Samaria had ever garrisons settled among them, yet did the number of those that were come to Mount Gerizzim, and their conspiracy together, give ground for fear what they would be at: he, therefore, sent thither Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horsemen and three thousand footmen, who did not think it safe to go up the mountain and give them battle, because many of the enemy were on the higher part of the ground; so he encompassed all the lower part of the mountain with his army, and watched them all that day. Now it happened that the Samaritans, who were now destitute of water, were inflamed with a violent heat (for it was summer-time, and the multitude had not provided themselves with necessaries,) insomuch that some of them died that very day with heat, while others of them preferred slavery before such a death as that was, and fled to the Romans; by whom Cerealis understood that those which still stayed there were very much broken by their misfortunes. So he went up the mountain, and having placed his forces round about the enemy, he, in the first place, exhorted them to take the security of his right hand, and come to terms with him, and thereby save themselves; and assured them, that, if they would lay down their arms, he would secure them from any harm; but when he could not prevail with them, he fell upon them, and slew them all, being in number eleven thousand and six hundred. This was done on the twenty-seventh day of the month Desius [Sivan.] And these were the calamities that befell the Samaritans at this time.

33. But as the people of Jotapata still held out manfully, and bore up under their miseries beyond all that could be hoped for, on the forty-seventh day [of the siege] the banks cast up by the Romans were become higher than the wall; on which day a certain deserter went to Vespasian, and told him how few were left in the city, and how weak they were: and that they had been so worn out with perpetual watching, and also perpetual fighting, that they could not now oppose any force that came against them, and that they might be taken by stratagem, if any one would attack them; for that about the last watch of the night, when they thought they might have some rest from the hardships they were under, and when a morning sleep used to come upon them, as they were thoroughly weary, he said the watch used to fall asleep; accordingly, his advice was, that they should make their attack at that hour. But Vespasian had a suspicion about this deserter, as knowing how faithful the Jews were to one another, and how much they despised any punishments that could be inflicted on them; this last, because one of the people of Jotapata had undergone all sorts of torments, and though

they made him pass through a fiery trial of his enemies in his examination, yet would he inform them nothing of the affairs within the city, and as he was crucified smiled at them. However, the probability there was in the relation itself did partly confirm the truth of what the deserter told them, and they thought he might probably speak truth. However, Vespasian thought they should be no great sufferers if the report was a sham: so he commanded them to keep the man in custody, and prepared the army for taking the city.

34. According to which resolution they marched without noise, at the hour that had been told them, to the wall; and it was Titus himself that first got upon it, with one of his tribunes, Domitius Sabinus, and had a few of the fifteenth legion along with him. So they cut the throats of the watch, and entered the city very quietly. After these came Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, and led on those that were under them. Now when the citadel was taken, and the enemy were in the very midst of the city, and when it was already day, yet was not the taking of the city known by those that held it, for a great many of them were fast asleep, and a great mist, which then by chance fell upon the city, hindered those that got up from distinctly seeing the case they were in, till the whole Roman army was gotten in, and they were raised up only to find the miseries they were under; and as they were slaying, they perceived the city was taken. And for the Romans, they so well remembered what they had suffered during the siege, that they spared none, nor pitied any, but drove the people down the precipice from the citadel, and slew them as they drove them down; at which time the difficulties of the place hindered those that were still able to fight from defending themselves; for as they were distressed in the narrow streets, and could not keep their feet sure along the precipice, they were overpowered with the crowd of those that came fighting them down from the citadel. This provoked a great many, even of those chosen men that were about Josephus, to kill themselves with their own hands; for when they saw that they could kill none of the Romans, they resolved to prevent being killed by the Romans, and got together in great numbers in the utmost parts of the city, and killed themselves.

35. However, such of the watch as at the first perceived they were taken, and ran away as fast as they could, went up into one of the towers on the north side of the city, and for a while defended themselves there; but as they were encompassed with a multitude of enemies, they tried to use their right hands when it was too late, and at length cheerfully offered their necks to be cut off by those that stood over them. And the Romans might have boasted, that the conclusion of that siege was without blood [on their side,] if there had not been a centurion, Antonius, who was slain at the taking of the city. His death was occasioned by the following treachery. For there was one of those that were fled into the caverns, which were a great number, who desired that this Antonius would reach him his right hand for his security, and would assure him that he would preserve him and give him his assistance in getting up out of the cavern; accordingly, he incautiously reached him his right hand, when the other man prevented him, and stabbed him under his loins with a spear, and killed him immediately.

36. And on this day it was that the Romans slew all the multitude that appeared openly: but on the following days they searched the hiding places, and fell upon those that were under ground and in the caverns, and went thus through every age, excepting the infants and the women, and of these there were gathered together as captives twelve hundred: and as for those that were slain at the taking of the city and in the former fights, they were numbered to be forty thousand. So Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished, and all the fortifications burnt down. And thus was Jotapata taken, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, on the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.]

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Josephus was discovered by a Woman, and was willing to deliver himself up to the Romans; and what Discourse he had with his own Men when they endeavoured to hinder him; and what he said to Vespasian when he was brought before him; and after what Manner Vespasian used him afterwards.*

§ 1. And now the Romans searched for Josephus, both out of the hatred they bore him, and because their general was very desirous to have him taken; for he reckoned that if he were once taken, the greatest part of the war would be over. They then searched among the dead, and looked into the most concealed recesses of the city: but as the city was first taken, he was assisted by a certain supernatural providence; for he withdrew himself from the enemy, when he was in the midst of them, and leaped into a certain deep pit, whereto there adjoined a large den at one side of it, which den could not be seen by those that were above ground; and here he met with forty persons of eminency that had concealed themselves, and with provisions enough to satisfy them for not a few days. So in the daytime he hid himself from the enemy, who had seized upon all places, and in the night-time he got up out of the den, and looked about for some way of escaping, and took exact notice of the watch: but as all places were guarded every where on his account, that there was no way of getting off unseen, he went down again into the den. Thus he concealed himself two days; but on the third day, when they had taken a woman who had been with them, he was discovered. Whereupon Vespasian sent immediately and zealously two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, and ordered them to give Josephus their right hands as a security for his life, and to exhort him to come up.

2. So they came and invited the man to come up, and gave him assurances that his life should be preserved; but they did not prevail with him; for he gathered suspicions from the probability there was that one who had done so many things against the Romans must suffer for it, though not from the mild temper of those that invited him. However, he was afraid that he was invited to come up in order to be punished, until Vespasian sent besides these a third tribune, Nicanor, to him; he was one that was well known to Josephus, and had been his familiar acquaintance in old time. When he was come, he enlarged upon the natural mildness of the Romans towards those they have once conquered, and told him that he had behaved himself so valiantly, that the commanders rather admired than hated him: that the general was very desirous to have him brought to him, not in order to punish him, for that he could do though he should not come voluntarily, but that he was determined to preserve a man of his courage. He, moreover, added this, that Vespasian, had he been resolved to impose upon him, would not have sent to him a friend of his own, nor put the fairest colour upon the vilest action, by pretending friendship and meaning perfidiousness; nor would he have himself acquiesced, or come to him, had it been to deceive him.

3. Now, as Josephus began to hesitate with himself about Nicanor's proposal, the soldiery were so angry, that they ran hastily to set fire to the den; but the tribune would not permit them so to do, as being very desirous to take the man alive. And now, as Nicanor lay hard at Josephus to comply, and he understood how the multitude of the enemies threatened him, he called to mind the dreams which he had dreamed in the night time, whereby God had signified to him beforehand, both the future calamities of the Jews and the events that concerned the Roman emperors. Now, Josephus was able to give shrewd conjectures about the interpretation of such dreams as have been ambiguously delivered by God. Moreover, he was not unacquainted with the prophecies contained in the sacred books

as being a priest himself, and of the posterity of priests; and just then was he in an ecstacy, and setting before him the tremendous images of the dreams he had lately had, he put up a secret prayer to God, and said,—"Since it pleaseth thee, who hath created the Jewish nation, to depress the same, and since all their good fortune is gone over to the Romans, and since thou hast made choice of this soul of mine to foretel what is to come to pass hereafter, I willingly give the up my hands, and am content to live. And I protest openly, that I do not go over to the Romans as a deserter of the Jews, but as a minister from thee."

4. When he had said this, he complied with Nicanor's invitation. But when those Jews who had fled with him understood that he yielded to those that invited him to come up, they came about him in a body, and cried out,—"Nay, indeed, now may the laws of our forefathers, which God ordained himself, well groan to purpose; that God, we mean, who hath created the souls of the Jews of such a temper that they despise death. O Josephus! art thou still fond of life? and canst thou bear to see the light in a state of slavery? How soon hast thou forgotten thyself? How many hast thou persuaded to lose their lives for liberty? Thou hast, therefore had a false reputation for manhood, and a like false reputation for wisdom, if thou canst hope for preservation from those against whom thou hast fought so zealously, and art, however, willing to be preserved by them if they be in earnest. But although the good fortune of the Romans hath made thee forget thyself, we ought to take care that the glory of our forefathers may not be tarnished. We will lend thee our right hand and a sword; and if thou wilt die willingly, thou wilt die as general of the Jews; but if unwillingly, thou wilt die as a traitor to them." As soon as they said this, they began to thrust their swords at him, and threatened they would kill him if he thought of yielding himself to the Romans.

5. Upon this Josephus was afraid of their attacking him, and yet thought he should be a betrayer of the commands of God, if he died before they were delivered. So he began to talk like a philosopher to them, in the distress he was then in, when he said thus to them.—"O my friends, why are we so earnest to kill ourselves? and why do we set our soul and body, which are such dear companions, at such variance? Can any one pretend that I am not the man I was formerly? Nay, the Romans are sensible how that matter stands well enough. It is a brave thing to die in war, but so that it be according to the law of war, by the hand of conquerors. If, therefore, I avoid death from the sword of the Romans, I am truly worthy to be killed by my own sword and my own hand: but if they admit of mercy, and would spare their enemy, how much more ought we to have mercy upon ourselves, and to spare ourselves? for it is certainly a foolish thing to do that to ourselves which we quarrel with them for doing to us. I confess freely, that it is a brave thing to die for liberty, but still so that it be in war, and done by those who take that liberty from us; but in the present case our enemies do neither meet us in battle, nor do they kill us. Now, he is equally a coward who will not die when he is obliged to die, and he who will die when he is not obliged so to do. What are we afraid of when we will not go up to the Romans? Is it death? If so, what we are afraid of when we but suspect our enemies will inflict it on us, shall we inflict it on ourselves for certain? But, it may be said, we must be slaves. And are we then in a clear state of liberty at present? It may also be said, that it is a manly act for one to kill himself. No, certainly, but a most unmanly one; as I should esteem that pilot to be an arrant coward, who, out of fear of a storm, should sink his ship of his own accord. Now, self-murder is a crime most remote from the common nature of all animals and an instance of impiety against God our Creator: nor, indeed, is there any animal that dies by its own contrivance or by its own means, for the desire of life is a law engraven in them all; on which account we deem those that openly take it away from us to be our enemies, and those that do it by treachery are punished for so doing. And do not you think that God is very angry when a man

does injury to what he hath bestowed on him? For from him it is that we have received our being, and we ought to leave it to his disposal to take that being away from us. The bodies of all men are, indeed mortal, and are created out of corruptible matter; but the soul is ever immortal, and is a portion of the divinity that inhabits our bodies. Besides, if any one destroys or abuses a depositum he hath received from a mere man, he is esteemed a wicked and perfidious person; but then if any one cast out of his body this divine depositum, can we imagine that he who is thereby affronted does not know of it? Moreover, our law justly ordains that slaves which run away from their masters shall be punished, though the masters they ran away from may have been wicked masters to them. And shall we endeavour to run away from God, who is the best of all masters, and not think ourselves guilty of impiety? Do not you know, that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when he that lent it us is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame: that their houses and their posterity are sure; that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in heaven, from whence, in the revolutions of ages, they are again sent into pure bodies; while the souls of those whose hands have acted madly against themselves are received by the darkest place in Hades, and while God, who is their father, punishes those that offend against either of them in their posterity; for which reason God hates such doings, and the crime is punished by our most wise legislator. Accordingly our laws determine, that the bodies of such as kill themselves should be exposed till the sun be set, without burial, although at the same time it be allowed by them, to be lawful to bury our enemies [sooner]. The laws of other nations also enjoin such men's hands to be cut off when they are dead, which had been made use of in destroying themselves when alive, while they reckoned, that as the body is alien from the soul, so is the hand alien from the body. It is, therefore, my friends, a right thing to reason justly, and not add to the calamities which men bring upon us, impiety towards our Creator. If we have a mind to preserve ourselves, let us do it; for to be preserved by those our enemies to whom we have given so many demonstrations of our courage, is no way inglorious; but if we have a mind to die, it is good to die by the hand of those that have conquered us. For my part, I will not run over to our enemies' quarters, in order to be a traitor to myself; for certainly I should then be much more foolish than those that deserted to the enemy, since they did it in order to save themselves, and I should do it for destruction, for my own destruction. However, I heartily wish the Romans may prove treacherous in this matter; for if, after their offer of their right hand for security, I be slain by them, I shall die cheerfully, and carry away with me the sense of their perfidiousness, as a consolation greater than victory itself."

6. Now these and many the like motives did Josephus use to these men to prevent their murdering themselves; but desperation had shut their ears, as having long ago devoted themselves to die, and they were irritated at Josephus. They then ran upon him with their swords in their hands, one from one quarter and another from another, and called him a coward, and every one of them appeared openly as if he were ready to smite him; but he called to one of them by name, and looking like a general to another, and taking a third by the hand, and making a fourth ashamed of himself, by praying him to forbear, and being in this condition distracted with various passions (as he well might in the great distress he was then in,) he kept off every one of their swords from killing him, and was forced to do like such wild beasts as are encompassed about on every side, who always turn themselves against those that last touched them. Nay, some of their right hands were debilitated by the reverence they bare to their general in these his fatal calamities, and their swords dropped out of their hands, and not a few of them there were who, when they aimed to smite him with their swords, they were not thoroughly either willing or able to do it.

7. However, in this extreme distress he was not destitute of his usual sagacity; but trusting himself to the providence of God, he put his life into hazard [in the manner following.]—"And now," said he, "since it is resolved among you that you will die, come on, let us commit our mutual deaths to determination by lot. He whom the lot falls to first, let him be killed by him that hath the second lot, and thus fortune shall make its progress through us all; nor shall any of us perish by his own right hand; for it would be unfair, if, when the rest are gone, somebody should repent and save himself." This proposal appeared to them to be very just; and when he had prevailed with them to determine this matter by lots, he drew one of the lots for himself also. He who had the first lot laid his neck bare to him that had the next, as supposing that the general would die among them immediately: for they thought death, if Josephus might but die with them, sweeter than life: yet was he with another left to the last, whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God. And as he was very desirous, neither to be condemned by the lot, nor, if he had been left to the last, to imbrue his right hand in the blood of his countrymen, he persuaded him to trust his fidelity to him, and to live as well as himself.

8. Thus Josephus escaped in the war with the Romans and in this his own war with his friends, and was led by Nicanor to Vespasian. But now all the Romans ran together to see him; and as the multitude pressed one upon another about their general, there was a tumult of a various kind; while some rejoiced that Josephus was taken, and some threatened him, and some crowded to see him very near; but those that were more remote cried out to have this their enemy put to death, while those that were near called to mind the actions he had done, and a deep concern appeared at the change of his fortune. Nor were there any of the Roman commanders, how much soever they had been enraged at him before, but relented when he came to the sight of him. Above all the rest, Titus's own valour, and Josephus's own patience under his afflictions, made him pity him, as did also the commiseration of his age, when he recalled to mind that but a little while ago he was fighting, but lay now in the hands of his enemies, which made him consider the power of fortune, and how quick is the turn of affairs in war, and how no state of men is sure: for which reason he then made a great many more to be of the same pitiful temper with himself, and induced them to commiserate Josephus. He was also of great weight in persuading his father to preserve him. However, Vespasian gave strict orders that he should be kept with great caution, as though he would, in a very little time, send him to Nero.

9. When Josephus heard him give these orders, he said that he had somewhat in his mind that he would willingly say to himself alone. When, therefore, they were all ordered to withdraw, excepting Titus and two of their friends, he said,—"Thou, O Vespasian, thinkest no more than that thou hast taken Josephus himself captive; but I am come to thee as a messenger of greater tidings; for had not I been sent by God to thee, I knew what was the law* of the Jews in this case, and how it becomes generals to die. Dost thou send me to Nero? For why? Are Nero's successors till they come to thee still alive? Thou, O Vespasian, art Cæsar and emperor, thou and this thy son. Bind me now still faster, and keep me for thyself; for thou, O Cæsar, art not only lord over me, but over the land and the sea and all mankind; and certainly I deserve to be kept in closer custody than I now am in, in order to be punished, if I rashly affirm any thing of God." When he had said this, Vespasian at present did not believe him, but supposed that Josephus said this, as a cunning trick, in order to his own preservation; but in a little time he was convinced, and believed what he said to be true, God him

* I do not know where to find the law of Moses here mentioned by Josephus, and afterward by Eleazar, B. vii. ch. viii. sect. 7; and almost implied in B. i. ch. xiii. sect. 10, by Josephus's commendation of Phasaelus for doing so; I mean whereby Jewish generals and people were obliged to kill themselves rather than go into slavery under heathens. I doubt this would have been no better than *self-murder*. And I believe it was rather some vain doctrine, or interpretation of the rigid Pharisees, or Essens, or Herodians, than a just consequence from any law of God delivered by Moses.

self erecting his expectations, so as to think of obtaining the empire, and by other signs foreshowing his advancement. He also found Josephus to have spoken truth on other occasions: for one of those friends that were present at that secret conference said to Josephus,—"I cannot but wonder how thou couldest not fore tel to the people of Jotapata that they should be taken, nor couldest foretel this captivity which hath happened to thyself, unless what thou now sayest be a vain thing, in order to avoid the rage that is risen against thyself." To which Josephus replied,—"I did foretel to the people of Jotapata, that they would be taken on the forty-seventh day, and that I should be caught alive by the Romans." Now when Vespasian had inquired of the captives privately about these predictions, he found them to be true, and then he began to believe those that concerned himself. Yet did he not set Josephus at liberty from his bonds, but bestowed on him suits of clothes, and other precious gifts; he treated him also in a very obliging manner, and continued so to do, Titus still joining his interest in the honours that were done him.

## CHAP. IX.

*How Joppa was taken, and Tiberias delivered up.*

§ 1. Now Vespasian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth day of the month Panemus [Tamuz,] and from thence he came to Cæsarea. which lay by the seaside. This was a very great city of Judea, and for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks: the citizens here received both the Roman army and its general with all sorts of acclamations and rejoicings, and this partly out of the good will they bore to the Romans, but principally out of the hatred they bore to those that were conquered by them; on which account they came clamouring against Josephus in crowds, and desired he might be put to death. But Vespasian passed over this petition concerning him, as offered by the injudicious multitude, with a bare silence. Two of the legions also he placed at Cæsarea, that they might there take their winter-quarters, as perceiving the city very fit for such a purpose; but he placed the tenth and the fifth at Scythopolis, that he might not distress Cæsarea with the entire army. This place was warm, even in winter, as it was suffocating hot in the summer-time, by reason of its situation in a plain, and near to the sea [of Galilee.]

2. In the mean time there were gathered together as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge; and because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and Phœnicia, and Egypt, and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both footmen and horsemen to Joppa, who entered the city, which was unguarded, in the night-time; however, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it; yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night out of the reach of their darts.

3. Now Joppa is not naturally a haven, for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is strait, but the two ends bend towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great stones that jet out into the sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as these

people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them; it is called by those that sail there *the black north wind*, and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea; for the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land; nay, the waves rose so very high that they drowned them: nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves, while they were thrust out of the sea by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were, and out of the city, by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude that were in them were covered with waves, and so perished, and a great many were embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought, that to die by their own swords was lighter than by the sea, and so they killed themselves before they were drowned; although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt parts of the rock, insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and the maritime parts were full of dead bodies; for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them; and the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and utterly demolished it.

4. And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there, where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horsemen might spoil the country that lay round it, and might destroy the neighbouring villages and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut to pieces, and laid desolate the whole region.

5. But now, when the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem, a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity, and because they had no eyewitness to attest the truth of what was related about it; for not one person was saved to be a messenger of that news, but a fame was spread abroad at random, that the city was taken, as such fame usually spreads bad news about. However, the truth was known by degrees from the places near Jotapata, and appeared to all to be too true. Yet were there fictitious stories added to what was really done; for it was reported that Josephus was slain at the taking of the city, which piece of news filled Jerusalem full of sorrow. In every house also, and among all to whom any of the slain were allied, there was a lamentation for them; but the mourning for the commander was a public one, and some mourned for those that had lived with them, others for their kindred, others for their friends, and others for their brethren, but all mourned for Josephus; insomuch that the lamentation did not cease in the city before the thirtieth day, and a great many hired mourners,* with their pipes, who should begin their melancholy ditties for them.

6. But as the truth came out in time, it appeared how the affairs of Jotapata really stood; yet was it found that the death of Josephus was a fiction; and when they understood that he was alive, and was among the Romans, and that the commanders treated him at another rate than they treated captives, they were as vehemently angry at him now as they had showed their good will before, when he appeared to have been dead. He was also abused by some as having been a coward, and by others as a deserter: and the city was full of indignation at him, and of reproaches cast upon him; their rage was also aggravated by their afflic-

* These public mourners, hired upon the supposed death of Josephus, and the real death of many more, illustrate some passages in the Bible, which suppose the same customs, as Matt. xi. 17, where the reader may consult the note of Grotius.

tions, and more inflamed by their ill success; and what usually becomes an occasion of caution to wise men, I mean affliction, became a spur to them to venture farther on calamities, and the end of one misery became still the beginning of another; they, therefore, resolved to fall on the Romans the more vehemently, as resolving to be revenged on him in revenging themselves on the Romans. And this was the state of Jerusalem as to the troubles which now came upon it.

7. But Vespasian, in order to see the kingdom of Agrippa, while the king persuaded him himself so to do (partly in order to his treating the general and his army in the best and most splendid manner his private affairs would enable him to do, and partly that he might, by their means, correct such things as were amiss in his government,) he removed from that Cæsarea which was by the seaside, and went to that which is called *Cæsarea Philippi;** and there he refreshed his army for twenty days, and was himself feasted by King Agrippa, where he also returned public thanks to God for the good success he had in his undertakings. But as soon as he was informed that Tiberias was fond of innovations, and that Taricheæ had revolted, both which cities were parts of the kingdom of Agrippa, and was satisfied within himself that the Jews were every where perverted [from their obedience to their governors,] he thought it seasonable to make an expedition against these cities, and that for the sake of Agrippa, and in order to bring his cities to reason. So he sent away his son Titus to [the other] Cæsarea, that he might bring the army that lay there to Scythopolis, which is the largest city of Decapolis, and in the neighbourhood of Tiberias, whither he came, and where he waited for his son. He then came with three legions, and pitched his camp thirty furlongs off Tiberias, at a certain station easily seen by the innovators; it is named *Sennabris*. He also sent Valerian, a decurion, with fifty horsemen, to speak peaceably to those that were in the city, and to exhort them to give him assurances of their fidelity; for he had heard that the people were desirous of peace, but were obliged by some of the seditious part to join with them, and so were forced to fight for them. When Valerian had marched up to the place, and was near the wall, he alighted off his horse, and made those that were with him do the same, that they might not be thought to come to skirmish with them; but before they could come to discourse one with another, the most potent men among the seditious made a sally upon them armed; their leader was one whose name was *Jesus*, the son of Saphat, the principal head of a band of robbers. Now Valerian, neither thinking it safe to fight contrary to the commands of the general, though he were secure of a victory, and knowing that it was a very hazardous undertaking for a few to fight with many, for those that were unprovided to fight those that were ready, and being on other accounts surprised at this unexpected onset of the Jews, he ran away on foot, as did five of the rest in like manner, and left their horses behind them; which horses Jesus led away into the city, and rejoiced as if they had taken them in battle, and not by treachery.

8. Now the seniors of the people, and such as were of principal authority among them, fearing what would be the issue of this matter, fled to the camp of the Romans: they then took their king along with them, and fell down before Vespasian, to supplicate his favour, and besought him not to overlook them, nor to impute the madness of a few to the whole city; to spare a people that have been ever civil and obliging to the Romans, but to bring the authors of this revolt to due punishment, who had hitherto so watched them, that though they were zealous to give them security of their right hands for a long time, yet could they not accomplish the same. With these supplications the general complied, although he were very angry at the whole city about the carrying off his horses, and this because he saw that Agrippa was under a great concern for them. So when Vespasian and Agrippa had accepted of their right hands by way of security, Jesus and his party thought it not safe for them to continue at Tiberias, so they ran away

* Of this Cæsarea Philippi (twice mentioned in our New Testament, Matthew, xiv. 13, Mark, viii. 27,) there are coins still extant, as Spanheim here informs us

to Taricheæ. The next day Vespasian sent Trajan before with some horsemen to the citadel, to make trial of the multitude, whether they were all disposed for peace; and as soon as he knew that the people were of the same mind with the petitioner, he took his army, and went to the city; upon which the citizens opened to him their gates, and met him with acclamations of joy, and called him their saviour and benefactor. But as the army was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance. However, he charged them to abstain from rapine and injustice, in order to gratify the king, and on his account spared the rest of the wall, while the king undertook for them that they should continue [faithful to the Romans] for the time to come. And thus did he restore this city to a quiet state, after it had been grievously afflicted by the sedition.

## CHAP. X.

*How Taricheæ was taken. A Description of the River Jordan and of the Country of Gennesareth.*

§ 1. And now Vespasian pitched his camp between this city and Taricheæ, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there, and have a long war; for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheæ, as relying upon the strength of the city, and on the lake that lay by it. This lake is called by the people of the country *the lake of Gennesareth.* The city itself is situated, like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain; and on those sides which are not washed by the sea had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias; for the wall of Tiberias had been built at the beginning of the Jews' revolt, when he had great plenty of money, and great power, but Taricheæ partook only the remains of that liberality. Yet had they a great number of ships gotten ready upon the lake, that, in case they were beaten at land, they might retire to them; and they were so fitted up, that they might undertake a seafight also. But as the Romans were building a wall about their camp, Jesus and his party were neither affrighted at their number, nor at the good order they were in, but made a sally upon them; and at the very first onset the builders of the wall were dispersed, and these pulled what little they had before built to pieces; but as soon as they saw the armed men getting together, and before they had suffered any thing themselves, they retired to their own men. But then the Romans pursued them, and drove them into their ships, where they launched out as far as might give them the opportunity of reaching the Romans with what they threw at them, and then cast anchor, and brought their ships close, as in a line of battle, and thence fought the enemy from the sea, who were themselves at land. But Vespasian hearing that a great multitude of them were gotten together in the plain that was before the city, he thereupon sent his son, with six hundred chosen horsemen, to disperse them.

2. But when Titus perceived that the enemy was very numerous, he sent to his father, and informed him that he should want more forces. But as he saw a great many of the horsemen eager to fight, and that before any succours could come to them, and that yet some of them were privately under a sort of consternation at the multitude of the Jews, he stood in a place whence he might be heard, and said to them,—"My brave Romans! for it is right for me to put you in mind of what nation you are, in the beginning of my speech, that so you may not be ignorant who you are, and who they are against whom we are going to fight. For as to us Romans, no part of the habitable earth hath been able to escape our hands hitherto; but as for the Jews, that I may speak of them too, though they have been already beaten, yet do they not give up the cause; and a sad thing it

would be for us to grow weary under our good success, when they bear up under their misfortunes. As to the alacrity which you show publicly, I see it, and rejoice at it; yet am I afraid lest the multitude of the enemy should bring a concealed fright upon some of you: let such a one consider again who we are that are to fight, and who those are against whom we are to fight. Now these Jews, though they be very bold, and great despisers of death, are but a disorderly body, and unskilful in war, and may rather be called a rout than an army; while I need say nothing of our skill and our good order; for this is the reason why we Romans alone are exercised for war in time of peace, that we may not think of number for number when we come to fight with our enemies: for what advantage should we reap for our continual sort of warfare, if we must still be equal in number to such as have not been used to war? Consider farther, that you are to have a conflict with men in effect unarmed, while you are well armed; with footmen, while you are horsemen, with those that have no good general, while you have one; and as these advantages make you in effect manifold more than you are, so do their disadvantages mightily diminish their number. Now it is not the multitude of men, though they be soldiers, that manages wars with success, but it is their bravery that does it, though they be but a few; for a few are easily set in battle array, and can easily assist one another, while overnumerous armies are more hurt by themselves than by their enemies. It is boldness and rashness, the effects of madness, that conduct the Jews. Those passions, indeed, make a great figure when they succeed, but are quite extinguished upon the least ill success: but we are led on by courage, and obedience, and fortitude which shows itself, indeed, in our good fortune, but still does not for ever desert us in our ill fortune. Nay, indeed, your fighting is to be on greater motives than those of the Jews; for although they run the hazard of war for liberty and for their country, yet what can be a greater motive to us than glory? and that it may never be said, that after we have got dominion of the habitable earth, the Jews are able to confront us. We must also reflect upon this, that there is no fear of our suffering any incurable disaster in the present case; for those that are ready to assist us are many, and at hand also: yet is it in our power to seize upon this victory ourselves, and I think we ought to prevent the coming of those my father is sending to us for our assistance, that our success may be peculiar to ourselves, and of greater reputation to us. And I cannot but think this an opportunity wherein my father, and I, and you shall be all put to the trial, whether he be worthy of his former glorious performances, whether I be his son in reality, and whether you be really my soldiers; for it is usual for my father to conquer; and for myself, I should not bear the thoughts of returning to him if I were once taken by the enemy. And how will you be able to avoid being ashamed, if you do not show equal courage with your commander, when he goes before you into danger? for you know very well that I shall go into the danger first, and make the first attack upon the enemy. Do not you, therefore, desert me, but persuade yourselves that God will be assisting to my onset. Know this also before we begin, that we shall now have better success than we should have, if we were to fight at a distance."

3. As Titus was saying this, an extraordinary fury fell upon the men; and as Trajan was already come before the fight began, with four hundred horsemen, they were uneasy at it, because the reputation of the victory would be diminished by being common to so many. Vespasian had also sent both Antonius and Silo, with two thousand archers, and had given it them in charge to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall, which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way. And now Titus made his own horse march first against the enemy, as did the others with a great noise after him, and extended themselves upon the plain as wide as the enemy which confronted them, by which means they appeared much more numerous than they really were. Now the Jews, although they were surprised at their onset and at their good order, made

resistance against their attacks for a little while; but when they were pricked with their long poles, and overborne by the violent noise of the horsemen, they came to be trampled under their feet; many also of them were slain on every side, which made them disperse themselves and run to the city as fast as every one of them were able. So Titus pressed upon the hindmost, and slew them; and of the rest some he fell upon as they stood on heaps, and some he prevented, and met them in the mouth, and run them through; many also he leaped upon as they fell one upon another, and trod them down, and cut off all the retreat they had to the wall, and turned them back into the plain, till at last they forced a passage by their multitude, and got away, and ran into the city.

4. But now there fell out a terrible sedition among them within the city; for the inhabitants themselves, who had possessions there, and to whom the city belonged, were not disposed to fight from the very beginning; and now the less so, because they had been beaten; but the foreigners, which were very numerous, would force them to fight so much the more, insomuch that there was a clamour and a tumult among them, as all mutually angry one at another. And when Titus heard this tumult, for he was not far from the wall, he cried out,—"Fellow soldiers, now is the time; and why do we make any delay, when God is giving up the Jews to us? Take the victory which is given you: do not you hear what a noise they make? Those that have escaped our hands are in an uproar against one another. We have the city, if we make haste: but besides haste, we must undergo some labour, and use some courage; for no great thing uses to be accomplished without danger: accordingly, we must not only prevent their uniting again, which necessity will soon compel them to do, but we must also prevent the coming of our own men to our assistance, that as few as we are we may conquer so great a multitude, and may ourselves alone take the city."

5. As soon as ever Titus had said this, he leaped upon his horse, and rode apace down to the lake; by which lake he marched, and entered into the city the first of them all, as did the others soon after him. Hereupon those that were upon the walls were seized with a terror at the boldness of the attempt, nor durst any one venture to fight with him or to hinder him; so they left guarding the city; and some of those that were about Jesus fled over the country, while others of them ran down to the lake, and met the enemy in the teeth; and some were slain as they were getting up into ships, but others of them as they attempted to overtake those that were already gone aboard. There was also a great slaughter made in the city, while those foreigners that had not fled away already made opposition; but the natural inhabitants were killed without fighting; for in hopes of Titus's giving them his right hand for security, and out of a consciousness that they had not given any consent to the war, they avoided fighting, till Titus had slain the authors of this revolt, and then put a stop to any farther slaughter, out of commiseration of these inhabitants of the place. But for those that had fled to the lake, upon seeing the city taken, they sailed as far as they possibly could from the enemy.

6. Hereupon Titus sent one of his horsemen to his father, and let him know the good news of what he had done; at which, as was natural, he was very joyful, both on account of the courage and glorious actions of his son; for he thought that now the greatest part of the war was over. He then came thither himself, and set men to guard the city, and gave them command to take care that nobody got privately out of it, but to kill such as attempted so to do. And on the next day he went down to the lake, and commanded that vessels should be fitted up in order to pursue those that had escaped in the ships. These vessels were quickly gotten ready accordingly, because there was great plenty of materials, and a great number of artificers also.

7. Now this lake of *Gennesareth* is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs; and its length one hundred and forty; its

waters are sweet, and very agreeble for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens: the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores and at the sand: it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one would expect in so diffuse a place as this is: now when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and the sight from those elsewhere. It is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the foun tain of Jordan, but in reality it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called *Phiala:* this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæsarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and, indeed, it hath its name of Phiala [vial or bowl] very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain head of the river was, whither it had been, therefore, carried [by the waters.] As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expenses. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis; and when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes through the middle of the lake Gennesareth; after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake Asphaltitis.

8. The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of *Gennesareth;* its nature is wonderful as well as its beauty; its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, and the inhabitants, accordingly, plant all sorts of trees there; for the temper of the air is so well mixed that it agrees very well with those several sorts; particularly walnuts, which require the coldest air, flourish there in vast plenty; there are palm-trees also, which grow best in hot air; fig-trees also and olives grow near them, which yet require an air that is more temperate. One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together: it is a happy contention of the seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country; for it not only nourishes different sorts of autumnal fruits beyond men's expectation, but preserves them also a great while; it supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes* and figs, continually, during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits as they become ripe together through the whole year: for, besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country called it *Capharnaum:* some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Coracin fish, as well as that lake does which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself along the banks of this lake that bears the same name for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty. And this is the nature of the place.

9. But now, when the vessels were gotten ready, Vespasian put on ship-board as many of his forces as he thought sufficient to be too hard for those that were upon the lake, and set sail after them. Now these which were driven into the lake could neither fly to the land, where all was in their enemies' hand and in

* It may be worth our while to observe here, that near this lake of Gennesareth, grapes and figs hang on the trees ten months of the year. We may observe also, that in Cyril of Jerusalem, Cateches. xviii. 3, which was delivered not long before Easter, there were no fresh leaves of fig-trees nor bunches of fresh grapes in Judea; so that when St. Mark says, ch. xi. 13, that our Saviour, soon after the same time of the year, came and *found leaves* on a fig-tree near Jerusalem, but *no figs, because the time of* new *figs* ripening *was not yet*, he says very true; nor were they, therefore, other than old leaves which our Saviour saw, and old figs which he expected, and which even with us commonly hang on the trees all winter long.

war against them; nor could they fight upon the level by sea, for their ships were small and fitted only for piracy; they were too weak to fight with Vespasian's vessels, and the mariners that were in them were so few, that they were afraid to come near the Romans, who attacked them in great numbers. However as they sailed round about the vessels, and sometimes as they came near them, they threw stones at the Romans, when they were a good way off, or came closer and fought them; yet did they receive the greatest harm themselves in both cases. As for the stones they threw at the Romans, they only made a sound one after another; for they threw them against such as were in their armour, while the Roman darts could reach the Jews themselves; and when they ventured to come near the Romans they became sufferers themselves, before they could do any harm to the other, and were drowned, they and their ships together. As for those that endeavoured to come to an actual fight, the Romans ran many of them through with their long poles. Sometimes the Romans leaped into their ships with swords in their hands, and slew them; but when some of them met the vessels, the Romans caught them by the middle, and destroyed at once their ships, and themselves who were taken in them. And for such as were drowning in the sea, if they lifted their heads up above the water, they were either killed by darts or caught by the vessels; but if, in the desperate case they were in, they attempted to swim to their enemies, the Romans cut off either their heads or their hands: and, indeed, they were destroyed after various manners everywhere, till the rest, being put to flight, were forced to get upon the land, while the vessels encompassed them about [on the sea:] but as many of these were repulsed when they were getting ashore, they were killed by the darts upon the lake; and the Romans leaped out of their vessels, and destroyed a great many more upon the land: one might then see the lake all bloody and full of dead bodies, for not one of them escaped. And a terrible stink and a very sad sight there was on the following days over that country; for as for the shores they were full of shipwrecks, and of dead bodies all swelled; and as the dead bodies were inflamed by the sun, and putrified, they corrupted the air, insomuch that the misery was not only the object of commiseration to the Jews, but to those that hated them, and had been the authors of that misery. This was the upshot of the sea-fight. The number of the slain, including those that were killed in the city before, was six thousand five hundred.

10. After this fight was over, Vespasian sat upon his tribunal at Taricheæ, in order to distinguish the foreigners from the old inhabitants; for those foreigners appeared to have begun the war. So he deliberated with the other commanders whether he ought to save those old inhabitants or not. And when those commanders alleged, that the dismission of them would be to his own disadvantage, because when they were once set at liberty they would not be at rest, since they would be people destitute of proper habitations, and would be able to compel such as fled to fight against us, Vespasian acknowledged, that they did not deserve to be saved, and that if they had leave given them to fly away, they would make use of it against those that gave them that leave. But still he considered with himself after what manner they should be slain;* for if he had them slain there, he suspected that the people of the country would thereby become his enemies; for that to be sure they would never bear it, that so many that had been supplicants to

* This is the most cruel and barbarous action that Vespasian ever did in this whole war, as he did it with great reluctance also. It was done both after public assurance given of sparing the prisoners' lives, and when all knew and confessed that these prisoners were no way guilty of any sedition against the Romans. Nor, indeed, did Titus now give his consent, so far as appears, nor ever acted of himself so barbarously; nay, soon after this Titus grew quite weary of shedding blood, and of punishing the innocent with the guilty, and gave the people of Gischala leave to keep the Jewish Sabbath, B. iv. ch. ii. sect. 3, 5, in the midst of their siege. Nor was Vespasian disposed to do what he did, till his officers persuaded him, and that from two principal topics, viz. that nothing could be unjust that was done against Jews, and that when both cannot be consistent, *advantage* must prevail over *justice*. Admirable court doctrines these!

him should be killed; and to offer violence to them after he had given them assurances of their lives, he could not himself bear to do it. However, his friends were too hard for him, and pretended that nothing against Jews could be any impiety; and that he ought to prefer what was profitable before what was fit to be done, where both could not be made consistent. So he gave them an ambiguous liberty to do as they advised, and permitted the prisoners to go along no other road than that which led to Tiberias only. So they readily believed what they desired to be true, and went along securely, with their effects, the way which was allowed them, while the Romans seized upon all the road that led to Tiberias, that none of them might go out of it, and shut them up in the city. Then came Vespasian, and ordered them all to stand in the stadium, and commanded them to kill the old men, together with the others that were useless, which were in number a thousand and two hundred. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, and sent them to Nero, to dig through the isthmus, and sold the remainder for slaves, being thirty thousand and four hundred, besides such as he made a present of to Agrippa; for as to those that belonged to his kingdom, he gave him leave to do what he pleased with them: however, the king sold these also for slaves; but for the rest of the multitude who were Trachonites, and Gaulanites, and of Hippos, and some of Gadara, the greatest part of them were seditious persons and fugitives, who were of such shameful characters that they preferred war before peace. These prisoners were taken on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul.]

# BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE YEAR.

*FROM THE SIEGE OF GAMALA TO THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM.*

## CHAP. I.

### *The Siege and Taking of Gamala.*

§ 1. Now all those Galileans who, after the taking of Jotapata, had revolted from the Romans, did, upon the conquest of Taricheæ, deliver themselves up to them again. And the Romans received all the fortresses and the cities, excepting Gischala and those that had seized upon Mount Tabor; Gamala also, which is a city over against Taricheæ, but on the other side of the lake, conspired with them. This city lay upon the borders of Agrippa's kingdom, as also did Sogana and Seleucia. And these were both parts of Gaulanitis; for Sogana was a part of that called the Upper *Gaulanitis;* as was Gamala of the Lower; while Seleucia was situated at the lake Semechonitis, which lake is thirty furlongs in breadth and sixty in length; its marshes reach as far as the place Daphne, which, in other respects is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called *Little Jordan*, under the temple of the golden calf,* where it is sent into Great Jordan. Now Agrippa had united Sogana and Seleucia by leagues to himself at the very beginning of the revolt from the Romans; yet did not Gamala accede to them, but relied upon the difficulty of the place, which was greater than that of Jotapata; for it was situated upon a rough ridge of a high mountain, with a kind of neck in the middle; where it begins to ascend it lengthens itself, and declines as much downward before as behind, insomuch that it is like a camel in figure, from whence it is so named, although the people of the country do not pronounce it accurately: both on the side and the face there are abrupt parts divided from the rest, and ending in vast deep valleys; yet are the parts behind, where they are joined to the mountain, somewhat easier of ascent than the other; but then the people belonging to the place have cut an oblique ditch there, and made that hard to be ascended also. On its acclivity, which is strait, houses are built, and those very thick and close to one another. The city also hangs so strangely, that it looks as if it would fall down upon itself, so sharp is it at the top. It is exposed to the south, and its southern mount, which reaches to an immense height, was in the nature of a citadel to the city; and above that was a precipice, not walled about, but extending itself to an immense depth. There was also a spring of water within the wall, at the utmost limits of the city.

2. As this city was naturally hard to be taken, so had Josephus, by building a wall about it, made it still stronger, as also by ditches and mines underground. The people that were in it were made more bold by the nature of the place than the people of Jotapata had been, but it had much fewer fighting men in it; and they had such a confidence in the situation of the place, that they thought the

* Here we have the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's *golden calves*, at the exit of Little Jordan into Great Jordan, near a place called *Daphne*, but of old *Dan*. See the note on Antiq. B. viii. ch. viii. sect. 4. But Reland suspects that even here we should read Dan instead of Daphne, there being no where else any mention of a place called *Daphne* hereabouts.

enemy could not be too many for them; for the city had been filled with those that had fled to it for safety on account of its strength; on which account they had been able to resist those whom Agrippa sent to besiege it for seven months together.

3. But Vespasian removed from Emmaus, where he had last pitched his camp before the city Tiberias (now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered *A warm bath*, for therein is a spring of warm water, useful for healing,) and came to Gamala; yet was his situation such that he was not able to encompass it all around with soldiers to watch it; but where the places were practicable, he sent men to watch it, and seized upon that mountain which was over it. And as the legions according to their usual custom, were fortifying their camp upon that mountain, he began to cast up banks at the bottom, at the part toward the east, where the highest tower of the whole city was, and where the fifteenth legion pitched their camp: while the fifth legion did duty over against the midst of the city, and whilst the tenth legion filled up the ditches and valleys. Now at this time it was that as King Agrippa was come nigh the walls, and was endeavouring to speak to those that were on the walls about a surrender, he was hit with a stone on his right elbow by one of the slingers; he was then immediately surrounded with his own men. But the Romans were excited to set about the siege by their indignation on the king's account, and by their fears on their own account, as concluding that those men would omit no kinds of barbarity against foreigners and enemies, who were so enraged against one of their own nation, and one that advised them to nothing but what was for their own advantage.

4. Now when the banks were finished, which was done on the sudden, both by the multitude of hands and by their being accustomed to such work, they brought the machines; but Chares and Joseph, who were the most potent men in the city, set their armed men in order, though already in a fright, because they did not suppose that the city could hold out long, since they had not a sufficient quantity either of water, or of other necessaries. However, these their leaders encouraged them, and brought them out upon the wall, and for a while, indeed, they drove away those that were bringing the machines; but when those machines threw darts and stones at them, they retired into the city; then did the Romans bring battering-rams to three several places, and made the walls shake [and fall.] They then poured in over the parts of the wall that were thrown down, with the mighty sound of trumpets and noise of armour, and with a shout of the soldiers, and brake in by force upon those that were in the city; but these men fell upon the Romans for some time at their first entrance, and prevented their going any farther, and with great courage beat them back; and the Romans were so overpowered by the greater multitude of the people, who beat them on every side, that they were obliged to run into upper parts of the city. Whereupon the people turned about and fell upon their enemies, who had attacked them, and thrust them down to the lower parts, and as they were distressed by the narrowness and difficulty of the place, slew them; and as these Romans could neither beat those back that were above them, nor escape the force of their own men that were forcing their way forward, they were compelled to fly into their enemies' houses, which were low; but these houses, being thus full of soldiers, whose weight they could not bear, fell down suddenly; and when one house fell it shook down a great many of those that were under it, as did those do to such as were under them. By this means a vast number of the Romans perished, for they were so terribly distressed, that although they saw the houses subsiding, they were compelled to leap upon the tops of them; so that a great many were ground to powder by these ruins, and a great many of those that got from under them lost some of their limbs, but still a greater number were suffocated by the dust that arose from those ruins. The people of Gamala supposed this to be an assistance afforded them by God, and without regarding what damage they suffered themselves, they pressed forward, and thrust the enemy upon the tops of their houses; and when

they stumbled in the sharp and narrow streets, and were perpetually falling down, they threw their stones or darts at them and slew them. Now, the very ruins afforded them stones enough, and for iron weapons the dead men of the enemies' side afforded them what they wanted; for, drawing the swords of those that were dead, they made use of them to dispatch such as were only half dead; nay there were a great number who, upon their falling down from the tops of the houses, stabbed themselves and died after that manner; nor, indeed, was it easy for those that were beaten back to fly away; for they were so unacquainted with the ways, and the dust was so thick, that they wandered about without knowing one another, and fell down dead among the crowd.

5. Those, therefore, that were able to find the ways out of the city retired. But now Vespasian always stayed among those that were hard set; for he was deeply affected with seeing the ruins of the city falling upon his army, and forgot to take care of his own preseveration. He went up gradually towards the highest parts of the city before he was aware, and was left in the midst of dangers, having only a very few with him; for even his son Titus was not with him at that time, having been then sent into Syria to Mucianus. However, he thought it not safe to fly, nor did he esteem it a fit thing for him to do; but calling to mind the actions he had done from his youth, and recollecting his courage, as if he had been excited by a divine fury, he covered himself and those that were with him with their shields, and formed a testudo over both their bodies and their armour, and bore up against the enemies' attacks, who came running down from the top of the city; and without showing any dread at the multitude of the men or of their darts, he endured all, until the enemy took notice of that divine courage that was within him, and remitted of their attacks; and when they pressed less zealously upon him, he retired, though without showing his back to them, till he was gotten out of the walls of the city. Now a great number of the Romans fell in this battle, among whom was Ebutius, the decurion, a man who appeared not only in this engagement, wherein he fell, but everywhere, and in former engagements to be of the truest courage, and one that had done very great mischief to the Jews. But there was a centurion whose name was *Gallus*, who during this disorder being encompassed about, he and ten other soldiers privately crept into the house of a certain person, where he heard them talking at supper what the people intended to do against the Romans, or a bout themselves (for both the man himself and those with him were Syrians.) So he got up in the night-time, and cut all their throats, and escaped, together with his soldiers, to the Romans.

6. And now Vespasian comforted his army, which was much dejected by reflecting on their ill success, and because they had never before fallen into such a calamity, and, besides this, because they were greatly ashamed that they had left their general alone in great dangers. As to what concerned himself, he avoided to say any thing, that he might by no means seem to complain of it; but he said, that "we ought to bear manfully what usually falls out in war, and this by considering what the nature of war is, and how it can never be that we must conquer without bloodshed on our own side; for there stands about us that fortune, which is of its own nature mutable: that while they had killed so many ten thousands of the Jews, they had now paid their small share of the reckoning to fate, and as it is the part of weak people to be too much puffed up with good success, so is it the part of cowards to be too much affrighted at that which is ill; for the change from the one to the other is sudden on both sides, and he is the best warrior who is of a sober mind under misfortunes, that he may continue in that temper, and cheerfully recover what hath been lost formerly; and as for what had now happened, it was neither owing to their own effeminacy, nor to the valour of the Jews, but the difficulty of the place was the occasion of their advantage and of our disappointment: Upon reflecting on which matter one might blame your zeal as perfectly ungovernable; for when the enemy had retired to their highest fastnesses, you ought to have restrained yourselves, and not, by

presenting yourselves at the top of the city, to be exposed to dangers; but upon your having obtained the lower parts of the city, you ought to have provoked those that had retired thither to a safe and settled battle: whereas in rushing so hastily upon victory, you took no care of your safety. But this incautiousness in war, and this madness of zeal, is not a Roman maxim, while we perform all that we attempt by skill and good order: that procedure is the part of barbarians, and is what the Jews chiefly support themselves by. We ought, therefore, to return to our own virtue, and to be rather angry than any longer dejected at this unlucky misfortune, and let every one seek for his own consolation from his own hand; for by this mean she will avenge those that have been destroyed, and punish those that have killed them. For myself I will endeavour, as I have now done, to go first before you against your enemies in every engagement, and to be the last that retires from it."

7. So Vespasian encouraged his army by this speech; but for the people of Gamala, it happened that they took courage for a little while upon such great and unaccountable success as they had had. But when they considered with themselves, that they had now no hopes of any terms of accommodation, and reflecting upon it that they could not get away, and that their provisions began already to be short, they were exceedingly cast down, and their courage failed them: yet did they not neglect what might be for their preservation, so far as they were able, but the most courageous among them guarded those parts of the wall that were beaten down, while the more infirm did the same to the rest of the wall that still remained round the city. And as the Romans raised their banks, and attempted to get into the city a second time, a great many of them fled out of the city through impracticable valleys, where no guards were placed, as also through subterraneous caverns; while those that were afraid of being caught, and for that reason stayed in the city, perished for want of food; for what food they had was brought together from all quarters, and reserved for the fighting men.

8. And these were the hard circumstances the people of Gamala were in. But now Vespasian went about another work by the by during this siege, and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor, a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated as high as thirty furlongs,* and is hardly to be ascended on its north side; its top is a plain of twenty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall. Now Josephus erected this so long a wall in forty days time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below; for the inhabitants only made use of rain water: as, therefore, there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen thither. Now as it was impossible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design, as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side; for Placidus spoke mildly to them, as aiming to save them, when he got them into the plain; they also came down as complying with his proposals, but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it: however, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs; for when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away, and when they were in pursuit of the Romans he enticed them a great way along the

* These numbers in Josephus of 30 furlongs ascent to the top of Mount Tabor, whether we estimate it by winding and gradual, or by the perpendicular altitude, and of 26 furlongs in circumference upon the top, as also the 15 furlongs for this ascent in Polybius, with Geminus's perpendicular altitude of almost 14 furlongs, here noted by Dr. Hudson, do none of them agree with the authentic testimony of Mr. Maundrel, an eyewitness, page 112, who says he was not an hour in getting up to the top of this Mount Tabor, and that the area of the top is an oval of about two furlongs in length and one in breadth. So I rather suppose Josephus wrote 3 furlongs for the ascent or altitude, instead of 30; and 6 furlongs for the circumference at the top, instead of 26: since a mountain of only 3 furlongs perpendicular altitude may easily require near an hour's ascent, and the circumference of an oval of the foregoing quantity is near 6 furlongs. Nor certainly could such a vast circumference as 26 furlongs or 3 and a quarter miles, at that height, be encompassed with a wall, including a trench and other fortifications, perhaps those still remaining, *ibid.* in the small interval of 40 days, as Josephus here says they were by himself.

plain, and then made his horsemen turn back; whereupon he beat them, and slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem, while the people of the country came to terms with him, for their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus.

9. But of the people of Gamala those that were of the bolder sort fled away and hid themselves, while the more infirm perished by famine; but the men of war sustained the siege till the two and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus [Tisri,] when three soldiers of the fifteenth legion, about the morning watch, got under a high tower that was near them, and undermined it, without making any noise; nor when they either came to it, which was in the night-time, nor when they were under it, did those that guarded it perceive them. These soldiers then upon their coming avoided making a noise, and when they had rolled away five of its strongest stones, they went away hastily; whereupon the tower fell down upon a sudden, with a very great noise, and its guard fell headlong with it; so that those that kept guard at other places were under such disturbance that they ran away: the Romans also slew many of those that ventured to oppose them, among whom was Joseph, who was slain by a dart, as he was running away over that part of the wall that was broken down: but as those that were in the city were greatly affrighted at the noise, they ran hither and thither, and a great consternation fell upon them, as though all the enemy had fallen in at once upon them. Then it was that Chares, who was ill, and under the physician's hands, gave up the ghost, the fear he was in greatly contributing to make his distemper fatal to him. But the Romans so well remembered their former ill success, that they did not enter the city till the three and twentieth day of the forementioned month.

10. At which time Titus, who was now returned, out of the indignation he had at the destruction the Romans had undergone while he was absent, took two hundred chosen horsemen, and some footmen with him, and entered without noise into the city. Now as the watch perceived that he was coming, they made a noise, and betook themselves to their arms; and as that his entrance was presently known to those that were in the city, some of them caught hold of their children and their wives, and drew them after them, and fled away to the citadel, with lamentations and cries, while others of them went to meet Titus, and were killed perpetually; but so many of them as were hindered from running up to the citadel, not knowing what in the world to do, fell among the Roman guards, while the groans of those that were killed were prodigiously great every where, and blood ran down over all the lower parts of the city from the upper. But then Vespasian himself came to his assistance against those that had fled to the citadel, and brought his whole army with him: now this upper part of the city was every way rocky and difficult of ascent, and elevated to a vast altitude, and very full of people on all sides, and encompassed with precipices, whereby the Jews cut off those that came up to them, and did much mischief to others by their darts and the large stones which they rolled down upon them, while they were themselves so high that the enemy's darts could hardly reach them. However, there arose such a divine storm against them as was instrumental to their destruction: this carried the Roman darts upon them, and made those which they threw return back, and drove them obliquely away from them; nor could the Jews, indeed, stand upon their precipices, by reason of the violence of the wind, having nothing that was stable to stand upon, nor could they see those that were ascending up to them: so the Romans got up and surrounded them, and some they slew before they could defend themselves and others as they were delivering up themselves; and the remembrance of those that were slain at their former entrance into the city increased their rage against them now: a great number also of those that were surrounded on every side, and despaired of escaping, threw their children and their wives, and themselves also, down the precipices

valley beneath, which near the citadel had been dug hollow to a vast depth; but so it happened, that the anger of the Romans appeared not to be so extravagant as was the madness of those that were now taken, while the Romans slew but four thousand, whereas the number of those that had thrown themselves down was found to be five thousand: nor did any one escape except two women, who were the daughters of Philip, and Philip himself was the son of a certain eminent man called *Jacimus*, who had been general of King Agrippa's army; and these did, therefore, escape, because they lay concealed from the rage of the Romans when the city was taken; for otherwise they spared not so much as the infants, of which many were flung down by them from the citadel. And thus was Gamala taken, on the three and twentieth day of the month Hyperbereteus [Tisri,] whereas the city had first revolted on the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul.]

## CHAP. II.

*The Surrender of Gischala, while John flies away from it to Jerusalem.*

§ 1. Now no place of Galilee remained to be taken but the small city of Gischala, the inhabitants of which yet were desirous of peace; for they were generally husbandmen, and always applied themselves to cultivate the fruits of the earth. However, there were a great number that belonged to a band of robbers, that were already corrupted, and had crept in among them, and some of the governing part of the citizens were sick of the same distemper. It was John, the son of a certain man whose name was *Levi*, that drew them into this rebellion, and encouraged them in it. He was a cunning knave, and of a temper that could put on various shapes; very rash in expecting great things, and very sagacious in bringing about what he hoped for. It was known to every body that he was fond of war, in order to thrust himself into authority: and the seditious part of the people of Gischala were under his management, by whose means the populace, who seemed ready to send ambassadors in order to surrender, waited for the coming of the Romans in battle array. Vespasian sent against them Titus, with a thousand horsemen, but withdrew the tenth legion to Scythopolis, while he returned to Cæsarea with the two other legions, that he might allow them to refresh themselves after their long and hard campaign, thinking withal that the plenty which was in those cities would improve their bodies and their spirits against the difficulties they were to go through afterwards; for he saw there would be occasion for great pains about Jerusalem, which was not yet taken, because it was the royal city, and the principal city of the whole nation, and because those that had run away from the war in other places got all together thither. It was also naturally strong, and the walls that were built round it made him not a little concerned about it. Moreover, he esteemed the men that were in it to be so courageous and bold, that even without the consideration of the walls, it would be hard to subdue them; for which reason he took care of and exercised his soldiers beforehand for the work, as they do wrestlers before they begin their undertaking.

2. Now Titus, as he rode up to Gischala, found it would be esay for him to take the city upon the first onset; but knew withal, that if he took it by force, the multitude would be destroyed by the soldiers without mercy. (Now he was already satiated with the shedding of blood, and pitied the major part, who would then perish without distinction, together with the guilty.) So he was rather desirous the city might be surrendered up to him on terms. Accordingly, when he saw the wall full of those men that were of the corrupted party, he said to them, that "he could not but wonder what it was they depended on, when they alone stayed to fight the Romans, after every other city was taken by them, especially

when they have seen cities much better fortified than theirs is overthrown by a single attack upon them; while as many as have intrusted themselves to the security of the Romans' right hands, which he now offers to them, without regarding their former insolence, do enjoy their own possessions in safety: for that while they had hopes of recovering their liberty, they might be pardoned; but that their continuance still in their opposition, when they saw that to be impossible, was inexcusable: for that if they will not comply with such humane offers, and right hands for security, they should have experience of such a war as would spare nobody, and should soon be made sensible that their wall would be but a trifle when battered by the Roman machines; in depending on which they demonstrate themselves to be the only Galileans that were no better than arrogant slaves and captives."

3. Now none of the populace durst not only make a reply, but durst not so much as get upon the wall, for it was all taken up by the robbers, who were also the guard at the gates, in order to prevent any of the rest from going out in order to propose terms of submission, and from receiving any of the horsemen into the city. But John returned Titus this answer, that "for himself he was content to hearken to his proposals, and that he would either persuade or force those that refused them. Yet he said, that Titus ought to have such regard to the Jewish law, as to grant them leave to celebrate that day, which was the seventh day of the week, on which it was unlawful not only to remove their arms, but even to treat of peace also; and that even the Romans were not ignorant how the period of the seventh day was among them a cessation from all labours; and that he who should compel them to transgress the law about that day would be equally guilty with those that were compelled to transgress it: and that this delay could be of no disadvantage to him: for why should any body think of doing any thing in the night, unless it was to fly away? which he might prevent by placing his camp round about them: and that they should think it a great point gained, if they might not be obliged to transgress the laws of their country: and that it would be a right thing for him, who designed to grant them peace without their expectation of such a favour, to preserve the laws of those they saved inviolable." Thus did this man put a trick upon Titus, not so much out of regard to the seventh day as to his own preservation; for he was afraid lest he should be quite deserted, if the city should be taken, and had his hopes of life in that night, and in his flight therein. Now this was the work of God, who, therefore, preserved this John, that he might bring on the destruction of Jerusalem; as also, it was his work that Titus was prevailed with by this pretence for a delay, and that he pitched his camp farther off the city at Cydessa. This Cydessa was a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews; it had also a great number of inhabitants, and was well fortified, which made it a proper place for such as were enemies to the Jewish nation.

4. Now, in the night-time, when John saw that there was no Roman guard about the city, he seized the opportunity directly, and taking with him not only the armed men that were about him, but a considerable number of those that had little to do, together with their families, he fled to Jerusalem. And, indeed, though the man was making haste to get away, and was tormented with fears of being a captive or of losing his life, yet did he prevail with himself to take out of the city along with him a multitude of women and children, as far as twenty furlongs; but there he left them as he proceeded farther on his journey, where those that were left behind made sad lamentations; for the farther every one of them was come from his own people, the nearer they thought themselves to be to their enemies. They also affrighted themselves with this thought, that those who would carry them into captivity were just at hand, and still turned themselves back at the mere noise they made themselves in this their hasty flight, as if those from whom they fled were just upon them. Many also of them missed their ways, and the earnestness of such as aimed to outgo the rest threw down

many of them. And, indeed, there was a miserable destruction made of the women and children; while some of them took the courage to call their husbands and kinsmen back, and to beseech them, with the bitterest lamentations, to stay for them; but John's exhortation, who cried out to them to save themselves and fly away, prevailed. He said also, that if the Romans should seize upon those whom they left behind, they would be revenged on them for it. So this multitude that ran thus away was dispersed abroad, according as each of them was able to run one faster or slower than another.

5. Now on the next day Titus came to the wall to make the agreement, whereupon the people opened their gates to him, and came out to him, with their children and wives, and made acclamations of joy to him, as to one that had been their benefactor, and had delivered the city out of custody; they also informed him of John's flight, and besought him to spare them, and to come in, and bring the rest of those that were for innovations to punishment. But Titus, not so much regarding the supplications of the people, sent part of his horsemen to pursue after John, but they could not overtake him, for he was gotten to Jerusalem before; they also slew six thousand of the women and children who went out with him, but returned back and brought with them almost three thousand. However, Titus was greatly displeased that he had not been able to bring this John who had deluded him, to punishment; yet he had captives enough, as well as the corrupted part of the city, to satisfy his anger, when it missed of John. So he entered the city in the midst of acclamations of joy; and when he had given orders to the soldiers to pull down a small part of the wall, as of a city taken in war, he repressed those that had disturbed the city rather by threatenings than by executions; for he thought that many would accuse innocent persons, out of their own private animosities and quarrels, if he should attempt to distinguish those that were worthy of punishment from the rest; and that it was better to let a guilty person alone in his fears, than to destroy with him any one that did not deserve it; for that probably such a one might be taught prudence by the fear of the punishment he had deserved, and have a shame upon him for his former offences, when he had been forgiven; but that the punishment of such as have been once put to death could never be retrieved. However, he placed a garrison in the city for its security, by which means he should restrain those that were for innovations, and should leave those that were peaceably disposed in greater security. And thus was all Galilee taken, but this not till after it had cost the Romans much pains before it could be taken by them.

## CHAP. III.

*Concerning John of Gischala. Concerning the Zealots, and the High Priest Ananus: as also how the Jews raised Seditions one against another [in Jerusalem.]*

§ 1. Now, upon John's entry into Jerusalem, the whole body of the people were in an uproar, and ten thousand of them crowded about every one of the fugitives that were come to them, and inquired of them what miseries had happened abroad, when their breath was so short, and hot, and quick, that of itself it declared the great distress they were in; yet did they talk big under their misfortunes, and pretended to say, that they had not fled away from the Romans, but came thither in order to fight them with less hazard, for that it would be an unreasonable and a fruitless thing for them to expose themselves to desperate hazards about Gischala and such weak cities, whereas they ought to lay up their weapons and their zeal, and reserve it for their metropolis. But when they related to them the taking of Gischala, and their decent departure, as they pretended, from that place, many of the people understood it to be no better than a flight; and especially when the people were told of those that were made captives, they

were in great confusion, and guessed those things to be plain indications that they should be taken also. But for John, he was very little concerned for those whom he had left behind him, but went about among all the people, and persuaded them to go to war, by the hopes he gave them. He affirmed that the affairs of the Romans were in a weak condition, and extolled his own power. He also jested upon the ignorance of the unskilful, as if those Romans, although they should take to themselves wings, could never fly over the wall of Jerusalem, who found such great difficulties in taking the villages of Galilee, and had broken their engines of war against their walls.

2. These harangues of John's corrupted a great part of the young men, and puffed them up for the war; but as to the more prudent part, and those in years, there was not a man of them but foresaw what was coming, and made lamentation on that account, as if the city was already undone: and in this confusion were the people. But then it must be observed, that the multitude that came out of the country were at discord before the Jerusalem sedition began; for Titus went from Gischala to Cæsarea, and Vespasian from Cæsarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and took them both; and when he had put garrisons into them he came back with a great number of the people, who were come over to him, upon his giving them his right hand for their preservation. There were besides disorders and civil wars in every city, and all those that were at quiet from the Romans turned their hands one against another. There was also a bitter contest between those that were fond of war and those that were desirous of peace. At the first, this quarrelsome temper caught hold of private families, who could not agree among themselves; after which those people that were the dearest to one another brake through all restraints with regard to each other, and every one associated with those of his own opinion, and began already to stand in opposition one to another; so that seditions arose every where, while those that were for innovations, and were desirous of war, by their youth and boldness, were too hard for the aged and prudent men. And, in the first place, all the people of every place betook themselves to rapine; after which they got together in bodies, in order to rob the people of the country, insomuch that for barbarity and iniquity those of the same nation did no way differ from the Romans; nay, it seemed to be a much lighter thing to be ruined by the Romans than by themselves.

3. Now the Roman garrisons which guarded the cities, partly out of their uneasiness to take such trouble upon them, and partly out of the hatred they bare to the Jewish nation, did little or nothing towards relieving the miserable till the captains of these troops of robbers, being satiated with rapines in the country, got all together from all parts, and became a band of wickedness, and all together crept into Jerusalem, which was now become a city without a governor, and, as the ancient custom was, received without distinction all that belonged to their nation; and these they then received, because all men supposed that those who came so fast into the city, came out of kindness, and for their assistance, although these very men, besides the seditions they raised, were otherwise the direct cause of the city's destruction also; for as they were an unprofitable and a useless multitude, they spent those provisions beforehand which might otherwise have been sufficient for the fighting men. Moreover, besides the bringing on of the war, they were the occasions of sedition and famine therein.

4. There were besides these other robbers that came out of the country, and came into the city, and joining to them those that were worse than themselves, omitted no kind of barbarity; for they did not measure their courage by their rapines and plunderings only, but proceeded as far as murdering men; and this not in the night-time or privately, or with regard to ordinary men, but did it openly in the daytime, and began with the most eminent persons in the city; for the first man they meddled with was Antipas, one of the royal lineage, and the most potent man in the whole city, insomuch that the public treasures were committed to his care: him they took and confined, as they did in the next place

to Levias a person of great note, with Sophas the son of Raguel; both which were of royal lineage also. And besides these they did the same to the principa men of the country. This caused a terrible consternation among the people, and every one contented himself with taking care of his own safety, as they would do if the city had been taken in war.

5. But these were not satisfied with the bonds into which they had put the men forementioned; nor did they think it safe for them to keep them thus in custody long, since they were men very powerful and had numerous families of their own that were able to avenge them. Nay, they thought the very people would, perhaps, be so moved at these unjust proceedings, as to rise in a body against them: it was, therefore, resolved to have them slain. Accordingly, they sent one John, who was the most bloody-minded of them all, to do that execution: this man was also called the *son of Dorcas*,* in the language of our country. Ten more men went along with him into the prison, with their swords drawn, and so they cut the throats of those that were in custody there. The grand lying pretence these men made for so flagrant an enormity was this, that these men had had conferences with the Romans for a surrender of Jerusalem to them; and so they said they had slain only such as were traitors to their common liberty. Upon the whole, they grew the more insolent upon this bold prank of theirs, as though they had been the benefactors and saviours of the city.

6. Now the people were come to that degree of meanness and fear, and these robbers to that degree of madness, that these last took upon them to appoint high-priests.† So when they had disannulled the succession, according to those families out of which the high priests used to be made, they ordained certain unknown and ignoble persons for that office, that they might have their assistance in their wicked undertakings; for such as obtained this highest of all honours, without any desert, were forced to comply with those that bestowed it on them. They also set the principal men at variance one with another, by several sorts of contrivances and tricks, and gained the opportunity of doing what they pleased, by the mutual quarrels of those who might have obstructed their measures; till at length, when they were satiated with the unjust actions they had done toward men, they transferred their contumelious behaviour to God himself, and came into the sanctuary with polluted feet.

7. And now the multitude were going to rise against them already; for Ananus, the ancientest of the high priests, persuaded them to it. He was a very prudent man, and had, perhaps, saved the city, if he could but have escaped the hands of those that plotted against him. Those men made the temple of God a strong hold for them, and a place whither they might resort, in order to avoid the troubles they feared from the people: the sanctuary was now become a refuge and a shop of tyranny. They also mixed jesting among the miseries they introduced which was more intolerable than what they did; for, in order to try what surprise the people would be under, and how far their own power extended, they undertook to dispose of the priesthood by casting lots for it, whereas, as we have said already, it was to descend by succession in a family. The pretence they made for this strange attempt was an ancient practice, while they said that of old it was determined by lot; but, in truth, it was no better than the dissolution of an undeniable

* This name Dorcas in Greek was Tabitha in Hebrew or Syriac, as Acts, ix. 36. Accordingly, some of the manuscripts set it down here Tabetha, or Tabeta. Nor can the context in Josephus be made out by supposing the reading to have been this, the son of Tabitha, *which in the language of our country denotes* Dorcas [or a doe.]

† Here we may discover the utter disgrace and ruin of the high priesthood among the Jews, when undeserving, ignoble, and vile persons were advanced to that noble office by the seditious; which sort of high priests, as Josephus well remarks here, were thereupon obliged to comply with and assist those that advanced them in their impious practices. The names of these high priests, or rather ridiculous and profane persons, were Jesus the son of Damneus, Jesus the son of Gamaliel, Matthias the son of Theophilus, and that prodigious ignoramus Phannias, the son of Samuel; all which we shall meet with in Josephus's future history of this war; nor do we meet with any other so much as pretended high priest after Phannias, till Jerusalem was taken and destroyed.

law, and a cunning contrivance to seize upon the government, derived from those that presumed to appoint governors as they themselves pleased.

8. Hereupon they sent for one of the pontifical tribes, which is called *Eniachim*,* and cast lots which of it should be the high priest. By fortune the lot so fell as to demonstrate their iniquity after the plainest manner; for it fell upon one whose name was *Phannias*, the son of Samuel, of the village Aphtha. He was a man not only unworthy of the high priesthood, but that did not well know what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he; yet did they hale this man, without his own consent, out of the country, as if they were acting a play upon the stage, and adorned him with a counterfeit face: they also put upon him the sacred garments, and upon every occasion instructed him what he was to do. This horrid piece of wickedness was sport and pastime with them, but occasioned the other priests, who, at a distance, saw their law made a jest of, to shed tears, and sorely to lament the dissolution of such a sacred dignity.

9. And now the people could no longer bear the insolence of this procedure, but did altogether run zealously in order to overthrow that tyranny: and, indeed, they were Gorion the son of Josephus, and Symeon† the son of Gamaliel, who encouraged them, by going up and down when they were assembled together in crowds, and as they saw them alone, to bear no longer, but to inflict punishment upon these pests and plagues of their freedom, and to purge the temple of these bloody polluters of it. The best esteemed also of the high priests, Jesus the son of Gamala and Ananus the son of Ananus, when they were at their assemblies, bitterly reproached the people for their sloth, and excited them against the zealots; for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good undertakings, and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others.

10. And now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men's seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun their attacks upon them (the reason of which was this, that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots, as, indeed, the case was,) Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said,—"Certainly it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations, or these sacred places, that ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet of these blood-shedding villains: yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of high priesthood, and am called by that most venerable name [of *high priest*,] still live, and am but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the only person concerned, and as it were in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God's sake; for to what purpose is it to live among a people insensible of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? For when you are seized upon, you bear it, and when you are beaten, you are silent, and when people are murdered, nobody dares so much as send out a groan openly. O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for they were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to be many, and by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented

* This tribe or course of the high priests here called *Eniakim*, seems to the learned Mr. Lowth, one well versed in Josephus, to be that 1 Chron. xxiv. 12, *the course of Jakim*, where some copies have *the course of Eliakim;* and I think this to be by no means an improbable conjecture.

† This Symeon, the son of Gamaliel, is mentioned as the president of the Jewish sanhedrim, and one that perished in the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Jewish rabbins, as Reland observes on this place He also tells us, that those rabbins mention one Jesus, the son of Gamala, as once a high priest, but this long before the destruction of Jerusalem; so that if he were the same person with this Jesus, the son of Gamala, in Josephus, he must have lived to be very old, or they have been very bad chronologers.

their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged, nobody said a word, which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you had betrayed into their hands into bonds; I do not say how many, and of what characters those men were whom they thus served, but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none; and since nobody succoured them when they were put into bonds, the consequence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been still led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore, will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will not you pluck them down from their exaltation? For even by this time they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel? And what have you to support your minds withal? Perhaps you wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places: Are our matters then brought to that pass? and are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O wretched creatures! will not you rise up, and turn upon those that strike you? which you may observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike them. Will not you call to mind every one of you the calamities you yourselves have suffered? nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? And will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is, therefore, that most honourable and most natural of our passions utterly lost, I mean the desire of liberty? Truly we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors; yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty; nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians or the Medes, but that still they did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? (I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not:) What pretence is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune hath already doomed us to it, while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occcasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably; it is this, that though we should be taken by them (God forbid the event should be so,) yet can we undergo nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding of tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temple, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our own spoils and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men, from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained. To see those Romans never going beyond the bounds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs, nay, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls, while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called *Jews*, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen.

Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may suit our words to the things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws, and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here come satisfied before I speak, that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed; and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have done, and that you are all provoked against them by those their wicked actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But, perhaps, many of you are affrighted at the multitude of those zealots, and at their audaciousness, as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected; for their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man's running away to those that are like to themselves, and their audaciousness is, therefore, inflamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so; but be assured of this, that if we go up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences; and what advantages they have in the height of their situation they will lose by the opposition of their reason: perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and these impious wretches will be killed by their own darts; let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake, and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you both with my counsel and with my hand; nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support, nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither."

11. By these motives Ananus encouraged the multitude to go against the zealots, although he knew how difficult it would be to disperse them, because of their multitude, and their youth, and the courage of their souls, but chiefly because of their consciousness of what they had done, since they would not yield, as not so much as hoping for pardon at the last for those their enormities. However, Ananus resolved to undergo whatever sufferings might come upon him, rather than overlook things now they were in such great confusion. So the multitude cried out to him to lead them on against those whom he had described in his exhortation to them, and every one of them was most readily disposed to run any hazard whatsoever on that account.

12. Now while Ananus was choosing out his men, and putting those who were proper for his purpose in array for fighting, the zealots got information of his undertaking (for there were some who went to them, and told them all that the people were doing,) and were irritated at it, and leaping out of the temple in crowds and by parties, spared none whom they met with. Upon this Ananus got the populace together on the sudden, who were more numerous, indeed, than the zealots, but inferior to them in arms, because they had not been regularly put into array for fighting: but the alacrity that every body showed supplied all their defects on both sides, the citizens taking up so great a passion as was stronger than arms, and deriving a degree of courage from the temple more forcible than any multitude whatsoever; and, indeed, these citizens thought it was not possible for them to dwell in the city, unless they could cut off the robbers that were in it. The zealots also thought, that, unless they prevailed, there would be no punishment so bad but it would be inflicted on them. So their conflicts were conducted by their passions, and at the first they only cast stones at each other in the city and before the temple, and threw their javelins at a distance; but when either of them were too hard for the other, they made use of their swords; and great slaughter

was made on both sides, and a great number were wounded. As for the dead bodies of the people, their relations carried them out to their own houses; but when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood, insomuch that one may say it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary. Now, in these conflicts the robbers always sallied out of the temple, and were too hard for their enemies; but the populace grew very angry, and became more and more numerous, and reproached those that gave back; and those behind would not afford room to those that were going off, but forced them on again, till at length they made their whole body to turn against their adversaries, and the robbers could no longer oppose them, but were forced gradually to retire into the temple: when Ananus* and his party fell into it at the same time together with them. This horribly affrighted the robbers, because it deprived them of the first court; so they fled into the inner court immediately, and shut the gates. Now Ananus did not think fit to make any attack against the holy gates, although the other threw their stones and darts at them from above. He also deemed it unlawful to introduce the multitude into that court before they were purified; he, therefore, chose out of them all by lot six thousand armed men, and placed them as guards in the cloisters: so there was a succession of such guards one after another, and every one was forced to attend in his course; although many of the chief of the city were dismissed by those that then took on them the government, upon their hiring some of the poorer sort, and sending them to keep the guard in their stead.

13. Now it was John who, as we told you, ran away from Gischala, and was the occasion of all these being destroyed. He was a man of great craft, and bore about him in his soul a strong passion after tyranny, and at a distance was the adviser in these actions; and, indeed, at this time he pretended to be of the people's opinion, and went all about with Ananus, when he consulted the great men every day, and in the night-time also when he went round the watch; but he divulged their secrets to the zealots, and every thing that the people deliberated about was by his means known to their enemies, even before it had been well agreed upon by themselves. And by way of contrivance how he might not be brought into suspicion, he cultivated the greatest friendship possible with Ananus and with the chief of the people; yet did this overdoing of his turn against him, for he flattered them so extravagantly, that he was but the more suspected; and his constant attendance every where, even when he was not invited to be present, made him strongly suspected of betraying their secrets to the enemy; for they plainly perceived that they understood all the resolutions taken against them at their consultations. Nor was there any one whom they had so much reason to suspect of that discovery as this John; yet was it not easy to get quit of him, so potent was he grown by his wicked practices. He was also supported by many of those eminent men, who were to be consulted upon all considerable affairs; it was, therefore, thought reasonable to oblige him to give them assurance of his good will upon oath: accordingly, John took such an oath readily, that he would be on the people's side, and would not betray any of their counsels or practices to their enemies, and would assist them in overthrowing those that attacked them, and that both by his hand and his advice. So Ananus and his party believed his oath, and did now receive him to their consultations without farther suspicion; nay, so far did they believe him, that they sent him as their ambassador into the temple to the zealots, with proposals of accommodation; for they were very desirous to avoid the pollution of the temple as much as they possibly could, and that no one of their nation should be slain therein.

14. But now this John, as if his oath had been made to the zealots, and for confirmation of his good will to them, and not against them, went into the temple,

* It is worth noticing here, that this Ananus, the best of the Jews at this time, and the high priest, who was so very uneasy at the profanation of the *Jewish courts* of the temple by the zealots, did not, however, scruple the profanation of the *court of the Gentiles*, as in our Saviour's days it was very much profaned

and stood in the midst of them, and spake as follows:—That "he had run many hazards on their accounts, and in order to let them know of every thing that was secretly contrived against them by Ananus and his party; but that both he and they should be cast into the most imminent danger, unless some providential assistance were afforded them; for that Ananus made no longer delay, but had prevailed with the people to send ambassadors to Vespasian to invite him to come presently and take the city; and that he had appointed a fast for the next day against them, that they might obtain admission into the temple on a religious account, or gain it by force, and fight with them there: that he did not see how long they could either endure a siege, or how they could fight against so many enemies. He added farther, that it was by the providence of God he was himself sent as an ambassador to them for an accommodation; for that Ananus did, therefore, offer them such proposals, that he might come upon them when they were unarmed; that they ought to choose one of these two methods, either to intercede with those that guarded them to save their lives, or to provide some foreign assistance for themselves: that if they fostered themselves with the hopes of pardon, in case they were subdued, they had forgotten what desperate things they had done, or could suppose, that as soon as the actors repented, those that had suffered by them must be presently reconciled to them; while those that have done injuries, though they pretend to repent of them, are frequently hated by the others for that sort of repentance; and that the sufferers, when they get the power into their hands, are usually still more severe upon the actors: that the friends and kindred of those that had been destroyed would always be laying plots against them; and that a large body of people were very angry on account of their gross breaches of their laws and [illegal] judicatures, insomuch that although some part might commiserate them, those would be quite overborne by the majority."

## CHAP. IV.

*The Idumeans, being sent for by the Zealots, came immediately to Jerusalem; and when they were excluded out of the City, they lay all Night there. Jesus, one of the High Priests, makes a Speech to them; and Simon the Idumean makes a Reply to it.*

§ 1. Now by this crafty speech John made the zealots afraid; yet durst he not directly name what foreign assistance he meant, but in a covert way only intimated at the Idumeans. But now that he might particularly irritate the leaders of the zealots, he calumniated Ananus, that he was about a piece of barbarity, and did in a special manner threaten them. These leaders were Eleazar the son of Simon, who seemed the most plausible man of them all, both in considering what was fit to be done, and in the execution of what he had determined upon, and Zacharias the son of Phalek, both of whom derived their families from the priests. Now when these two men had heard not only the common threatenings which belonged to them all, but those peculiarly levelled against themselves, and, besides, how Ananus and his party, in order to secure their own dominion, had invited the Romans to come to them, for that also was part of John's lie, they hesitated a great while what they should do, considering the shortness of the time by which they were straitened; because the people were prepared to attack them very soon, and because the suddenness of the plot laid against them had almost cut off all their hopes of getting any foreign assistance; for they might be under the height of their afflictions before any of their confederates could be informed

by the Jews, and made a market-place, nay, a *den of thieves*, without scruple, Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark, xi. 15—17. Accordingly, Josephus himself, when he speaks of the two inner courts, calls them both ἅγια or *holy places*, but, so far as I remember, he never gives that character of the court of the Gentiles See B. v. ch. ix. sect. 2.

of it. However, it was resolved to call in the Idumeans; so they wrote a short letter to this effect, that "Ananus had imposed on the people, and was betraying their metropolis to the Romans; that they themselves had revolted from the rest, and were in custody in the temple, on account of the preservation of their liberty: that there was but a small time left wherein they might hope for their deliverance; and that unless they would come immediately to their assistance, they should themselves be soon in the power of Ananus, and the city would be in the power of the Romans." They also charged the messengers to tell many more circumstances to the rulers of the Idumeans. Now there were two active men proposed for the carrying this message and such as were well able to speak, and to persuade them that things were in this posture; and, what was a qualification still more necessary than the former, they were very swift of foot; for they knew well enough that these would immediately comply with their desires, as being ever a tumultuous and disorderly nation, always on the watch upon every motion, delighting in mutations; and upon your flattering them ever so little, and petitioning them, they soon take their arms, and put themselves into motion, and make haste to a battle, as if it were to a feast. There was, indeed, occasion for quick dispatch in the carrying of this message, in which point the messengers were no way defective. Both their names were Ananias; and they soon came to the rulers of the Idumeans.

2. Now these rulers were greatly surprised at the contents of the letter, and at what those that came with it further told them; whereupon they ran about the nation like madmen, and made proclamation that the people should come to war; so a multitude was suddenly gotten together, sooner, indeed, than the time appointed in the proclamation, and every body caught up their arms, in order to maintain the liberty of their metropolis; and twenty thousand of them were put into battle-array, and came to Jerusalem under four commanders, John, and Jacob the son of Sosas; and besides these were Simon the son of Cathlas, and Phineas the son of Clusothus.

3. Now this exit of the messengers was not known either to Ananus or to the guards, but the appproach of the Idumeans was known to him; for as he knew of it before they came, he ordered the gates to be shut against them, and that the walls should be guarded. Yet did not he by any means think of fighting against them, but before they came to blows, to try what persuasions would do. Accordingly Jesus, the eldest of the high priests next to Ananus, stood upon the tower that was over against them, and said thus:—"Many troubles, indeed, and those of various kinds, have fallen upon this city, yet in none of them have I so much wondered at her fortune as now, when you are come to assist wicked men, and this after a manner very extraordinary; for I see that you are come to support the vilest of men against us, and this with so great alacrity, as you could hardly put on the like in case our metropolis had called you to her assistance against barbarians. And if I had perceived that your army was composed of men like unto those who invited them, I had not deemed your attempt so absurd: for nothing does so much cement the minds of men together as the alliance there is between their manners. But now for these men who have invited you, if you were to examine them one by one, every one of them would be found to have deserved ten thousand deaths; for the very rascality and offscouring of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and by way of trial beforehand have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities, in the upshot of all have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who, by their prodigious wickedness, have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their insatiable bellies. As for the multitude that is with you, one may see them so decently adorned in their armour, as it would become them to be, had their metropolis called them to her assistance against foreigners What can a man call this procedure of yours but the sport

of fortune, when he sees a whole nation coming to protect a sink of wicked wretches? I have for a good while been in doubt what it could possibly be that should move you to do this so suddenly; because certainly you would not take all your armour on the behalf of robbers, and against a people of kin to you, without some very great cause for your so doing. But we have an item that the Romans are pretended, and that we are supposed to be going to betray this city to them; for some of your men have lately made a clamour about those matters and have said they are come to set their metropolis free. Now we cannot but admire at these wretches in their devising such a lie as this against us; for they knew there was no other way to irritate against us men that were naturally desirous of liberty, and on that account the best disposed to fight against foreign enemies, but by framing a tale as if we were going to betray that most desirable thing, liberty. But you ought to consider what sort of people they are that raise this calumny, and against what sort of people that calumny is raised, and to gather the truth of things not by fictitious speeches, but out of the actions of both parties; for what occasion is there for us to sell ourselves to the Romans? while it was in our power not to have revolted from them at the first, or, when we had once revolted, to have returned under their dominion again; and this while the neighbouring countries were not yet laid waste: whereas it is not an easy thing to be reconciled to the Romans, if we were desirous of it, now they have subdued Galilee, and are thereby become proud and insolent; and to endeavour to please them, at the time when they are so near us, would bring such a reproach upon us as were worse than death. As for myself, indeed, I should have preferred peace with them before death; but now we have once made war upon them, and fought with them, I prefer death, with reputation, before living in captivity under them. But farther, whether do they pretend that we, who are the rulers of the people, have sent thus privately to the Romans, or hath it been done by the common suffrages of the people? If it be ourselves only that have done it, let them name those friends of ours that have been sent, as our servants, to manage this treachery. Hath any one been caught as he went out on this errand, or seized upon as he came back? Are they in possession of our letters? How could we be concealed from such a vast number of our fellow citizens, among whom we are conversant every hour, while what is done privately in the country is, it seems, known by the zealots, who are but few in number, and under confinement also, and are not able to come out of the temple into the city? Is this the first time that they are become sensible how they ought to be punished for their insolent actions? for while these men were free from the fear they are now under, there was no suspicion raised that any of us were traitors. But if they lay this charge against the people, this must have been done at a public consultation, and not one of the people must have dissented from the rest of the assembly; in which case the public fame of this matter would have come to you sooner than any particular indication. But how could that be? Must there not, then, have been ambassadors sent to confirm the agreements? And let them tell us who this ambassador was that was ordained for that purpose. But this is no other than a pretence of such men as are loath to die, and are labouring to escape those punishments that hang over them: for if fate had determined that this city was to be betrayed into its enemies' hands, no other than these men that accuse us falsely could have the impudence to do it, there being no wickedness wanting to complete their impudent practices but this only, that they become traitors. And now you Idumeans are come hither already with your arms; it is your duty, in the first place, to be assisting to your metropolis, and to join with us in cutting off those tyrants that have infringed the rules of our regular tribunals, that have trampled upon our laws, and made their swords the arbitrators of right and wrong; for they have seized upon men of great eminence, and under no accusation, as they stood in the midst of the market-place, and tortured them with putting them into bonds; and without bearing to hear what they had to say or

what supplications they made, they destroyed them. You may, if you please, come into this city, though not in the way of war, and take a view of the marks still remaining of what I now say, and may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands, with those wives and families that are in black mourning for their slaughtered relations; as also, you may hear their groans and lamentations all the city over; for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country and the remote cities into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the city into the temple also; for that is now made their receptacle and refuge, and the fountain-head whence their preparations are made against us. And this place, which is adored by the habitable world, and honoured by such as only know it by report, as far as the ends of the earth, is trampled upon by these wild beasts born among ourselves. They now triumph in the desperate condition they are already in, when they hear that one people are going to fight against another people, and one city against another city, and that your nation hath gotten an army together against its own bowels. Instead of which procedure it were highly fit and reasonable, as I said before, for you to join with us in cutting off these wretches, and in particular to be revenged on them for putting this very cheat upon you; I mean, for having the impudence to invite you to assist them, of whom they ought to have stood in fear, as ready to punish them. But if you have some regard to these men's invitation of you, yet may you lay aside your arms, and come into the city under the notion of our kindred, and take upon you a middle name between that of auxiliaries and of enemies, and so become judges in this case. However, consider what these men will gain by being called into judgment before you, for such undeniable and such flagrant crimes, who would not vouchsafe to hear such as had no accusations laid against them to speak a word for themselves. However, let them gain this advantage by your coming. But still, if you will neither take our part in that indignation we have at these men, nor judge between us, the third thing I have to propose is this, that you let us both alone, and neither insult upon our calamities, nor abide with these plotters against their metropolis: for though you should have ever so great a suspicion that some of us have discoursed with the Romans, it is in your power to watch the passages into the city; and in case any thing that we have been accused of is brought to light, then to come and defend your metropolis, and to inflict punishment on those that are found guilty; for the enemy cannot prevent you, who are now so near to the city. But if, after all, none of these proposals seem acceptable and moderate, do not you wonder that the gates are shut against you, while you bear your arms about you."

4. Thus spake Jesus: yet did not the multitude of the Idumeans give any attention to what he said, but were in a rage, because they did not meet with a ready entrance into the city. The generals also had indignation at the offer of laying down their arms, and looked upon it as equal to a captivity to throw them away at any man's injunction whomsoever. But Simon the son of Cathlas, one of their commanders, with much ado quieted the tumult of his own men, and stood so that the high priests might hear him, and said as follows:—"I can no longer wonder that the patrons of liberty are under custody in the temple, since there are those that shut the gates of our common city* to their own nation, and at the same time are prepared to admit the Romans into it; nay, perhaps, are disposed to crown the gates with garlands at their coming, while they speak to the Idumeans from their towers, and enjoin them to throw down their arms which they have taken up for the preservation of its liberty: and while they will not intrust

* This appellation of Jerusalem given it here by Simon, the general of the Idumeans, *The common city* of the Idumeans, who were proselytes of justice, as well as of the original native Jews, greatly confirms that maxim of the rabbins, here set down by Reland, that *Jerusalem was not assigned or appropriated to the tribe of Benjamin or Judah, but every tribe had equal right to it* [at their coming to worship there at the several festivals.] See a little before, ch. iii. sect. 3.

the guard of our metropolis to their kindred, profess to make them judges of the differences that are among them; nay, while they accuse some men of having slain others without a legal trial, they do themselves condemn a whole nation after an ignominious manner; and have now walled up that city from their own nation, which used to be open to even all foreigners that came to worship there. We have, indeed, come in great haste to you, and to a war against our own countrymen: and the reason why we have made such haste is this, that we may preserve that freedom which you are so unhappy as to betray. You have probably been guilty of the like crimes against those whom you keep in custody, and have, I suppose, collected together the like plausible pretences against them also that you make use of against us: after which you have gotten the mastery of those within the temple, and keep them in custody, while they are only taking care of the public affairs. You have also shut the gates of the city in general against nations that are the most nearly related to you: and while you give such injurious commands to others, you complain that you have been tyrannized over by them; and fix the name of unjust governors upon such as are tyrannized over by yourselves. Who can bear this your abuse of words, while they have a regard to the contrariety of your actions? unless you mean this, that those Idumeans do now exclude you out of your metropolis, whom you exclude from the sacred offices of your own country. One may, indeed, justly complain of those that are besieged in the temple, that when they had courage enough to punish those tyrants which you call eminent men, and free from any accusations, because of their being your companions in wickedness, they did not begin with you, and thereby cut off beforehand the most dangerous parts of this treason. But if these men have been more merciful than the public necessity required, we that are Idumeans will preserve this house of God, and will fight for our common country, and will oppose by war as well those that attack them from abroad, as those that betray them from within. Here will we abide before the walls in our armour, until either the Romans grow weary in waiting for you, or you become friends to liberty, and repent of what you have done against it."

5. And now did the Idumeans make an acclamation to what Simon had said but Jesus went away sorrowful, as seeing that the Idumeans were against all moderate counsels, and that the city was besieged on both sides. Nor, indeed, were the minds of the Idumeans at rest; for they were in a rage at the injury that had been offered them, by their exclusion out of the city; and when they thought the zealots had been strong, but saw nothing of theirs to support them, they were in doubt about the matter, and many of them repented that they had come thither. But the shame that would attend them, in case they returned without doing any thing at all, so far overcame that their repentance, that they lay all night before the wall, though in a very bad encampment; for there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence, and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continual lightnings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of the world was put into this disorder, and any one would guess that these wonders foreshowed some grand calamities that were coming.

6. Now the opinion of the Idumeans and of the citizens was one and the same. The Idumeans thought that God was angry at their taking arms, and that they would not escape punishment for their making war upon their metropolis. Ananus and his party thought that they had conquered without fighting, and that God acted as a general for them; but truly they proved both ill conjectures at what was to come, and made those events to be ominous to their enemies, while they were themselves to undergo the ill effects of them; for the Idumeans fenced one another by uniting their bodies into one band, and thereby kept themselves warm, and connecting their shields over their heads, were not so much hurt by the rain. But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in

than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them. The hotter sort of them thought it best to force their guards with their arms, and after that to fall into the midst of the city, and publicly open the gates to those that came to their assistance; as supposing the guards would be in disorder, and give way at such an unexpected attempt of theirs, especially as the greater part of them were unarmed and unskilled in affairs of war; and that besides the multitude of the citizens would not be easily gathered together, but confined to their houses by the storm; and that if there were any hazard in their undertaking, it became them to suffer any thing whatsoever themselves, rather than to overlook so great a multitude as were miserably perishing on their account. But the more prudent part of them disapproved of this forcible method, because they saw not only the guards about them very numerous, but the walls of the city itself carefully watched, by reason of the Idumeans. They also supposed that Ananus would be everywhere, and visit the guards every hour; which, indeed, was done upon other nights, but was omitted that night, not by reason of any slothfulness of Ananus, but by the overbearing appointment of fate, that so both he might himself perish, and the multitude of the guards might perish with him; for truly as the night was far gone, and the storm very terrible, Ananus gave the guards in the cloisters leave to go to sleep; while it came into the heads of the zealots to make use of the saws belonging to the temple, and to cut the bars of the gates to pieces. The noise of the wind, and that not inferior sound of the thunder, did here also conspire with their designs, that the noise of the saws was not heard by the others.

7. So they secretly went out of the temple to the wall of the city, and made use of their saws, and opened that gate which was over against the Idumeans. Now at first there came a fear upon the Idumeans themselves which disturbed them, as imagining that Ananus and his party were coming to attack them, so that every one of them had his right hand upon his sword, in order to defend himself; but they soon came to know who they were that came to them, and were entered the city. And had the Idumeans then fallen upon the city, nothing could have hindered them from destroying the people every man of them, such was the rage they were in at that time: but as they first of all made haste to get the zealots out of custody, which those that brought them in earnestly desired them to do, and not to overlook those for whose sake they were come, in the midst of their distresses, nor to bring them into a still greater danger; for that when they had once seized on the guards, it would be easy for them to fall upon the city; but that if the city were once alarmed, they would not then be able to overcome those guards, because as soon as they should perceive they were there, they would put themselves in order to fight them, and would hinder their coming into the temple.

## CHAP. V.

*The Cruelty of the Idumeans, when they were gotten into the Temple during the Storm, and of the Zealots. Concerning the Slaughter of Ananus, and Jesus, and Zacharias. And how the Idumeans retired home.*

§ 1. This advice pleased the Idumeans, and they ascended through the city to the temple. The zealots were also in great expectation of their coming, and earnestly waited for them. When, therefore, these were entering, they also came boldly out of the inner temple, and mixing themselves among the Idumeans, they attacked the guards, and some of those that were upon the watch, but were fallen asleep, they killed as they were asleep; but as those that were now awakened made a cry, the whole multitude arose, and in the amazement they were in, caught hold of their arms immediately, and betook themselves to their

own defence; and so long as they thought they were only the zealots who attacked them, they went on boldly, as hoping to overpower them by their numbers, but when they saw others pressing in upon them also, they perceived the Idumeans were got in; and the greatest part of them laid aside their arms, together with their courage, and betook themselves to lamentations. But some few of the younger sort covered themselves with their armour, and valiantly received the Idumeans, and for a great while protected the multitude of old men. Others, indeed, gave a signal to those that were in the city of the calamities they were in; but when these were also made sensible that the Idumeans were come in, none of them durst come to their assistance; only they returned the terrible echo of wailing, and lamented their misfortunes. A great howling of the women was excited also, and every one of the guards were in danger of being killed. The zealots also joined in the shouts raised by the Idumeans; and the storm itself rendered the cry more terrible: nor did the Idumeans spare any body; for as they are naturally a most barbarous and bloody nation, and had been distressed by the tempest, they made use of their weapons against those that had shut the gates against them, and acted in the same manner as to those that supplicated for their lives, and to those that fought them, insomuch that they ran through those with their swords who desired them to remember the relation there was between them, and begged of them to have regard to their common temple. Now there was at present neither any place for flight, nor any hope of preservation, but as they were driven one upon another in heaps, so were they slain. Thus the greater part were driven together by force, as there was now no place of retirement, and the murderers were upon them, and, having no other way, threw themselves down headlong into the city; whereby, in my opinion, they underwent a more miserable destruction than that which they avoided, because that was a voluntary one. And now the outer temple was all of it overflowed with blood; and that day, as it came on, saw eight thousand five hundred dead bodies there.

2. But the rage of the Idumeans was not satiated by these slaughters; but they now betook themselves to the city, and plundered every house, and slew every one they met: and for the other multitude they esteemed it needless to go on with killing them, but they sought for the high priests, and the generality went with the greatest zeal against them: and as soon as they caught them they slew them, and then standing upon their dead bodies, in way of jest, upbraided Ananus with his kindness to the people, and Jesus with his speech made to them from the wall. Nay, they proceeded to that degree of impiety, as to cast away their dead bodies without burial, although the Jews used to take so much care of the burial of men, that they took down those that were condemned and crucified, and buried them before the going down of the sun. I should not mistake if I said that the death of Ananus was the beginning of the destruction of the city, and that from this very day may be dated the overthrow of her wall and the ruin of her affairs, whereon they saw their high priest, and the procurer of their preservation, slain in the midst of their city. He was on other accounts also a venerable and a very just man; and besides the grandeur of that nobility, and dignity, and honour, of which he was possessed, he had been a lover of a kind of parity, even with regard to the meanest of the people: he was a prodigious lover of liberty, and an admirer of democracy in government, and did ever prefer the public welfare before his own advantage, and preferred peace above all things; for he was thoroughly sensible that the Romans were not to be conquered. He also foresaw that of necessity a war would follow; and that unless the Jews made up matters with them very dexterously, they would be destroyed: to say all in a word, if Ananus had survived, they had certainly compounded matters, for he was a shrewd man in speaking and persuading the people, and had already gotten the mastery of those that opposed his designs, or were for the war. And the Jews had then put abundance of delays in the way of the Romans, if they had had such a general as he was. Jesus was also joined with him, and although he

were inferior to him upon the comparison, he was superior to the rest; and I cannot but think that it was because God had doomed this city to destruction as a polluted city, and resolved to purge his sanctuary by fire, that he cut off these their great defenders and well-wishers; while those that a little before had worn the sacred garments, and had presided over the public worship,* and had been esteemed venerable by those that dwelt on the whole habitable earth when they came into our city, were cast out naked, and seemed to be the food of dogs and wild beasts. And I cannot but imagine that virtue itself groaned at these men's case, and lamented that she was here so terribly conquered by wickedness. And this at last was the end of Ananus and Jesus.

3. Now after these were slain, the zealots and the multitude of the Idumeans fell upon the people as upon a flock of profane animals, and cut their throats; and for the ordinary sort, they were destroyed in what place soever they caught them. But for the noblemen and the youth, they first caught them and bound them, and shut them up in prison, and put off their slaughter, in hopes that some of them would turn over to their party; but not one of them would comply with their desires, but all of them preferred death before being inrolled among such wicked wretches, as acted against their own country. But this refusal of theirs brought upon them terrible torments; for they were so scourged and tortured that their bodies were not able to sustain their torments, till at length, and with difficulty, they had the favour to be slain. Those whom they caught in the daytime were slain in the night, and then their bodies were carried out, and thrown away, that there might be room for other prisoners; and the terror that was upon the people was so great, that no one had courage enough either openly to weep for the dead man that was related to him, or to bury him; but those that were shut up in their own houses could only shed tears in secret, and durst not even groan, without great caution, lest any of their enemies should hear them; for if they did, those that mourned for others soon underwent the same death with those whom they mourned for. Only, in the night-time, they would take up a little dust, and throw it upon their bodies; and even some that were the most ready to expose themselves to danger would do it in the day time; and there were twelve thousand of the better sort who perished in this manner.

4. And now these zealots and Idumeans were quite weary of barely killing men, so they had the impudence of setting up fictitious tribunals and judicatures for that purpose; and as they intended to have Zacharias,† the son of Baruch, one of the most eminent of the citizens, slain; so what provoked them against him was that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty which were so eminent in him: he was also a rich man, so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a man that had great power to destroy them. So they called together, by a public proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, for a show, as if they were real judges, while they had no proper authority. Before these was Zacharias accused of a design to betray their polity to the Romans, and had

* Κοσμικὴ θρησκία, *or worldly worship*, as the author to the Hebrews calls the sanctuary, ἅγιον κοσμικὸν, *a worldly sanctuary*.

† Some commentators are ready to suppose, that this *Zacharias the son of Baruch*, here most unjustly slain by the Jews in the temple, was the very same person with *Zacharias the son of Barachias*, whom our Saviour says the Jews *slew between the temple and the altar*, Matt. xxiii. 35. This is a somewhat strange exposition: since Zachariah the prophet was really *the son of Barachia and grandson of Iddo*, Zech. i. 1, and how he died, we have no other account than that before us in St. Matthew, while this *Zacharia was the son of Baruch;* since the slaughter was past when our Saviour spoke those words, the Jews had then already slain him; whereas this slaughter of *Zacharias the son of Baruch*, in Josephus, was then about 34 years future; and since that slaughter was *between the temple and the altar*, in the court of the priests, one of the most sacred and remote parts of the whole temple, while this was, in Josephus's own words, in the middle of the temple, and much the most probably in the court of Israel only (for we have had no intimation that the zealots had at this time profaned the court of the priests. See B. v. ch. i. sect. 2.) Nor do I believe that our Josephus, who always insists on the peculiar sacredness of that inmost court, and of the holy house that was in it, would have omitted so material an aggravation of this barbarous murder, as perpetrated in a place so very holy, had that been the true place of it. See Antiq. B. xi. ch. vii. sect. 1, and the note here on B. v. ch. i. sect. 2.

traitorously sent to Vespasian for that purpose. Now there appeared no proof or sign of what he was accused, but they affirmed themselves, that they were well persuaded that so it was, and desired that such their affirmation might be taken for sufficient evidence. Now when Zacharias plainly saw that there was no way remaining for his escape from them, as having been treacherously called before them, and then put in prison, but not with any intention of a legal trial, he took great liberty of speech in that despair of his life he was under. Accordingly, he stood up, and laughed at their pretended accusation, and in a few words confuted the crimes laid to his charge; after which he turned his speech to his accusers, and went over distinctly all their transgressions of the law, and made heavy lamentations upon the confusion they had brought public affairs to. In the meantime the zealots grew tumultuous, and had much ado to abstain from drawing their swords, although they designed to preserve the appearance and show of a judicature to the end. They were also desirous, on other accounts, to try the judges, whether they would be mindful of what was just at their own peril. Now the seventy judges brought in their verdict, that the person accused was not guilty, as choosing rather to die themselves with him, than to have his death laid at their doors: hereupon there arose a great clamour of the zealots upon his acquittal; and they all had indignation at the judges, for not understanding that the authority that was given them was but in jest. So two of the boldest of them fell upon Zacharias in the middle of the temple, and slew him; and as he fell down dead, they bantered him, and said,—"Thou hast also our verdict, and this will prove a more sure acquittal to thee than the other." They also threw him down from the temple immediately into the valley beneath it. Moreover they struck the judges with the backs of their swords, by way of abuse, and thrust them out of the court of the temple; and spared their lives with no other design than that, when they were dispersed among the people in the city, they might become their messengers, to let them know they were no better than slaves.

5. But by this time the Idumeans repented of their coming, and were displeased at what had been done; and when they were assembled together by one of the zealots, who had come privately to them, he declared to them what a number of wicked pranks they had themselves done in conjunction with those that had invited them, and gave a particular account of what mischiefs had been done against their metropolis. He said, that "they had taken arms as though the high priests were betraying their metropolis to the Romans, but had found no indication of any such treachery; but that they had succoured those that had pretended to believe such a thing, while they did themselves the works of war and tyranny after an insolent manner. It had been, indeed, their business to have hindered them from such their proceedings at the first; but seeing they had once been partners with them in shedding the blood of their own countrymen, it was high time to put a stop to such crimes, and not continue to afford any more assistance to such as are subverting the laws of their forefathers; for that if any had taken it ill that the gates had been shut against them, and they had not been permitted to come into the city, yet that those who had excluded them have been punished, and Ananus is dead, and that almost all those people had been destroyed in one night's time: that one may perceive many of themselves now repenting for what they had done, and might see the horrid barbarity of those that had invited them; and that they had no regard to such as had saved them: that they were so impudent as to perpetrate the vilest things under the eyes of those that had supported them; and that their wicked actions would be laid to the charge of the Idumeans, and would be so laid to their charge till somebody obstructs their proceedings, or separates himself from the same wicked action: that they, therefore, ought to retire home, since the imputation of treason appears to be a calumny, and that there was no expectation of the coming of the Romans at this time, and that the government of the city was secured by such walls as cannot easily be thrown down, and, by avoiding any farther fellowship with these bad men, to make some ex-

cuse for themselves, as to what they had been so far deluded as to have been partners with them hitherto."

## CHAP. VI

*How the Zealots, when they were freed from the Idumeans, slew a great many more of the Citizens. And how Vespasian dissuaded the Romans, when they were very earnest to march against the Jews, from proceeding in the War at that Time.*

§ 1. The Idumeans complied with these persuasions; and in the first place they set those that were in the prisons at liberty, being about two thousand of the populace, who thereupon fled away immediately to Simon, one whom we shall speak of presently. After which these Idumeans retired from Jerusalem, and went home, which departure of theirs was a great surprise to both parties; for the people, not knowing of their repentance, pulled up their courage for a while, as eased of so many of their enemies, while the zealots grew more insolent, not as deserted by their confederates, but as freed from such men as might hinder their designs and put some stop to their wickedness. Accordingly, they made no longer any delay, nor took any deliberation in their enormous practices, but made use of the shortest method for all their executions; and what they had once resolved upon they put in practice sooner than any one could imagine. But their thirst was chiefly after the blood of valiant men, and men of good families; the one sort of which they destroyed out of envy, the other out of fear; for they thought their whole security lay in leaving no potent men alive; on which account they slew Gorion, a person eminent in dignity, and on account of his family also; he was also for a democracy, and of as great boldness and freedom of spirit as were any of the Jews whosoever; the principal thing that ruined him, added to his other advantages, was his free speaking. Nor did Niger of Perea escape their hands: he had been a man of great valour in their war with the Romans, but was now drawn through the middle of the city; and as he went he frequently cried out, and showed the scars of his wounds; and when he was drawn out of the gates, and despaired of his preservation, he besought them to grant him a burial; but as they had threatened him beforehand not to grant him any spot of earth for a grave, which he chiefly desired of them, so did they slay him [without permitting him to be buried.] Now when they were slaying him, he made this imprecation upon them, that they might undergo both famine and pestilence in this war; and, besides all, that they might come to the mutual slaughter of one another; all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men, and was what come most justly upon them, when not long afterward they tasted of their own madness in their mutual seditions one against another. So when this Niger was killed, their fears of being overturned were diminished; and, indeed, there was no part of the people but they found out some pretence to destroy them; for some were, therefore, slain, because they had had differences with some of them: and as to those who had not opposed them in times of peace, they watched seasonable opportunities to gain some accusation against them; and if any one did not come near them at all, he was under their suspicion as a proud man: if any one came with boldness, he was esteemed a contemner of them; and if any one came as aiming to oblige them, he was supposed to have some treacherous plot against them; while the only punishment of crimes, whether they were of the greatest or smallest sort, was death. Nor could any one escape unless he were very inconsiderable, either on account of the meanness of his birth or on account of his fortune.

2. And now all the rest of the commanders of the Romans deemed this so

dition among their enemies to be of great advantage to them, and were very earnest to march to the city; and they urged Vespasian, as their lord and general in all cases, to make haste; and said to him, that, "the providence of God is on our side, by setting our enemies at variance against one another; that still the change in such cases may be sudden, and the Jews may quickly be at one again, either because they may be tired out with their civil miseries, or repent them of such doings." But Vespasian replied, that "they were greatly mistaken in what they thought fit to be done, as those that, upon the theatre, love to make a show of their hands and of their weapons, but do it to their own hazard, without considering what was for their advantage and for their security; for that if they now go and attack the city immediately, they shall but occasion their enemies to unite together, and shall convert their force, now it is in its height, against themselves; but if they stay awhile they shall have fewer enemies because they will be consumed in this sedition: that God acts as a general of the Romans better than he can do, and is giving the Jews up to them without any pains of their own, and granting their army a victory without any danger: that, therefore, it is their best way while their enemies are destroying each other with their own hands, and falling into the greatest of misfortunes, which is that of sedition, to sit still as spectators of the dangers they run into, rather than to fight hand to hand with men that love murdering, and are mad one against another. But if any one imagines that the glory of victory, when it is gotten without fighting, will be more insipid, let him know this much, that a glorious success quietly obtained is more profitable than the dangers of a battle; for we ought to esteem those that do what is agreeable to temperance and prudence no less glorious than those that have gained great reputation by their actions in war: that he shall lead on his army with greater force when their enemies are diminished, and his own army refreshed after the continual labours they had undergone. However, that this is not a proper time to propose to ourselves the glory of victory; for that the Jews are not now employed in making of armour or building of walls, nor, indeed, in getting together auxiliaries, while the advantage will be on their side who gave them such opportunity of delay; but that the Jews are vexed to pieces every day by their civil wars and dissensions, and are under greater miseries than, if they were once taken, could be inflicted on them by us. Whether, therefore, any one hath regard to what is for our safety, he ought to suffer these Jews to destroy one another, or whether he hath regard to the greater glory of the action, we ought by no means to meddle with these men, now they are afflicted with a distemper at home; for should we now conquer them, it would be said the conquest was not owing to our bravery but to their sedition."

3. And now the commanders joined in their approbation of what Vespasian had said, and it was soon discovered how wise an opinion he had given. And, indeed, many there were of the Jews that deserted every day, and fled away from the zealots, although their flight was very difficult, since they had guarded every passage out of the city, and slew every one that was caught at them, as taking it for granted they were going over to the Romans; yet did he who gave them money get clear off, while he only that gave them none was voted a traitor. So the upshot was this, that the rich purchased their flight by money, while none but the poor were slain. Along all the roads also vast numbers of dead bodies lay on heaps, and even many of those that were so zealous in deserting at length chose rather to perish within the city; for the hopes of burial made death in their own city appear of the two less terrible to them. But these zealots came at last to that degree of barbarity, as not to bestow a burial either on those slain in the city or on those that lay along the roads; but as if they had made an agreement to cancel both the laws of their country and the laws of nature, and at the same time that they defiled men with their wicked actions, they would pollute the divinity itself also, they left the dead bodies to putrify under the sun: and the same punishment was allotted to such as buried any, as to those

that deserted, which was no other than death; while he that granted the favour of a grave to another would presently stand in need of a grave himself. To say all in a word, no other gentle passion was so entirely lost among them as mercy; for what were the greatest objects of pity did most of all irritate these wretches, and they transferred their rage from the living to those that had been slain, and from the dead to the living. Nay, the terror was so very great, that he who survived called them that were first dead happy, as being at rest already; as did those that were under torture in the prisons declare, that, upon this comparison, those that lay unburied were the happiest. These men, therefore, trampled upon all the laws of men, and laughed at the laws of God; and for the oracles of the prophets, they ridiculed them as the tricks of jugglers; yet did these prophets foretell many things concerning [the rewards of] virtue and [punishments of] vice, which when these zealots violated, they occasioned the fulfilling of those very prophecies belonging to their own country: for there was a certain ancient oracle of those men, that "the city should then be taken, and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hands should pollute the temple of God."* Now while these zealots did not [quite] disbelieve these predictions, they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment.

## CHAP. VII.

*How John tyrannized over the Rest; and what Mischiefs the Zealots did at Masada. How also Vespasian took Gadara; and what Actions were performed by Placidus.*

§ 1. By this time John was beginning to tyrannize, and thought it beneath him to accept of barely the same honours that others had; and joining to himself by degrees a party of the wickedest of them all, he broke off from the rest of the faction. This was brought about by his still disagreeing with the opinions of others, and giving out injunctions of his own, in a very imperious manner, so that it was evident he was setting up a monarchical power. Now some submitted to him out of their fear of him, and others out of their good will to him; for he was a shrewd man to entice men to him, both by deluding them and putting cheats upon them. Nay, many there were that thought they should be safer themselves, if the causes of their past insolent actions should now be reduced to one head, and not to a great many. His activity was so great, and that both in action and in counsel, that he had not a few guards about him; and yet there was a great party of his antagonists that left him; among whom envy at him weighed a great deal, while they thought it a very heavy thing to be in subjection to one that was formerly their equal. But the main reason that moved men against him was the dread of monarchy, for they could not hope easily to put an end to his power if he had once obtained it; and yet they knew that he would have this pretence always against them, that they had opposed him when he was first advanced; while every one chose rather to suffer any thing whatsoever in war, than that, when they had been in a voluntary slavery for some time, they should afterward perish. So the sedition was divided into two parts, and John

* This prediction, that "the city of [Jerusalem] should then be taken, and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when a sedition should invade the Jews, and their own hands should pollute that temple;" or, as it is, B. VI. ch. ii. sect 1,—"When any one shall begin to slay his countrymen in the city," is wanting in our present copies of the Old Testament. See Essay on the Old Test. p. 104—112. But this prediction, as Josephus well remarks here, though, with the other predictions of the prophets, it was now laughed at by the seditious, was by their very means soon exactly fulfilled. However, I cannot but here take notice of Grotius's positive assertion upon Matt. xxvi. 9, here quoted by Dr. Hudson, that "it ought to be taken for granted, as a certain truth, that many predictions of the Jewish prophets were preserved not in writing, but by memory." Whereas, it seems to me, so far from certain, that I think I has no evidence nor probability at all.

reigned in opposition to his adversaries over one of them: but for their leaders they watched one another, nor did they at all, or at least very little, meddle with arms in their quarrels; but they fought earnestly against the people, and contended one with another which of them should bring home the greatest prey. But because the city had to struggle with three of the greatest misfortunes, war, and tyranny, and sedition, it appeared upon the comparison that the war was the least troublesome to the populace of them all. Accordingly they ran away from their own houses to foreigners, and obtained that preservation from the Romans which they despaired to obtain among their own people.

2. And now a fourth misfortune arose, in order to bring our nation to destruction. There was a fortress of very great strength not far from Jerusalem, which had been built by our ancient kings, both as a repository for their effects in the hazards of war, and for the preservations of their bodies at the same time. It was called *Masada*. Those that were called *Sicarii* had taken possession of it formerly; but at this time they overran the neighbouring countries, aiming only to procure to themselves necessaries, for the fear they were then in prevented their further ravages. But when once they were informed that the Roman army lay still, and that the Jews were divided between sedition and tyranny, they boldly undertook greater matters; and at the feast of unleavened bread, which the Jews celebrate in memory of their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage, when they were sent back into the country of their forefathers, they came down by night, without being discovered by those that could have prevented them, and overran a certain small city called *Engaddi*. In which expedition they prevented those citizens that could have stopped them, before they could arm themselves, and fight them. They also dispersed them, and cast them out of the city: as for such as could not run away, being women and children, they slew of them above seven hundred. Afterward, when they had carried every thing out of their houses, and had seized upon all the fruits that were in a flourishing condition, they brought them into Masada. And, indeed, these men laid all the villages that were about the fortress waste, and made the whole country desolate; while there came to them every day from all parts not a few men, as corrupt as themselves. At that time all the other regions of Judea, that had hitherto been at rest, were in motion, by means of the robbers. Now as it is in a human body, if the principal part be inflamed, all the members are subject to the same distemper, so by means of the sedition and disorder that was in the metropolis had the wicked men that were in the country opportunity to ravage the same. Accordingly, when every one of them had plundered their own villages, they then retired into the desert: yet were these men that now got together, and joined in the conspiracy by parties too small for an army, and too many for a gang of thieves; and thus did they fall upon the holy places* and the cities; yet did it now so happen that they were somtimes very ill treated by those upon whom they fell with such violence, and were taken by them as men are taken in war: but still they prevented any farther punishment, as do robbers, who, as soon as their ravages [are discovered,] run their way. Nor was there now any part of Judea that was not in a miserable condition, as well as its most eminent city also.

3. These things were told Vespasian by deserters: for although the seditious watched all the passages out of the city, and destroyed all, whosoever they were, that came thither, yet were there some that had concealed themselves; and when they had fled to the Romans, persuaded their general to come to the city's assistance, and save the remainder of the people; informing him withal, that it was upon account of the people's good will to the Romans that many of them were

* By this ἁγίων or *holy places*, as distinct from cities, must be meant *proseuchæ* or *houses of prayer*, out of cities; of which we find mention made in the New Testament and other authors. See Luke, vi. 12; Acts, xvi. 13, 16; Antiq. B. xiv. ch. x. sect. 23; his Life, sect. 54. *In qua te quero proseucha?* Juvenal, Sat. iii. ver. 296. They were situated sometimes by the sides of rivers, Acts. xvi. 13, or by the seaside, Antiq. B. xiv. ch. x. sect. 23. So did the seventy-two interpreters go to prayer every morning by the seaside, before they went to their work, B. xii. ch. ii. sect. 12.

already slain, and the survivors in danger of the same treatment. Vespasian did, indeed, already pity the calamities these men were in, and arose, in appearance, as though he was going to besiege Jerusalem, but in reality to deliver them from a [worse] siege they were already under. However, he was obliged first to overthrow what remained elsewhere, and to leave nothing out of Jerusalem behind him that might interrupt him in that siege. Accordingly, he marched against Gadara, the metropolis of Perea, which was a place of strength, and entered that city on the fourth day of the month Dystrus [Adar;] for the men of power had sent an embassage to him, without the knowledge of the seditious, to treat about a surrender; which they did out of the desire they had of peace, and for saving their effects, because many of the citizens of Gadara were rich men. This embassy the opposite party knew nothing of, but discovered it as Vespasian was approaching near the city. However, they despaired of keeping possession of the city, as being inferior in number to their enemies which were within the city, and seeing the Romans very near to the city; so they resolved to fly, but thought it dishonourable to do it without shedding some blood, and revenging themselves on the authors of this surrender; so they seized upon Dolesus (a person not only the first in rank and family in that city, but one that seemed the occasion of sending such an embassy,) and slew him, and treated his dead body after a barbarous manner, so very violent was their anger at him, and then ran out of the city. And as now the Roman army was just upon them, the people of Gadara admitted Vespasian with joyful acclamations, and received from him the security of his right hand as also a garrison of horsemen and footmen, to guard them against the excursions of the runagates; for as to their wall, they had pulled it down before the Romans desired them so to do, that they might thereby give them assurance that they were lovers of peace, and that, if they had a mind, they could not now make war against them.

4. And now Vespasian sent Placidus against those that had fled from Gadara, with five hundred horsemen and three thousand footmen, while he returned himself to Cæsarea with the rest of the army. But as soon as these fugitives saw the horsemen that pursued them just upon their backs, and before they came to a close fight, they ran together to a certain village which was called *Bethennabris*, where finding a great multitude of young men, and arming them, partly by their own consent, partly by force, they rashly and suddenly assaulted Placidus and the troops that were with him. These horsemen at the first onset gave way a little, as contriving to entice them farther off the wall; and when they had drawn them into a place fit for their purpose, they made their horse encompass them round, and threw their darts at them. So the horsemen cut off the flight of the fugitives, while the foot terribly destroyed those that fought against them; for those Jews did no more than show their courage, and then were destroyed; for as they fell upon the Romans when they were joined close together, and, as it were, walled about with their entire armour, they were not able to find any place where the darts could enter; nor were they any way able to break their ranks, while they were themselves run through by the Roman darts, and like the wildest of wild beasts rushed upon the points of the others' swords; so some of them were destroyed, as cut with their enemies' swords upon their faces, and others were dispersed by the horsemen.

5. Now Placidus's concern was to exclude them in their flight from getting into the village; and causing his horse to march continually on that side of them, he then turned short upon them, and at the same time his men made use of their darts, and easily took their aim at those that were the nearest to them, as they made those that were farther off turn back by the terror they were in, till at last the most courageous of them brake through those horsemen, and fled to the wall of the village. And now those that guarded the wall were in great doubt what to do; for they could not bear the thoughts of excluding those that came from Gadara, because of their own people that were among them; and yet, if they should

admit them, they expected to perish with them, which came to pass accordingly; for as they were crowding together at the wall, the Roman horsemen were just ready to fall in with them. However, the guards prevented them, and shut the gates, when Placidus made an assault upon them, and fighting courageously till it was dark, he got possession of the wall and of the people that were in the city, when the useless multitude were destroyed; but those that were more potent ran away, and the soldiers plundered the houses, and set the village on fire. As for those that ran out of the village, they stirred up such as were in the country, and exaggerating their own calamities, and telling them that the whole army of the Romans were upon them, they put them into great fear on every side; so they got in great numbers together, and fled to Jericho, for they knew no other place that could afford them any hope of escaping, it being a city that had a strong wall and a great multitude of inhabitants. But Placidus, relying much upon his horsemen and his former good success, followed them, and slew all that he overtook, as far as Jordan; and when he had driven the whole multitude to the river side, where they were stopped by the current (for it had been augmented lately by rains, and was not fordable,) he put his soldiers in array over against them; so the necessity the others were in provoked them to hazard a battle, because there was no place whither they could flee. They then extended themselves a very great way along the banks of the river, and sustained the darts that were thrown at them as well as the attacks of the horsemen, who beat many of them, and pushed them into the current. At which fight, hand to hand, fifteen thousand of them were slain, while the number of those that were unwillingly forced to leap into Jordan was prodigious. There were besides two thousand and two hundred taken prisoners. A mighty prey was taken also, consisting of asses, and sheep, and camels, and oxen.

6. Now this destruction that fell upon the Jews, as it was not inferior to any of the rest in itself, so did it still appear greater than it really was: and this because not only the whole country through which they fled was filled with slaughter, and Jordan could not be passed over by reason of the dead bodies that were in it, but because the lake Asphaltitis was also full of dead bodies, that were carried down into it by the river. And now Placidus, after this good success that he had had, fell violently upon the neighbouring smaller cities and villages; when he took Abila, and Julias, and Bezemoth, and all those that lay as far as the lake Asphaltitis, and put such of the deserters into each of them as he thought proper. He then put his soldiers on board the ships, and slew such as had fled to the lake, insomuch that all Perea had either surrendered themselves, or were taken by the Romans, as far as Macherus.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Vespasian, upon hearing of some Commotions in Gall,* made haste to finish the Jewish War. A Description of Jericho and of the Great Plain; with an Account besides of the Lake Asphaltitis.*

§ 1. In the meantime an account came that there were commotions in Gall, and that Vindex, together with the men of power in that country, had revolted from Nero: which affair is more accurately described elsewhere. This report, thus related to Vespasian, excited him to go on briskly with the war; for he foresaw already the civil wars which were coming upon them, nay, that the very government was in danger; and he thought, if he could first reduce the eastern parts of the empire to peace, he should make the fears for Italy the lighter: while, therefore, the winter was his hinderance [from going into the field,] he put garrisons into

* *Gr.* Galatia, and so every where.

the villages and smaller cities for their security: he put decurions also into the villages and centurions into the cities: he, besides this, rebuilt many of the cities that had been laid waste; but at the beginning of the spring he took the greatest part of his army, and led it from Cæsarea to Antipatris, where he spent two days in settling the affairs of that city, and then, on the third day, he marched on, laying waste and burning all the neighbouring villages. And when he had laid waste all the places about the toparchy of Thamnas, he passed on to Lydda and Jamnia; and when both those cities had come over to him, he placed a great many of those that had come over to him [from other places] as inhabitants therein, and then came to Emmaus, where he seized upon the passages which led thence to their metropolis, and fortified his camp, and, leaving the fifth legion therein, he came to the toparchy of Bethletephon. He then destroyed that place and the neighbouring places by fire, and fortified at proper places the strong holds all about Idumea; and when he had seized upon two villages which were in the very midst of Idumea, Betaris and Capartobas, he slew above ten thousand of the people, and carried into captivity above a thousand, and drove away the rest of the multitude, and placed no small part of his own forces in them, who overran and laid waste the whole mountainous country; while he, with the rest of his forces, returned to Emmaus, whence he came down through the country of Samaria, and hard by the city, by others called *Neapolis* (or Sichem,) but by the people of that country Mabortha, or Corea, where he pitched his camp, on the second day of the month Desius [Sivan;] and on the day following he came to Jericho; on which day Trajan, one of his commanders, joined him with the forces he brought out of Perea, all the places beyond Jordan being subdued already.

2. Hereupon a great multitude prevented their approach, and came out of Jericho, and fled to those mountainous parts that lay over against Jerusalem while that part which was left behind was in a great measure destroyed; they also found the city desolate. It is situated in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain, of a very great length, hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom and the utmost limits of the lake Asphaltitis southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven, and uninhabited by reason of its barrenness: there is an opposite mountain that is situated over against it on the other side of Jordan; this last begins at Julias and the northern quarters, and extends itself southward as far as Somorrhon,* which is the bounds of Petra in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the *Iron Mountain*, that runs in length as far as Moab. Now the region that lies in the middle between these ridges of mountains is called the *Great Plain*; it reaches from the village Ginnabris as far as the lake Asphaltitis; its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth one hundred and twenty, and it is divided in the midst by Jordan. It hath two lakes in it, that of Asphaltitis and that of Tiberias, whose natures are opposite to each other: for the former is salt and unfruitful, but that of Tiberias is sweet and fruitful. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air; it is all destitute of water excepting the river Jordan: which water of Jordan is the occasion why those plantations of palm-trees that are near its banks are more flourishing and much more fruitful, as are those that are remote from it not so flourishing or fruitful.

3. Notwithstanding which there is a fountain by Jericho that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground; it arises near the old city, which Joshua the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan by right of war. The report is, that this fountain at the beginning caused not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the chil

* Whether this Somorrhon or Somorrah ought not to be here written Gomorrah, as some MSS. in a manner have it (for the place meant by Josephus seems to be near Segor or Zoar, at the very south of the Dead Sea, hard by which stood Sodom and Gomorrah,) cannot now be certainly determined, but seems by no means improbable.

dren born of women; and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature to all things whatsoever, but that it was made gentle and very wholesome and fruitful by the prophet Elisha. This prophet was familiar with Elijah, and was his successor, who, when he once was the guest of the people at Jericho, and the men of the place had treated him very kindly, he both made them amends as well as the country by a lasting favour: for he went out of this city to this fountain, and threw into the current an earthen vessel full of salt; after which he stretched out his righteous hand unto heaven, and, pouring out a mild drink-offering, he made this supplication,* that "the current might be mollified, and that the veins of fresh water might be opened; that God also would bring into the place a more temperate and fertile air for the current, and would bestow upon the people of that country plenty of the fruits of the earth and a succession of children; and that this prolific water might never fail them while they continued to be righteous." To these prayers Elisha joined proper operations of his hands after a skilful manner, and changed the fountain; and that water, which had been the occasion of barrenness and famine before, from that time did supply a numerous posterity, and afford great abundance to the country. Accordingly, the power of it is so great in watering the ground, that if it do but once touch a country, it affords a sweeter nourishment than other waters do when they lie so long upon them, till they are satiated with them. For which reason the advantage gained from other waters when they flow in great plenty is but small, while that of this water is great when it flows even in little quantities. Accordingly, it waters a larger space of ground than any other waters do, and passes along a plain of seventy furlongs long and twenty broad; wherein it affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens that are thick set with trees. There are in it many sorts of palm-trees that are watered by it, different from each other in taste and name; the better sort of them, when they are pressed, yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey. This country withal produces honey from bees; it also bears that balsam which is the most precious of all the fruits in that place, cypress-trees also, and those that bear myrobalanum; so that he who should pronounce this place to be divine would not be mistaken, wherein is such plenty of trees produced as are very rare, and of the most excellent sort. And, indeed, if we speak of those other fruits, it will not be easy to light on any climate in the habitable earth that can well be compared to it: what is here sowed comes up in such clusters, the cause of which seems to me to be the warmth of the air and the fertility of the waters: the warmth calling forth the sprouts, and making them spread, and the moisture making every one of them take root firmly, and supplying that virtue which it stands in need of in summer-time. Now this country is then so sadly burnt up that nobody cares to come at it; and if the water be drawn up before sunrising, and after that exposed to the air, it becomes exceeding cold, and becomes of a nature quite contrary to the ambient air: as in winter again it becomes warm; and if you go into it, it appears very gentle. The ambient air is here also of so good a temperature, that the people of the country are clothed in linen only, even when snow covers the rest of Judea. This place is one hundred and fifty furlongs from Jerusalem, and sixty from Jordan. The country, as far as Jerusalem, is desert and stoney; but that as far as Jordan and the lake Asphaltitis lies lower indeed, though it be equally desert and barren. But so much shall suffice to have said about Jericho, and of the great happiness of its situation.

4. The nature of the lake Asphaltitis is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [or thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when

* This excellent prayer of Elisha is wanting in our copies, 2 Kings, ii. 21, 22, though it be referred to also in the Apostolical Constitutions, B. vii. ch. xxxvii, and the success of it is mentioned in them all.

Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some who could not swim should have their hands tied behind them and be thrown into the deep, when it so happened that they all swam, as if a wind had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of the colour of this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day, and as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls; and when the labourers that belong to the lake come to it, and catch hold of it, as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships; but when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest; for it is so tenacious as to make the ship hang upon its clods, till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women and with urine, to which alone it yields. This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies; accordingly, it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zoar in Arabia, and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom* borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remainders of that divine fire; and the traces [or shadows] of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten; but if you pluck them with your hands they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus what is related of this land of Sodom hath these marks of credibility, which our very sight affords us.

## CHAP. IX.

*That Vespasian, after he had taken Gadara, made Preparation for the Siege of Jerusalem: but that, upon his hearing of the Death of Nero, he changed his Intentions: as also concerning Simon of Gerasa.*

§ 1. And now Vespasian had fortified all the places round about Jerusalem, and erected citadels at Jericho and Adida, and placed garrisons in them both, partly out of his own Romans and partly out of the body of his auxiliaries. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa, and delivered to him a body of horsemen and a considerable number of footmen. So when he had taken the city, which he did at the first onset, he slew a thousand of those young men who had not prevented him by flying away; but he took their families captive, and permitted his soldiers to plunder them of their effects; after which he set fire to their houses, and went away to the adjoining villages, while the men of power fled away, and the weaker part were destroyed, and what was remaining was all burnt down. And now the war having gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also, those that were at Jerusalem were deprived of the liberty of going out of the city: for as to such as had a mind to desert, they were watched by the zealots; and as to such as were not yet on the side of the Romans, their army kept them in, by encompassing the city round about on all sides.

2. Now as Vespasian was returned to Cæsarea, and was getting ready with all his army to march directly to Jerusalem, he was informed that Nero was dead, after he had reigned thirteen years and eight days; but as to any narration after what manner he abused his power in the government, and committed the management of affairs to those vile wretches, Nymphidius and Tigellinus, his unworthy freedmen; and how he had a plot laid against him by them, and was deserted by all his guards, and ran away with four of his most trusty freedmen, and slew him

* See the note on B. v. ch. xiii. sect. 6.

self in the suburbs of Rome; and how those that occasioned his death were in no long time, brought themselves to punishment; how also the war in Gall ended, and how Galba* was made emperor, and returned out of Spain to Rome; and how he was accused by the soldiers as a pusillanimous person, and slain by treachery in the middle of the market-place at Rome, and Otho was made emperor; with his expedition against the commanders of Vitellius, and his destruction thereupon; and besides what troubles there were under Vitellius, and the fight that was about the Capitol; as also, how Antonius Primus and Mucianus slew Vitellius and his German legions, and thereby put an end to that civil war, I have omitted to give an exact account of them, because they are well known by all, and they are described by a great number of Greek and Roman authors: yet for the sake of the connexion of matters, and that my history may not be incoherent, I have just touched upon every thing briefly. Wherefore Vespasian put off at first his expedition against Jerusalem, and stood waiting whither the empire would be transferred after the death of Nero. Moreover, when he heard that Galba was made emperor he attempted nothing, till he also should send him some directions about the war: however, he sent his son Titus to him to salute him, and to receive his commands about the Jews. Upon the very same errand did King Agrippa sail along with Titus to Galba: but as they were sailing in their long ships by the coasts of Achaia, for it was winter-time, they heard that Galba was slain before they could get to him, after he had reigned seven months and as many days. After whom Otho took the government, and undertook the management of public affairs. So Agrippa resolved to go on to Rome without any terror, on account of the change in the government; but Titus, by a divine impulse, sailed back from Greece to Syria, and came in great haste to Cæsarea to his father. And now they were both in suspense about the public affairs, the Roman empire being then in a fluctuating condition, and did not go on with their expedition against the Jews, but thought that to make any attack upon foreigners was now unseasonable, on account of the solicitude they were in for their own country.

3. And now there arose another war at Jerusalem. There was a son of Giora, one Simon, by birth of Gerasa, a young man not so cunning, indeed, as John [of Gischala,] who had already seized upon the city, but superior in strength of body and courage: on which account, when he had been driven away from that Acrabattene toparchy which he once had by Ananus the high priest, he came to those robbers who had seized upon Masada. At the first they suspected him, and only permitted him to come with the woman he brought with him into the lower part of the fortress, while they dwelt in the upper part of it themselves. However, his manners so well agreed with theirs, and he seemed so trusty a man, that he went out with them, and ravaged and destroyed the country with them about Masada: yet when he persuaded them to undertake greater things, he could not prevail with them so to do; for as they were accustomed to dwell in that citadel, they were afraid of going far from that which was their hiding place: but he affecting to tyrannize, and being fond of greatness, when he had heard of the death of Ananus he left them, and went into the mountainous part of the country. So he proclaimed liberty to those in slavery, and a reward to those already free, and got together a set of wicked men from all quarters.

4. And as he had now a strong body of men about him, he overran the villages that lay in the mountainous country; and when there were still more and more that came to him, he ventured to go down into the lower parts of the country; and since he was now become formidable to the cities, many of the men of power were corrupted by him; so that his army was no longer composed of slaves and robbers, but a great many of the populace were obedient to him as to their king.

* Of these Roman affairs and tumults under Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, here only touched upon by Josephus, see Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio more largely. However, we may observe with Ottius, that Josephus writes the name of the second of them not Otto, with many others, but Otho, with the coins. See also the note on ch. xi. sect. 4.

He then overran the Acrabattene toparchy, and the places that reached as far as the great Idumea; for he built a wall at a certain village called *Nain*, and made use of that as a fortress for his own party's security; and at the valley called *Pharan* he enlarged many of the caves, and many others he found ready for his purpose; these he made use of as repositories for his treasures and receptacles for his prey, and therein he laid up the fruits that he had got by rapine; and many of his partisans had their dwelling in them; and he made no secret of it that he was exercising his men beforehand, and making preparations for the assault of Jerusalem.

5. Whereupon the zealots, out of the dread they were in of his attacking them, and being willing to prevent one that was growing up to oppose them, went out against him with their weapons. Simon met them, and joining battle with them, slew a considerable number of them, and drove the rest before him into the city, but durst not trust so much upon his forces as to make an assault upon the walls; but he resolved first to subdue Idumea; and as he had now twenty thousand armed men, he marched to the borders of their country. Hereupon the rulers of the Idumeans got together on the sudden the most warlike part of their people, about twenty-five thousand in number, and permitted the rest to be a guard to their own country, by reason of the incursions that were made by the Sicarii that were at Masada. Thus they received Simon at their borders, where they fought him, and continued the battle all that day; and the dispute lay whether they had conquered him or been conquered by him. So he went back to Nain, as did the Idumeans return home. Nor was it long ere Simon came violently again upon their country; when he pitched his camp at a certain village called *Thecoe*, and sent Eleazar, one of his companions, to those that kept garrison at Herodium, and in order to persuade them to surrender that fortress to him. The garrison received this man readily, while they knew nothing of what he came about; but as soon as he talked of the surrender of the place, they fell upon him with their drawn swords, till he found he had no place for flight, when he threw himself down from the wall into the valley beneath; so he died immediately; but the Idumeans, who were already much afraid of Simon's power, thought fit to take a view of the enemy's army before they hazarded a battle with them.

6. Now there was one of their commanders named *Jacob*, who offered to serve them readily upon that occasion, but had it in his mind to betray them. He went, therefore, from the village Allurus, wherein the army of the Idumeans were gotten together, and came to Simon; and at the very first he agreed to betray his country to him, and took assurances upon oath from him that he should always have him in esteem, and then promised him that he would assist him in subduing all Idumea under him: upon which account he was feasted after an obliging manner by Simon, and elevated by his mighty promises; and when he was returned to his own men he at first belied the army of Simon, and said it was manifold more in number than what it was; after which he dexterously persuaded the commanders, and, by degrees, the whole multitude, to receive Simon, and to surrender the whole government up to him without fighting. And as he was doing this, he invited Simon by his messengers, and promised him to disperse the Idumeans, which he performed also: for as soon as their army was nigh them, he first of all got upon his horse, and fled, together with those whom he had corrupted; hereupon a terror fell upon the whole multitude, and before it came to a close fight they broke their ranks, and every one retired to his own home.

7. Thus did Simon unexpectedly march into Idumea without bloodshed, and made a sudden attack upon the city Hebron, and took it; wherein he got possession of a great deal of prey, and plundered it of a vast quantity of fruit. Now the people of the country say that it is an ancienter city not only than any in that country, but than Memphis in Egypt, and, accordingly, its age is reckoned at two thousand and three hundred years. They also relate that it had been the habitation of Abram, the progenitor of the Jews, after he had removed out of

Mesopotamia; and they say that his posterity descended from thence into Egypt, whose monuments are to this very time showed in that small city; the fabric of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner. There is also there showed, at the distance of six furlongs from the city, a very large turpentine tree;* and the report goes, that this tree has continued ever since the creation of the world. Thence did Simon make his progress over all Idumea, and did not only ravage the cities and villages, but laid waste the whole country; for, besides those that were completely armed, he had forty thousand men that followed him, insomuch that he had not provisions enough to suffice such a multitude. Now, besides this want of provisions that he was in, he was of a barbarous disposition, and bore great anger at this nation, by which means it came to pass that Idumea was greatly depopulated; and as one may see all the woods behind despoiled of their leaves by locusts, after they have been there, so was there nothing left behind Simon's army but a desert. Some places they burnt down, some they utterly demolished; and whatsoever grew in the country they either trod it down or fed upon it; and by their marches they made the ground that was cultivated harder and more untractable than that which was barren. In short, there was no sign remaining of those places that had been laid waste that ever they had had a being.

8. This success of Simon excited the zealots afresh; and though they were afraid to fight him openly in a fair battle, yet did they lay ambushes in the passes, and seized upon his wife, with a considerable number of her attendants; whereupon they came back to the city rejoicing, as if they had taken Simon himself captive, and were in present expectation that he would lay down his arms, and make supplication to them for his wife; but instead of indulging any merciful affection, he grew very angry at them for seizing his beloved wife; so he came to the wall of Jerusalem, and, like wild beasts when they are wounded and cannot overtake those that wounded them, he vented his spleen upon all persons that he met with. Accordingly, he caught all those that were come out of the city gates, either to gather herbs or sticks, who were unarmed and in years; he then tormented them and destroyed them, out of the immense rage he was in, and was almost ready to taste the very flesh of their dead bodies. He also cut off the hands of a great many, and sent them into the city to astonish his enemies, and in order to make the people fall into a sedition, and desert those that had been the authors of his wife's seizure. He also enjoined them to tell the people, that Simon swore by the God of the universe, who sees all things, that unless they will restore him his wife, he will break down their wall, and inflict the like punishment upon all the citizens, without sparing any age, and without making any distinction between the guilty and the innocent. These threatenings so greatly affrighted not the people only, but the zealots themselves also, that they sent his wife back to him, when he became a little milder, and left off his perpetual blood-shedding.

9. But now sedition and civil war prevailed not only over Judea, but in Italy also; for now Galba was slain in the midst of the Roman market-place; then was Otho made emperor, and fought against Vitellius, who set up for emperor also, for the legions in Germany had chosen him. But when he gave battle to Valens and Cecinna, who were Vitellius's generals at Betriacum in Gall, Otho gained the advantage on the first day, but on the second day Vitellius's soldiers had the victory; and, after much slaughter, Otho slew himself, when he had heard of this defeat at Brixa, and after he had managed the public affairs three months† and two days. Otho's army also came over to Vitellius's generals, and

* Some of the ancients call this famous tree, or grove, an *oak*, others a *turpentine* tree, or grove. It has been very famous in all the past ages, and is so, I suppose, at this day, and that particularly for an eminent mart or meeting of merchants there every year, as the travellers inform us.

† Suetonius differs hardly three days from Josephus, and says Otho perished on the 95th day of his reign. In Othon. See the note on ch. xi. sect. 4.

he came himself down to Rome with his army. But in the meantime Vespasian removed from Cæsarea, on the fifth day of the month Desius [Sivan,] and marched against those places of Judea which were not yet overthrown. So he went up to the mountainous country, and took those two toparchies that were called the *Gophnitick* and *Acrabattene* toparchies. After which he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities; and when he had put garrisons into them, he rode as far as Jerusalem, in which march he took many prisoners and many captives; but Cerealis, one of his commanders, took a body of horsemen and footmen, and laid waste that part of Idumea which was called the *Upper Idumea*, and attacked Caphethra, which pretended to be a small city, and took it at the first onset, and burnt it down. He also attacked Capharabim, and laid siege to it, for it had a very strong wall; and when he expected to spend a long time in that siege, those that were within opened their gates on the sudden, and came to beg pardon, and surrender themselves up to him. When Cerealis had conquered them he went to Hebron, another very ancient city. I have told you already, that this city is situated in a mountainous country, not far off Jerusalem: and when he had broken into the city by force, what multitude and young men were left therein he slew, and burnt down the city; so that as now all the places were taken, excepting Herodium, and Masada, and Macherus, which were in the possession of the robbers; so Jerusalem was what the Romans at present aimed at.

10. And now as soon as Simon had set his wife free, and recovered her from the zealots, he returned back to the remainders of Idumea; and driving the nation all before him from all quarters, he compelled a great number of them to retire to Jerusalem; he followed them himself also to the city, and encompassed the wall all around again; and when he lighted upon any labourers that were coming thither out of the country, he slew them. Now this Simon, who was without the wall, was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, as were the zealots who were within it more heavy upon them than both of the other; and during this time did the mischievous contrivances and courage [of John] corrupt the body of the Galileans; for these Galileans had advanced this John, and made him very potent, who made them a suitable requital from the authority he had obtained by their means; for he permitted them to do all things that any of them desired to do, while their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men and abusing of the women it was sport to them. They also devoured what spoils they had taken, together with their blood, and indulged themselves in feminine wantonness, without any disturbance till they were satiated therewith; while they decked their hair, and put on women's garments, and were besmeared over with ointments; and, that they might appear very comely, they had paints under their eyes, and imitated not only the ornaments, but also the lusts of women, and were guilty of such intolerable uncleanness, that they invented unlawful pleasures of that sort; and thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions; nay, while their faces looked like the faces of women, they killed with their right hands; and when their gait was effeminate, they presently attacked men and became warriors, and drew their swords from under their finely dyed cloaks, and ran every body through whom they alighted upon. However, Simon waited for such as ran away from John, and was the more bloody of the two; and he who had escaped the tyrant within the walls was destroyed by the other that lay before the gates; so that all attempts of flying and deserting to the Romans were cut off as to those that had a mind so to do.

11. Yet did the army that was under John raise a sedition against him; and all the Idumeans separated themselves from the tyrant, and attempted to destroy him, and this out of their envy at his power and hatred of his cruelty; so they got together, and slew many of the zealots, and drove the rest before them into that royal palace that was built by Grapte, who was a relation of Izates, the king

of Adiabene: the Idumeans fell in with them, and drove the zealots out thence into the temple, and betook themselves to plunder John's effects; for both he himself was in that palace, and therein he had laid up the spoils he had acquired by his tyrants. In the meantime the multitude of those zealots that were dispersed over the city ran together to the temple, unto those that had fled thither: and John prepared to bring them down against the people and the Idumeans, who were not so much afraid of being attacked by them, because they were themselves better soldiers than they, as at their madness, lest they should privately sally out of the temple, and get among them, and not only destroy them, but set the city on fire also. So they assembled themselves together, and the high priests with them, and took counsel after what manner they should avoid their assault. Now it was God who turned their opinions to the worst advice, and thence they devised such a remedy to get themselves free as was worse than the disease itself. Accordingly, in order to overthrow John, they determined to admit Simon, and earnestly to desire the introduction of a second tyrant into the city; which resolution they brought to perfection, and sent Matthias, the high priest, to beseech his Simon to come into them, of whom they had so often been afraid. Those also that had fled from the zealots in Jerusalem joined in this request to him, out of the desire they had of preserving their houses and their effects. Accordingly, he, in an arrogant manner, granted them his lordly protection, and came into the city in order to deliver it from the zealots. The people also made joyful acclamations to him, as their saviour and their preserver: but when he was come in with his army, he took care to secure his own authority, and looked upon those that had invited him in to be no less his enemies than those against whom the invitation was intended.

12. And thus did Simon get possession of Jerusalem in the third year of the war, in the month Xanthicus [Nisan;] whereupon John, with his multitude of zealots, as being both prohibited from coming out of the temple, and having lost their power in the city (for Simon and his party had plundered them of what they had,) were in despair of deliverance. Simon also made an assault upon the temple, with the assistance of the people, while the others stood upon the cloisters and the battlements, and defended themselves from their assaults. However, a considerable number of Simon's party fell, and many were carried off wounded; for the zealots threw their darts easily from a superior place, and seldom failed of hitting their enemies; but having the advantage of situation, and having withal erected four very large towers aforehand, that their darts might come from higher places, one at the north-east corner of the court, one above the Xystus, the third at another corner, over against the lower city, and the last was erected above the top of the Pastophoria, where one of the priests stood of course, and gave a signal* beforehand with a trumpet, at the beginning of every seventh day, in the evening twilight, as also at the evening when that day was finished, as giving notice to the people when they were to leave off work and when they were to go to work again. These men also set their engines to cast darts and stones withal upon those towers, with their archers and slingers. And now Simon made his assault upon the temple more faintly, by reason that the greatest part of his men grew weary of that work; yet did he not leave off his opposition, because his army was superior to the others, although the darts which were thrown by the engines were carried a great way, and slew many of those that fought for him.

* This beginning and ending the observation of the Jewish seventh day or Sabbath, with a priest's blowing of a trumpet, is remarkable, and nowhere else mentioned, that I know of. Nor is Reland's conjecture here improbable, that this was the very place that has puzzled our commentators so long called *Musach Sabatti, the Covert of the Sabbath*, if that be the true reading, 2 Kings, xvi. 18, because here the proper priest stood dry, under a covering, to proclaim the beginning and ending of every Jewish Sabbath.

## CHAP. X.

*How the Soldiers, both in Judea and Egypt, proclaimed Vespasian Emperor; and how Vespasian released Josephus of his Bonds.*

§ 1. Now about this very time it was that heavy calamities came about Rome on all sides; for Vitellius was come from Germany with his soldiery, and drew along with him a great multitude of other men besides. And when the spaces allotted for soldiers could not contain them, he made all Rome itself his camp, and filled all the houses with his armed men; which men, when they saw the riches of Rome with those eyes which had never seen such riches before, and found themselves shone round about on all sides with silver and gold, they had much ado to contain their covetous desires, and were ready to betake themselves to plunder, and to the slaughter of such as should stand in their way. And this was the state of affairs in Italy at that time.

2. But when Vespasian had overthrown all the places that were near to Jerusalem, he returned to Cæsarea, and heard of the troubles that were at Rome, and that Vitellius was emperor. This produced indignation in him, although he well knew how to be governed, as well as to govern, and could not, with any satisfaction, own him for his lord, who acted so madly, and seized upon the government as if he were absolutely destitute of a governor. And as this sorrow of his was violent, he was not able to support the torments he was under, nor to apply himself farther in other wars, when his native country was laid waste; but then, as much as his passion excited him to avenge his country, so much was he restrained by the consideration of his distance therefrom; because fortune might prevent him, and do a world of mischief before he could himself sail over the sea to Italy, especially as it was still the winter season; so he restrained his anger, now vehement soever it was at this time.

3. But now his commanders and soldiers met in several companies, and consulted openly about changing the public affairs, and out of their indignation cried out, how "at Rome there are soldiers that live delicately; and when they have not ventured so much as to hear the fame of war, they ordain whom they please for our governors, and in hopes of gain make them emperors; while you have gone through so many labours, and are grown into years under your helmets, give leave to others to use such a power, when yet you have among yourselves one more worthy to rule than any whom they have set up. Now what juster opportunity shall they ever have of requiting their generals, if they do not make use of this that is now before them? while there are so much juster reasons for Vespasian's being emperor than for Vitellius, as they are themselves more deserving than those that made the other emperors; for that they have undergone as great wars as have the troops that come from Germany; nor are they inferior in war to those that have brought that tyrant to Rome, nor have they undergone smaller labours than they; for that neither will the Roman senate nor people bear such a lascivious emperor as Vitellius, if he be compared with their chaste Vespasian; nor will they endure a most barbarous tyrant instead of a good governor, nor choose one that hath no child* to preside over them instead of him that is a father, because the advancement of men's own children to dignities is certainly the greatest security kings can have for themselves. Whether, therefore, we estimate the capacity of governing from the skill of a person in years, we ought to have Vespasian, or whether, from the strength of a young man, we ought to have Titus; for by this means we shall have the advantage of both their ages, for

* The Roman authors that now remain say Vitellius had children, whereas Josephus introduces here the Roman soldiers in Judea, saying he had none. Which of these assertions was the truth I know not. Spanheim thinks he hath given a peculiar reason for calling Vitellius *childless*, though he really had children. Diss. de Num. pages 649, 650, to which it appears very difficult to give our assent.

that they will afford strength to those that shall be made emperors, they having already three legions, besides other auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings, and will have farther all the armies in the east to support them, as also those in Europe, so far as they are out of the distance and dread of Vitellius, besides such auxiliaries as they may have in Italy itself, that is, Vespasian's brother,* and his other son [Domitian;] the one of which will bring in a great many of those young men that are of dignity, while the other is intrusted with the government of the city, which office of his will be no small means of Vespasian's obtaining the government. Upon the whole, the case may be such, that if we ourselves make farther delays, the senate may choose an emperor whom the soldiers, who are the saviours of the empire, will have in contempt."

4. These were the discourses the soldiers had in their several companies; after which they got together in a great body, and encouraging one another, they declared Vespasian emperor,† and exhorted him to save the government which was now in danger. Now Vespasian's concern had been for a considerable time about the public; yet did not he intend to set up for governor himself, though his actions showed him to deserve it, while he preferred that safety, which is in a private life, before the dangers in a state of such dignity: but when he refused the empire, the commanders insisted the more earnestly upon his acceptance, and the soldiers came about him with their drawn swords in their hands, and threatened to kill him, unless he would now live according to his dignity. And when he had shown his reluctance a great while, and had endeavoured to thrust away this dominion from him, he at length, being not able to persuade them, yielded to their solicitations that would salute him emperor.

5. So upon the exhortations of Mucianus and the other commanders that he would accept of the empire, and upon that of the rest of the army, who cried out that they were willing to be led against all his opposers, he was, in the first place, intent upon gaining the dominion over Alexandria, as knowing that Egypt was of the greatest consequence in order to obtain the entire government, because of its supplying of corn [to Rome;] which corn if he could be master of, he hoped to dethrone Vitellius, supposing he should aim to keep the empire by force (for he would not be able to support himself if the multitude at Rome should once be in want of food;) and because he was desirous to join the two legions that were at Alexandria to the other legions that were with him. He also considered with himself, that he should then have that country for a defence to himself against the uncertainty of fortune; for Egypt‡ is hard to be entered by land, and hath no good havens by sea. It hath on the west the dry deserts of Libya, and on the south Siene, that divides it from Ethiopia, as well as the cataracts of the Nile, that cannot be sailed over, and on the east the Red Sea, extending as far as Coptus, and it is fortified on the north by the land that reaches to Syria, together with that called the *Egyptian Sea*, having no havens in it for ships. And thus is Egypt walled about on every side. Its length between Pelusium and Siene is two thousand furlongs, and the passage by sea from Plinthine to Pelusium is three thousand six hundred furlongs. Its river Nile is navigable as far as the city called *Elephantine*, the forenamed cataracts hindering ships from going any farther. The haven also of Alexandria is not entered by the mariners without difficulty, even in times of peace; for the passage inward is narrow and full of rocks, that lie under the water, which oblige the mariners

* This brother of Vespasian was Flavius Sabinus, as Suetonius informs us, in Vitell. sect. 15, and in Vespas. sect. 2. He is also named by Josephus presently, chap. xi. sect. 4.

† It is plain by the nature of the thing, as well as by Josephus and Eutropius, that Vespasian was first of all saluted emperor in Judea, and not till some time afterward in Egypt. Whence Tacitus's and Suetonius's present copies must be corrected, when they both say that he was first proclaimed in Egypt, and that on the calends of July, while they still say it was the fifth of the nones or ides of the same July, before he was proclaimed in Judea. I suppose the month they there intended was June, and not July, as the copies now have it; nor does Tacitus's coherence imply less. See Essay on the Revelation, p. 136.

‡ Here we have an authentic description of the bounds and circumstances of Egypt in the days of Vespasian and Titus.

so turn from a straight direction: its left side is blocked up by works made by men's hands on both sides; on its right side lies the island called *Pharus*, which is situated just before the entrance, and supports a very great tower that affords the sight of a fire to such as sail within three hundred furlongs of it, that ships may cast anchor a great way off in the night-time, by reason of the difficulty of sailing nearer. About this island are built very great piers, the handy-work of men, against which, when the sea dashes itself, and its waves are broken against those boundaries, the navigation becomes very troublesome, and the entrance through so narrow a passage is rendered dangerous; yet is the haven itself when you are got into it, a very safe one, and of thirty furlongs in largeness into which is brought what the country wants in order to its happiness; as also what abundance the country affords, more than it wants itself, is hence distributed into all the habitable earth.

6. Justly, therefore, did Vespasian desire to obtain that government, in order to corroborate his attempts upon the whole empire; so he immediately sent to Tiberius Alexander, who was then governor of Egypt and of Alexandria, and informed him what the army had put him upon, and how he, being forced to accept of the burden of government, was desirous to have him for his confederate and supporter. Now as soon as ever Alexander had read this letter, he readily obliged the legions and the multitude to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, both which willingly complied with him, as already acquainted with the courage of the man from that his conduct in their neighbourhood. Accordingly, Vespasian, looking upon himself as already intrusted with the government, got all things ready for his journey [to Rome.] Now fame carried this news abroad more suddenly than one could have thought, that he was emperor over the east upon which every city kept festivals, and celebrated sacrifices and oblations for such good news: the legions also that were in Mysia and Pannonia, who had been in commotion a little before, on account of this insolent attempt of Vitellius were very glad to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian upon his coming to the empire. Vespasian then removed from Cæsarea to Berytus, where many embassages came to him from Syria and many from other provinces, bringing with them from every city crowns and the congratulations of the people. Mucianus came also, who was the president of the province, and told him with what alacrity the people [received the news of his advancement,] and how the people of every city had taken the oath of fidelity to him.

7. So Vespasian's good fortune succeeded to his wishes every where, and the public affairs were, for the greatest part, already in his hands; upon which he considered, that he had not arrived at the government without divine Providence, but that a righteous kind of fate had brought the empire under his power; for as he called to mind the other signals, which had been a great many every where, that foretold he should obtain the government, so did he remember what Josephus had said to him, when he ventured to foretell his coming to the empire while Nero was alive; so he was much concerned that this man was still in bonds with him. He then called for Mucianus, together with his other commanders and friends and, in the first place, he informed them what a valiant man Josephus had been, and what great hardships he had made him undergo in the siege of Jotapata After he had related those predictions* of his which he had then suspected as fictions, suggested out of the fear he was in, but which had by time been demon-

* As Daniel was preferred by Darius and Cyrus, on account of his having foretold the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy by their means, and the consequent exaltation of the Medes and Persians, v. vi, or rather, as Jeremiah, when he was a prisoner, was set at liberty, and honourably treated by Nebuzaradan, at the command of Nebuchadnezzar, on account of his having foretold the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, Jer. xl. 1—6, so was our Josephus set at liberty, and honourably treated on account of his having foretold the advancement of Vespasian and Titus to the Roman empire. All these are most eminent instances of the interposition of divine providence, and of the certainty of divine predictions in the great revolutions of the four monarchies. Several such like examples there are both in the sacred and other histories; as is the case of Joseph in Egypt, and of Jaddua the high priest, in the days of Alexander the Great, &c.

strated to be divine. "It is a shameful thing," said he, "that this man who hath foretold my coming to the empire beforehand, and been the minister of a divine message to me, should still be retained in the condition of a captive or prisoner." So he called for Josephus, and commanded that he should be set at liberty; whereupon the commanders promised themselves glorious things from this requital Vespasian made to a stranger. Titus was then present with his father, and said,—"O father, it is but just that the scandal [of a prisoner] should be taken off Josephus together with his iron chain: for if we do not barely loose his bonds, but cut them to pieces, he will be like a man that hath never been bound at all:" for that is the usual method as to such as have been bound without a cause. This advice was agreed to by Vespasian also; so there came a man in, and cut the chain to pieces, while Josephus received this testimony of his integrity for a reward, and was moreover esteemed a person of credit as to futurities also.

## CHAP. XI.

*That upon the Conquest and Slaughter of Vitellius, Vespasian hastened his Journey to Rome, but Titus his Son returned to Jerusalem.*

§ 1. And now when Vespasian had given answers to the embassages, and had disposed of the places of power* justly, and according to every one's deserts, he came to Antioch, and consulting which way he had best take, he preferred to go to Rome, rather than to march to Alexandria, because he saw that Alexandria was sure to him already, but that the affairs at Rome were put in disorder by Vitellius; so he sent Mucianus to Italy, and committed a considerable army both of horsemen and footmen to him; yet was Mucianus afraid of going by sea, because it was the middle of winter, and so he led his army on foot through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

2. In the mean time Antonius Primus took the third of the legions that were in Mysia, for he was president of that province, and made haste, in order to fight Vitellius; whereupon Vitellius sent away Cecinna, with a great army, having a mighty confidence in him; because of his having beaten Otho. This Cecinna marched out of Rome in great haste, and found Antonius about Cremona in Gall, which city is in the borders of Italy; but when he saw there that the enemy were numerous and in good order, he durst not fight them; and as he thought a retreat dangerous, so he began to think of betraying his army to Antonius. Accordingly, he assembled the centurions and tribunes that were under his command, and persuaded them to go over to Antonius, and this by diminishing the reputation of Vitellius, and by exaggerating the power of Vespasian. He also told them, that "with the one there was no more than the bare name of dominion, but with the other was the power of it. And that it were better for them to prevent necessity and gain favour, and, while they were likely to be overcome in battle, to avoid the danger beforehand, and to go over to Antonius willingly: that Vespasian was able of himself to subdue what had not yet submitted without their assistance, while Vitellius could not preserve what he had already with it."

3. Cecinna said this, and much more to the same purpose, and persuaded them to comply with him, and both he and his army deserted; but still the very same night the soldiers repented of what they had done, and a fear seized on them,

* This is well observed by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to secure his success, and establish his government at first, distributed his offices and places upon the foot of justice, and bestowed them on such as best deserved them, and were best fit for them. Which wise conduct in a mere heathen ought to put those rulers and ministers of state to shame, who professing Christianity, act otherwise, and thereby expose themselves and their kingdoms to vice and to destruction.

lest, perhaps, Vitellius who sent them should get the better: and drawing their swords, they assaulted Cecinna in order to kill him; and the thing had been done by them, if the tribunes had not fallen upon their knees, and besought them not to do it: so the soldiers did not kill him, but put him in bonds as a traitor, and were about to send him to Vitellius. When [Antonius] Primus heard of this, he raised up his men immediately, and made them put on their armour, and led them against those that had revolted; hereupon they put themselves in order of battle, and made a resistance for a while, but were soon beaten, and fled to Cremona: then did Primus take his horsemen, and cut off their entrance into the city, and encompassed and destroyed a great multitude of them before the city, and fell into the city, together with the rest, and gave leave to his soldiers to plunder it. And here it was that many strangers who were merchants, as well as many of the people of that country, perished, and among them Vitellius's whole army, being thirty thousand and two hundred, while Antonius lost no more of those that came with him from Mysia than four thousand and five hundred: he then loosed Cecinna, and sent him to Vespasian, to tell him the good news. So he came, and was received by him, and covered the scandal of his treachery by the unexpected honours he received from Vespasian.

4. And now, upon the news that Antonius was approaching, Sabinus took courage at Rome, and assembled those cohorts of soldiers that kept watch by night and in the night-time seized upon the Capitol; and as the day came on many men of character came over to him, with Domitian his brother's son, whose encouragement was of very great weight for the compassing the government. Now Vitellius was not much concerned at this Primus, but was very angry at those that had revolted with Sabinus; and thirsting, out of his own natural barbarity, after noble blood, he sent out that part of the army which came along with him to fight against the Capitol; and many bold actions were done on this side, and on the side of those that held the temple. But at last the soldiers that came from Germany, being too numerous for the others, got the hill into their possession, where Domitian, with many other of the principal Romans, providentially escaped, while the rest of the multitude were entirely cut to pieces, and Sabinus himself was brought to Vitellius, and then slain; the soldiers also plundered the temple of its ornaments, and set it on fire. But now, within a day's time, came Antonius, with his army, and were met by Vitellius and his army, and having had a battle in three several places, the last were all destroyed. Then did Vitellius come out of the palace in his cups, and satiated with an extravagant and luxurious meal, as in the last extremity; and being drawn along through the multitude, and abused with all sorts of torments, had his head cut off in the midst of Rome, having retained the government eight months and five days;* and had he lived much longer, I cannot but think the empire would not have been sufficient for his lust. Of the others that were slain were numbered above fifty thousand. This battle was fought on the third day of the month Apellus [Casleu:] on the next day Mucianus came into the city with his army, and ordered Antonius and his men to leave off killing; for they were still searching the houses, and killed many of Vitellius's soldiers; and many of the populace, as supposing them to be of his party, preventing by their rage any accurate distinction between them and others. He then produced Domitian, and recommended him to the multitude, until his father should come himself: so the people, being now freed

* The numbers in Josephus, chap. ix. sect. 2, 9, for Galba 7 months 7 days, for Otho 3 months 2 days, and here for Vitellius 8 months 5 days, do not agree with any Roman historians, who also disagree among themselves. And, indeed, Scaliger justly complains, as Dr. Hudson observes on chap. ix. sect. 2, that this period is very confused and uncertain in the ancient authors. They were probably some of them contemporary together for some time; one of the best evidences we have, I mean Ptolemy's Canon, omits them all, as if they did not altogether reign one whole year, nor had a single Thoth or New-year's day (which then fell upon Aug. 6,) in their entire reigns. Dio also, who says that Vitellius reigned a year within ten days, does yet estimate all their reigns together at no more than 1 year, 1 month, and 2 days.

from their fears, made acclamations of joy for Vespasian as for their emperor, and kept festival days for his confirmation and for the destruction of Vitellius.

5. And now, as Vespasian was come to Alexandria, this good news came from Rome, and at the same time came embassies from all his own habitable earth to congratulate him upon his advancement; and though this Alexandria was the greatest of all cities next to Rome, it proved too narrow to contain the multitude that then came to it. So upon this confirmation of Vespasian's entire government, which was now settled, and upon the unexpected deliverance of the public affairs of the Romans from ruin, Vespasian turned his thoughts to what remained unsubdued in Judea. However, he himself made haste to go to Rome, as the winter was now almost over, and soon set the affairs of Alexandria in order, but sent his son Titus, with a select part of his army to destroy Jerusalem. So Titus marched on foot as far as Nicopolis, which is distant twenty furlongs from Alexandria: there he put his army on board some long ships, and sailed upon the river along the Mendesian Nomus, as far as the city Thmuis: there he got out of the ships, and walked on foot, and lodged all night at a small city called *Tanis*. His second station was Heracleopolis, and his third Pelusium; he then refreshed his army at that place for two days, and on the third passed over the mouths of Nile at Pelusium; he then proceeded one station over the desert, and pitched his camp at the temple of the Casian Jupiter,* and on the next day at Ostracine. This station had no water, but the people of the country make use of water brought from other places. After this he rested at Rhinocolura, and from thence he went to Raphia, which was his fourth station. This city is the beginning of Syria. For his fifth station he pitched his camp at Gaza; after which he came to Askalon, and thence to Jamnia, and after that to Joppa, and from Joppa to Cæsarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his other forces together at that place.

* There are coins of this Casian Jupiter still extant, as Spanheim here informs us.

# BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEAR SIX MONTHS.

*FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.*

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Seditions at Jerusalem, and what terrible Miseries afflicted the City by their Means.*

§ 1. When, therefore, Titus had marched over that desert which lies between Egypt and Syria, in the manner forementioned, he came to Cæsarea, having resolved to set his forces in order at that place before he began the war. Nay, indeed, while he was assisting his father at Alexandria in settling that government which had been newly conferred upon them by God, it so happened, that the sedition at Jerusalem was revived, and parted into three factions; and that one faction fought against the other, which partition in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice. Now, as to the attack the zealots made upon the people, and which I esteem the beginning of the city's destruction, it hath been already explained after an accurate manner; as also whence it arose, and to how great a mischief it was increased. But, for the present sedition, one should not mistake if he called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and to be like a wild beast grown mad, which for want of food from abroad, fell now upon eating its own flesh.

2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who made the first separation of the zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's insolent attempts, which he made every day upon the people; for this man never left off murdering: but the truth was that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who was set up after him. So he being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion to himself, revolted from John, and took to his assistance Judas, the son of Chelcias, and Simon, the son of Ezron, who were among the men of greatest power. There was also with him Hezekiah, the son of Chobar, a person of eminence. Each of these were followed by a great many of zealots; these seized upon the inner court* of the temple, and laid their arms upon the holy gates, and over the holy fronts of that court. And because they had plenty of provisions, they were of good courage; for there was great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses, and they scrupled not the making use of them; yet were they afraid on account of their small number, and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the place they were in. Now, as to John, what advantage he had above Eleazar in the multitude of his followers, the like disadvantage he had in the situation he was in, since he had his enemies over his head; and as he could not make any assault upon them without some terror, so was his anger too great to let him be at rest: nay, al

* This appears to be the first time that the zealots ventured to pollute this most sacred court of the temple, which was the court of the priests, wherein the temple itself and the altar stood. So that the conjecture of those that would interpret that Zacharias, who was slain "between the temple and the altar" several months before, B. iv. ch. v. sect. 4. as if he were slain there by these zealots, is groundless, as I have noted on that place already.

though he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet would not he leave off assaulting them, insomuch that there were continual sallies made one against another, as well as darts thrown at one another, and the temple was defiled every where with murders.

3. But now the tyrant Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, out of the hopes they had of his assistance in the great distresses they were in, having in his power the upper city and a great part of the lower, did now make more vehement assaults upon John and his party, because they were fought against from above also; yet was he beneath their situation when he attacked them, as were they beneath the attacks of the others above them: whereby it came to pass, that John did both receive and inflict great damage, and that easily, as he was fought against on both sides; and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, the same advantage had he, by his higher situation, over Simon. On which account he easily repelled the attacks that were made from beneath, by the weapons thrown from their hands only; but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him, by his engines of war; for he had such engines as threw darts, and javelins, and stones, and that in no small number, by which he did not only defend himself from such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests as they were about their sacred ministrations. For notwithstanding these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country beforehand, and both suspected and watched them; while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although they had gotten leave of them, how cruel soever they were, to come into that court, were yet often destroyed, by this sedition; for those darts that were thrown by the engines came with that force that they went over all the buildings, and reached as far as the altar, and the temple itself, and fell upon the priests, and those* that were about the sacred offices; insomuch that many persons who came thither with great zeal from the ends of the earth to offer sacrifices at this celebrated place, which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down before their own sacrifices themselves, and sprinkled that altar which was venerable among all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood; till the dead bodies of strangers were mingled together with those of their own country, and those of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcasses stood in lakes in the holy courts themselves. And now, "O most wretched city, what misery so great as this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy intestine hatred? For thou couldest be no longer a place fit for God, nor couldest thou long continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thine own people, and hadst made the holy house itself a burying-place in this civil war of thine. Yet† mayest thou again grow better, if perchance thou wilt hereafter appease the anger of that God who is the author of thy destruction." But I must restrain myself from these passions by the rules of history, since this is not a proper time for domestical lamentations, but for historical narrations: I, therefore, return to the operations that follow in this sedition.

4. And now there were three treacherous factions in the city, the one parted from the other. Eleazar and his party, that kept the sacred first fruits, came against John in their cups. Those that were with John plundered the populace, and went out with zeal against Simon. This Simon had his supply of provisions from the city in opposition to the seditious. When, therefore, John was assaulted

* The Levites.

† This is an excellent reflection of Josephus including his hopes of the restoration of the Jews upon their repentance. See Antiq. B. iv. ch. vii. sect. 46, which is the grand *Hope of Israel*, as Manasseh-ben-Israel, the famous Jewish rabbi, styles it, in his small but remarkable treatise on that subject, of which the Jewish prophets are every where full. See the principal of those prophecies collected together at the end of the Essay on the Revelation, page 122, &c.

on both sides, he made his men turn about, throwing his darts upon those citizens that came up against him, from the cloisters he had in his possession, while he opposed those that attacked him from the temple by his engines of war. And if at any time he was freed from those that were above him, which happened frequently, from their being drunk and tired, he sallied out with a great number upon Simon and his party; and this he did always in such parts of the city as he could come at, till he set on fire those houses that were full of corn,* and of all other provisions. The same thing was done by Simon, when, upon the other's retreat, he attacked the city also: as if they had on purpose done it to serve the Romans. by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the nerves of their own power. Accordingly it so came to pass, that all the places that were about the temple were burnt down, and were become an intermediate desert space, ready for fighting on both sides of it; and that almost all that corn was burnt, which would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken by the means of the famine, which it was impossible they should have been unless they had thus prepared the way for it by this procedure.

5. And now, as the city was engaged in a war on all sides, from these treacherous crowds of wicked men, the people of the city between them were like a great body torn in pieces. The aged men and the women were in such distress by their internal calamities that they wished for the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an external war, in order to their delivery from their domestical miseries. The citizens themselves were under a terrible consternation and fear; nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel, and of changing their conduct; nor were there any hopes of coming to an agreement with their enemies; nor could such as had a mind fly away; for guards were set at all places, and the heads of the robbers, although they were seditious one against another in other respects, yet did they agree in killing those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert to them, as their common enemies. They agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that were innocent. The noise also of those that were fighting was incessant both by day and by night; but the lamentation of those that mourned exceeded the other; nor was there ever any occasion for them to leave off their lamentations, because their calamities came perpetually one upon another, although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing; but being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented, without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid to those that were still alive by their relations; nor was there any care taken of burial for those that were dead: the occasion of both which was this, that every one despaired of himself; for those that were not among the seditious had no great desires of any thing, as expecting for certain that they should very soon be destroyed; but for the seditious themselves, they fought against each other while they trode upon the dead bodies as they lay heaped one upon another, and, taking up a mad rage from those dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer thereupon. They, moreover were still inventing somewhat or other that was pernicious against themselves and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, and omitted no method of torment or of barbarity. Nay, John abused the sacred materials,† and emploped them in the construction of his engines of war; for the people and the priests had formerly determined to support the temple, and raise the holy house twenty cubits higher; for King Agrippa had, at a very great expense and with very great pains, brought thither such materials as were proper for that purpose,

* This destruction of such a vast quantity of corn and other provisions, as was sufficient for many years, was the direct occasion of that terrible famine which consumed incredible numbers of Jews in Jerusalem during its siege. Nor probably could the Romans have taken this city, after all, had not these seditious Jews been so infatuated as thus madly to destroy what Josephus here justly styles "the nerves of their power."

† This timber, we see, was designed for the rebuilding those twenty additional cubits of the holy house above the hundred which had fallen down some years before. See the note on Antiq. B. xv. ch. xi. sect. 3.

being pieces of timber very well worth seeing, both for their straightness and their largeness; but the war coming on, and interrupting the work, John had them cut, and prepared for the building him towers, he finding them long enough to oppose from them those his adversaries that fought him from the temple that was above him. He also had them brought and erected behind the inner court, over against the west end of the cloisters, where alone* he could erect them; whereas the other sides of that court had so many steps as would not let them come nigh enough to the cloisters.

6. Thus did John hope to be too hard for his enemies by these engines, constructed by his impiety; but God himself demonstrated that his pains would prove of no use to him, by bringing the Romans upon him before he had reared any of his towers; for Titus, when he had gotten together part of his forces about him, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched out of Cæsarea. He had with him those three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judea waste, together with that twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius: which legion, as it was otherwise remarkable for its valour, so did it march on now with greater alacrity to avenge themselves on the Jews, as remembering what they had formerly suffered from them. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to meet him, by going through Emmaus, and the tenth to go up by Jericho: he also moved himself together with the rest: besides which marched those auxiliaries that came from the kings, being now more in number than before, together with a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria Those also that had been selected out of these four legions, and sent with Mucianus to Italy, had their places filled up out of those soldiers that came out of Egypt with Titus, which were two thousand men, chosen out of the armies at Alexandria. There followed him also three thousand drawn from those that guarded the river Euphrates; as also there came Tiberius Alexander, who was a friend of his, most valuable both for his good will to him and for his prudence. He had formerly been governor of Alexandria, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army under [Titus.] The reason of this was, that he had been the first who encouraged Vespasian very lately to accept this his new dominion, and joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not yet declared for him. He also followed Titus as a counsellor, very useful to him in this war, both by his age and skill in such affairs.

## CHAP. II.

*How Titus marched to Jerusalem, and how he was in Danger as he was taking a View of the City. Of the Place also where he pitched his Camp.*

§ 1. Now, as Titus was upon his march into the enemies' country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, having all the other auxiliaries with them: after whom followed those that were to prepare the roads and measure out the camp; then came the commander's baggage, and after that the other soldiers, who were completely armed, to support them; then came Titus himself, having with him another select body, and then came the pikemen; after whom came the horse belonging to that legion. All these came before the engines; and after these engines came the tribunes and the leaders of the cohorts, with their select bodies; after these came the ensigns, with the eagle; and before those ensigns came the trumpeters belonging to them; next these came the main body of the army in their ranks, every rank being six deep: the servants belonging to

* There being no gate on the west, and only on the west side of the court of the priests, and so no steps there, this was the only side that the seditious, under this John of Gischala, could bring their engines close to the cloisters of that court endways, though upon the floor of the court of Israel. See the scheme of that temple in the description of the temples hereto belonging.

every legion came after these, and before these last their baggage; the mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army after a decent manner, and marched through Samaria to Gophna, a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was then garrisoned by Roman soldiers; and when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone as far as a day's march, he pitched his camp at that valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call the *Valley of Thorns*, near a certain village called *Gabaoth-saul*, which signifies the Hill of Saul, being distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs. There it was that he chose out six hundred select horsemen, and went to take a view of the city, to observe what strength it was of, and how courageous the Jews were; whether when they saw him, and before they came to a direct battle, they would be affrighted and submit; for he had been informed, what was really true, that the people, who were fallen under the power of the seditious and the robbers, were greatly desirous of peace; but being too weak to rise up against the rest, they lay still.

2. Now, so long as he rode along the strait road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared out of the gates; but when he went out of that road, and declined towards the tower Psephinus, and led the band of horsemen obliquely, an immense number of the Jews leaped out suddenly at the towers called the *Women's Towers*, through that gate which was over against the monuments of Queen Helena, and intercepted his horse; and standing directly opposite to those that still ran along the road, hindered them from joining those that had declined out of it. They intercepted Titus also, with a few others. Now it was here impossible for him to go forward, because all the places had trenches dug in them from the wall to preserve the gardens round about, and were full of gardens obliquely situated, and of many hedges; and to return back to his own men, he saw it was also impossible, by reason of the multitude of the enemies that lay between them; many of whom did not so much as know that the king was in any danger,* but supposed him still among them. So he perceived that his preservation must be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse about, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him, and ran with violence into the midst of his enemies, in order to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn, that both the success of wars, and the dangers that kings† are in, are under the providence of God: for while such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his head-piece on nor his breast-plate (for, as I told you, he went out not to fight, but to view the city,) none of them touched his body, but went aside without hurting him, as if all of them missed him on purpose, and only made a noise as they passed by him. So he diverted those perpetually with his sword that came on his side, and overturned many of those that directly met him, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a shout at the boldness of Cæsar, and exhorted one another to rush upon him. Yet did those against whom he marched fly away, and go off from him in great numbers; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but this one hope of escaping, if they could assist Titus in opening himself a way, that he

* We may here note, that Titus is here called a *king* and *Cæsar*, by Josephus, even while he was no more than the emperor's son and general of the Roman army, and his father Vespasian was still alive, just as the New Testament says *Archelaus reigned*, or *was king*, Matt. ii. 22, though he was properly no more than ethnarch, as Josephus assures us, Antiq. B. xvii. ch. xi. sect. 4; Of the War, B. ii. ch. vi. sect. 3. Thus also the Jews called the Roman emperors *kings*, though they never took that title to themselves: *We have no king but Cæsar*, John xix. 15: *Submit to the king as supreme*, 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17; which is also the language of the Apostolical Constitutions, ii. 11, 34; iv. 13; v. 19; vi. 2, 25; vii. 16; viii. 2, 13; and elsewhere in the New Testament, John, xix. 15; Matt. x. 18; xvii. 25; 1 Tim. ii. 2, and in Josephus also; though I suspect Josephus particularly esteemed Titus as joint king with his father, ever since his divine dreams that declared them both such, B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 9.

† See the above note.

might not be encompassed round by his enemies before he got away from them. Now, there were two of those that were with him, but at some distance the one of which the enemy had encompassed round, and slew him with their darts, and his horse also; but the other they slew as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and came safe to the camp. So this success of the Jews' first attack raised their minds, and gave them an ill grounded hope; and this short inclination of fortune on their side made them very courageous for the future.

3. But now, as soon as that legion that had been at Emmaus was joined to Cæsar at night, he removed thence when it was day, and came to a place named *Scopus;* from whence the city began already to be seen, and a plain view might be taken of the great temple. Accordingly, this place on the north quarter of the city, and adjoining thereto, was a plain, and very properly named *Scopus* [the prospect,] and was no more than seven furlongs distant from it. And here it was that Titus ordered a camp to be fortified for two legions that were to be together; but ordered another camp to be fortified, at three furlongs farther distance behind them, for the fifth legion; for he thought that, by marching in the night, they might be tired, and might deserve to be covered from the enemy, and with less fear might fortify themselves; and as these were now beginning to build, the tenth legion, which came through Jericho, was already come to the place, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain, to guard that pass into the city, and had been taken before by Vespasian. These legions had orders to encamp at the distance of six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the *Mount of Olives,** which lies over against the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep valley interposed between them, which is named *Cedron.*

4. Now, when hitherto the several parties in the city had been dashing one against another perpetually, this foreign war, now suddenly come upon them after a violent manner, put the first step to their contentions one against another; and as the seditious now saw with astonishment the Romans pitching three several camps, they began to think of an awkward sort of concord, and said one to another,—"What do we here, and what do we mean when we suffer three fortified walls to be built to coop us in, that we shall not be able to breathe freely? while the enemy is securely building a kind of city in opposition to us, and while we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of what they are doing, with our hands idle, and our armour laid by, as if they were about somewhat that was for our own good and advantage. We are, it seems (so did they cry out,) only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed by our sedition." Thus did they encourage one another when they were gotten together, and took their armour immediately, and ran out upon the tenth legion, and fell upon the Romans with great eagerness, and with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. These Romans were caught in different parties, and this is in order to perform their several works, and on that account had in a great measure laid aside their arms; for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them; and, had they been disposed so to do, they supposed their sedition would have distracted them: So they were put into disorder unexpectedly; when some of them left their works they were about, and immediately marched off, while many ran to their arms, but were smitten and slain before they could turn back upon the enemy. The Jews became still more and more in number, as encouraged by the good success of those that first made the attack; and while they had such good fortune, they seemed both to themselves and to the enemy to be many more than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting at first put the Romans also to a stand, who had been constantly used to fight skilfully in good order, and with keeping their

* This situation of the Mount of Olives on the east of Jerusalem, at about the distance of five or six furlongs, with the valley of Cedron interposed between that mountain and the city, are things well known both in the Old and New Testament, in Josephus elsewhere, and in all the descriptions of Palestine.

ranks, and obeying the orders that were given them: for which reason the Romans were caught unexpectedly, and were obliged to give way to the assaults that were made upon them. Now when these Romans were overtaken, and turned back upon the Jews, they put a stop to their career; yet when they did not take care enough of themselves through the vehemency of their pursuit, were wounded by them: but as still more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at length brought into confusion, and put to flight, and ran away from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, unless Titus had been informed of the case they were in, and had sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and brought those back that were running away, and fell himself upon the Jews in their flank, with those select troops that were with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and made them run away hastily down the valley. Now, as these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity of the valley, so, when they were gotten over it, they turned about and stood over against the Romans, having the valley between them, and there fought with them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that came to the assistance of the Romans with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, to prevent the Jews from making any more sallies, and then sent the rest of the legion to the upper part of the mountain to fortify their camp

5. This march of the Romans seemed to the Jews to be a flight; and as the watchman that was placed upon the wall gave a signal by shaking his garment, there came out a fresh multitude of Jews, and that with such mighty violence, that one might compare it to the running of the most terrible wild beasts. To say the truth, none of those that opposed them could sustain the fury with which they made their attacks; but, as if they had been cast out of an engine, they brake the enemy's ranks to pieces, who were put to flight, and ran away to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the acclivity. Now these others, who were his friends, despised the danger they were in, and were ashamed to leave their general, earnestly exhorting him, "to give way to these Jews that are fond of dying, and not to run into such dangers before those that ought to stay before him; to consider what his fortune was, and not, by supplying the place of a common soldier, to venture to turn back upon the enemy so suddenly; and this because he was general in the war, and lord of the habitable earth, on whose preservation the public affairs do all depend." These persuasions Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face; and when he had forced them to go back, he slew them: he also fell upon great numbers as they marched down the hill, and thrust them forward; while those men were so amazed at his courage and his strength, that they could not fly directly to the city, but declined from him on both sides, and pressed after those that fled up the hill; yet did he still fall upon their flank, and put a stop to their fury. In the meantime, a disorder and a terror fell again upon those that were fortifying their camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away; insomuch that the whole legion was dispersed, while they thought that the sallies of the Jews upon them were plainly insupportable, and that Titus was himself put to flight because they took it for granted, that if he had staid the rest would never have fled for it. Thus were they encompassed on every side by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed themselves one way and some another, till certain of them saw their general in the very midst of an action, and, being under great concern for him, they loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion and now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another that they did worse than run away by deserting Cæsar. So they used their utmost force against the Jews, and declining from the strait declivity, they drove them on heaps into the bottom of the valley. Then did the Jews turn about and fight

them; but as they were themselves retiring, and now, because the Romans had the advantage of the ground and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the valley. Titus also pressed upon those that were near him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp; while he, and those that were with him before, opposed the enemy, and kept them from doing farther mischief; insomuch that if I may be allowed neither to add any thing out of flattery, nor to diminish any thing out of envy, but to speak the plain truth, Cæsar did twice deliver that entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them a quiet opportunity of fortifying their camp.

## CHAP. III.

*How the Sedition was again revived within Jerusalem, and yet the Jews contrived Snares for the Romans. How Titus also threatened his Soldiers for their ungovernable Rashness.*

§ 1. As now the war abroad ceased for awhile, the sedition within was revived; and on the feast of unleavened bread, which was now come, it being the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan,] when it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates of this [inmost court of the] temple, and admitted such of the people* as were desirous to worship God into it. But John made use of this festival as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most inconsiderable of his own party, the greater part of which were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them with great zeal into the temple, in order to seize upon it; which armed men, when they were gotten in, threw their garments away, and presently appeared in their armour: upon which there was a very great disorder and disturbance about the holy house; while the people, who had no concern in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without distinction; as the zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So these left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from their battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled away into the subterranean caverns of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar and about the holy house were rolled on heaps together, and trampled upon, and were beaten both with wooden and with iron weapons without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of their own private enmity and hatred, as if they were opposite to the seditious; and all those that had formerly offended any of these plotters were now known, and were now led away to the slaughter: and when they had done abundance of horrid mischief to the guiltless, they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the caverns. These followers of John also did now seize upon this inner temple, and upon all the warlike engines therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. And thus that sedition which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

* Here we see the true occasion of those vast numbers of Jews that were in Jerusalem during this siege by Titus, and perished therein; that the siege began at the feast of the Passover, when such prodigious multitudes of Jews and proselytes of the gate were come from all parts of Judea, and from other countries, in order to celebrate that great festival. See the note, B. vi. chap. ix. sect. 3. Tacitus himself informs us, that the number of men, women, and children in Jerusalem, when it was besieged by the Romans, as he had been informed, was 600,000. This information must have been taken from the Romans; for Josephus never mentions the number of those that were besieged, only he lets us know, that of the vulgar, carried dead out of the gates and buried at the public charges, was the like number of 600,000, chap. xiii. sect. 7. However, when Cestius Gallus came first to the siege, that sum in Tacitus is no way disagreeable to Josephus's history, though they were become much more numerous when Titus encompassed the city at the Passover. As to the number that perished during the siege, Josephus assures us, as we shall see hereafter, they were 1,100,000, besides 97,000 captives; but Tacitus's history of the last part of this siege is not now extant, so we cannot compare his parallel numbers with those in Josephus.

2. But Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer to the city than Scopus, placed as many of his choice horsemen and footmen as he thought sufficient opposite to the Jews, to prevent their sallying out upon them, while he gave orders for the whole army to level the distance, as far as the wall of the city. So they threw down all the hedges and walls which the inhabitants had made about their gardens and groves of trees, and cut down all the fruit-trees that lay between them and the wall of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and the chasms, and demolished the rocky precipices with iron instruments: and thereby made all the place level, from Scopus to Herod's monuments, which adjoined to the pool called the *Serpent's Pool.*

3. Now at this very time the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out at the towers called the *Women's Towers*, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were for peace, and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood upon the wall, and seemed to be of the people's side, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated that they might have security for their lives given them, and called for the Romans, promising to open their gates to them; and as they cried out after that manner, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force, and that they petitioned those that were within to let them in; and rushing upon the Romans perpetually, with violence, they then came back, and seemed to be in great disorder. Now the Roman soldiers thought this cunning stratagem of theirs was to be believed real, and thinking they had the one party under their power, and could punish them as they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set to the execution of their designs accordingly. But for Titus himself, he had this surprising conduct of the Jews in suspicion; for whereas he had invited them to come to terms of accommodation by Josephus but one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them; so he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However, some of them that were set in the front of the works prevented him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates; whereupon those that seemed to have been ejected at the first retired; but as soon as the soldiers were gotten between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out, and encompassed them round, and fell upon them behind, while that multitude which stood upon the wall threw a heap of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number, and wounded many more; for it was not easy for the Romans to escape, by reason those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were under for being mistaken, and the fear they were in of their commanders, engaged them to persevere in their mistake: wherefore they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though, indeed, they gave them as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had encompassed them about, while the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the monuments of Queen Helen.

4. After this, these Jews, without keeping any decorum, grew insolent upon their good fortune, and jested upon the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and making a noise with beating their shields, leaped for gladness, and made joyful exclamations; while these soldiers were received with threatenings by their officers, and with indignation by Cæsar himself, [who spake to them thus:]—"These Jews, which are only conducted by their madness, do every thing with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems and lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their good will and fidelity to one another; while the Romans, to whom fortune uses to be ever subservient, by reason of their good order, and ready submission to their commanders, have now had ill success by their

contrary behaviour; and by not being able to restrain their hands from action, they have been caught; and that which is the most to their reproach, they have gone on without their commanders in the very presence of Cæsar. Truly (says Titus,) the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father also himself when he shall be informed of this wound that hath been given us, since he who is grown old in wars, did never make so great a mistake. Our laws of war do also ever inflict capital punishment on those that in the least break into good order, while at this time they have seen an entire army run into disorder. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even they, who conquer among the Romans without orders for fighting, are to be under disgrace." When Titus had enlarged upon this matter before the commanders, it appeared evident that he would execute the law against all those that were concerned; so these soldiers' minds sunk down in despair, as expecting to be put to death. and that justly and quickly. However, the other legions came round about Titus, and entreated his favour to these their fellow-soldiers, and made supplication to him, that he would pardon the rashness of a few on account of the better obedience of all the rest; and promised for them, that they should make amends for their present fault by their more virtuous behaviour for the time to come.

5. So Cæsar complied with their desires, and with what prudence dictated to him also; for he esteemed it fit to punish single persons by real executions, but that the punishment of great multitudes should proceed no farther than reproofs: so he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them a special charge to act more wisely for the future; and he considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now, when the space between the Romans and the wall had been levelled, which was done in four days, and as he was desirous to bring the baggage of the army, with the rest of the multitude that followed him, safely to the camp, he set the strongest part of his army over against that wall which lay on the north quarter of the city, and over against the western part of it, and made his army seven deep, with the footmen placed before them and the horsemen behind them, each of the last in three ranks, while the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And now, as the Jews were prohibited, by so great a body of men, from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts that bare the burdens, and belonged to the three legions, and the rest of the multitude, marched on without any fear. But as for Titus himself, he was but about two furlongs distant from the wall, at that part of it where was the corner,* and over against that tower which was called *Psephinus;* at which tower the compass of the wall belonging to the north bended, and extended itself over against the west. but the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called *Hippicus*, and was distant. in like manner, but two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its own place upon the Mount of Olives.

## CHAP. IV.

### *The Description of Jerusalem.*

§ 1. The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder; at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called the *Citadel* by

* Perhaps, says Dr. Hudson, here was that gate called the *Gate of the Corner*, in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9. See ch. iv. sect. 2.

King David; he was the father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called the *Upper Market-place*. But the other hill, which was called *Acra*, and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of a moon when she is horned: over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to be of less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the cheesemongers, as it was called, and was that which we told you before distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outsides these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and, by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides, they are every where unpassable.

2. Now of these three walls the old one was hard to be taken, both by reason of the valleys, and of that hill on which it was built, and which was above them. But besides that great advantage, as to the place where they were situated, it was also built very strong; because David and Solomon, and the following kings, were very zealous about this work. Now that wall began on the north, at the tower called *Hippicus*, and extended as far as the *Xistus*, a place so called, and then joining to the council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way westward, it began at the same place, and extended through a place called *Bethso* to the gate of the Essens; and after that it went southward having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's pool, and reaches as far as a certain place which they called *Ophlas*, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called *Gennath*, which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia. The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates; it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the *Monument of the Fuller*, and joined to the old wall at the valley called the *Valley of Cedron*. It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added to the old city with this wall, which had been all naked before; for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits; and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called *Bezetha*, to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose, and that in order to hinder the foundations of the tower of Antonia from joining to this hill, and thereby affording an opportunity for getting to it with ease, and hindering the security that arose from its superior elevation; for which reason also that depth of the ditch made the elevation of the towers more remarkable. This new built part of the city was called *Bezetha*, in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called *The New City*. Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering, the father of the present king, and of the same name with him, Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of; but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, out of the fear he was in of Claudius Cæsar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs; for the city could no way have been taken, if that wall had been finished in the manner it was begun; as its parts were connected together by stones twenty cubits long and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall

was, however, ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had a height greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from exerting itself. After this it was erected with great diligence by the Jews as high as twenty cubits, above which it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude, insomuch that the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits.

3. Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth and twenty cubits in height; they were square, and solid as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints and the beauty of the stones were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad. Of these towers, then, the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each two hundred cubits; but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now, the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner, and where Titus pitched his own tent: for, being seventy cubits high, it both afforded a prospect of Arabia at sunrising, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was an octagon, and over against it was the tower Hippicus, and hard by it two others were erected by King Herod in the old wall. These were for largeness, beauty, and strength beyond all that were in the habitable earth; for besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his magnificence towards the city on other occasions, he built these after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dedicated these towers to the memory of those three persons who had been the dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend, and his wife. This wife he had slain out of his love [and jealousy,] as we have already related; the other two he lost in war, as they were courageously fighting. Hippicus, so named from his friend, was square; its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, there was a reservoir twenty cubits deep; over which there was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and divided into several parts; over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he named from his brother Phasaelus, had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits: over which was its solid height of forty cubits; over which a cloister went round about, whose height was ten cubits, and it was covered from enemies by breastworks and bulwarks. There was also built over that cloister another tower, parted into magnificent rooms, and a place for bathing; so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear to be a royal palace. It was also adorned with battlements and turrets, more than was the foregoing, and the entire altitude was about ninety cubits: the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharus, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. This was now converted to a house, wherein Simon exercised his tyrannical authority. The third tower was Mariamne, for that was his queen's name: it was solid as high as twenty cubits: its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and were equal to each other: its upper buildings were more magnificent, and had greater variety than the other towers had; for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was denominated from his wife better than those denominated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty cubits.

4. Now, as these towers were so very tall, they appeared much taller by the place on which they stood; for that very old wall wherein they were was built upon a high hill, and was itself a kind of elevation that was still thirty cubits taller

over which were the towers situated, and thereby were made much higher to appearance. The largeness also of the stones was wonderful; for they were not made of common small stones, nor of such larger ones only as men could carry, but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly united to one another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterward cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear. Now, as these towers were themselves on the north side of the wall, the king had a palace inwardly thereto adjoined, which exceeds all my ability to describe it; for it was so very curious as to want no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers, that would contain beds for a hundred guests apiece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed; for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. Their roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great, and the variety of the figures that were about them was prodigious; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them was of silver and gold. There were besides many porticoes, one beyond another, round about, and in each of those porticoes curious pillars; yet were all the courts that were exposed to the air everywhere green. There were, moreover, several groves of trees, and long walks through them, with deep canals and cisterns that in several parts were filled with brazen statues, through which the water ran out. There were withal many dove-courts,* of tame pigeons about the canals. But, indeed, it is not possible to give a complete description of these palaces; and the very remembrance of them is a torment to one, as putting one in mind what vastly rich buildings that fire which was kindled by the robbers hath consumed: for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by these internal plotters, as we have already related, in the beginning of their rebellion. That fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palaces, and consumed the upper parts of the three towers themselves.

## CHAP. V.

### *A Description of the Temple.*

§ 1. Now this temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill. At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar; for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when King Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, and built a wall to it, on its east side, there was then added one cloister founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people† added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterward for the com

* These dove-courts in Josephus, built by Herod the Great, are, in the opinion of Reland, the very same that are mentioned by the Talmudists, and named by them *Herod's dove-courts*. Nor is there any reason to suppose otherwise, since in both accounts they were expressly tame pigeons which were kept in them.

† See the description of the temples hereto belonging, chap. xv. But note, that what Josephus here says of the original scantiness of this mount Moriah, that it was quite too little for the temple, and that at first it held only one cloister, or court of Solomon's building, and that the foundations were forced to be added long afterwards by degrees, to render it capable of the cloisters for the other courts, &c. is without all foundation in the scriptures, and not at all confirmed by his exacter account in the Antiquities. All that is or can be true here is this, that when the court of the Gentiles was long afterwards to be encompassed with cloisters, the southern foundation for these cloisters was found not to be large or firm enough, and was raised, and that additional foundation supported by great pillars and arches under ground, which Josephus speaks of elsewhere, Antiq. B. xv. ch. xi. sect. 3; and which Mr. Maundrel saw, and describes, p. 100 as extant under ground at this day

pass of the entire temple. And when they had built walls on three sides of the temple round about, from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for (in which work long ages were spent by them, as well as all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were still replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole habitable earth,) they then encompassed their upper courts with cloisters, as well as they [afterward] did the lowest [court of the] temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more; yet did not the entire depth of the foundations appear; for they brought earth, and filled up the valleys, as being desirous to make them on a level with the narrow streets of the city, wherein they made use of stones of forty cubits in magnitude: for the great plenty of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs to succeed to an incredible degree. And what could not be so much as hoped for as ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.

2. Now for the works that were above these foundations, these were not unworthy of such foundations; for all the cloisters were double, and the pillars to them belonging were twenty-five cubits in height, and supported the cloisters. These pillars were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble; and the roofs were adorned with cedar curiously graven; the natural magnificence, and excellent polish, and the harmony of the joints in these cloisters, afforded a prospect that was very remarkable; nor was it on the outside adorned with any work of the painter or engraver. The cloisters [of the outmost court] were in breadth thirty cubits, while the entire compass of it was by measure six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia; those entire courts that were exposed to the air were laid with stones of all sorts. When you go through these [first] cloisters unto the second [court of the] temple, there was a partition, made of stone all round, whose height was three cubits; its construction was very elegant; upon it stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek and some in Roman letters, That *no foreigner should go within that sanctuary;* for that second [court of the] temple was called the *Sanctuary*, and was ascended to by fourteen steps from the first court. This court was four-square, and had a wall about it peculiar to itself; the height of its buildings, although it were* on the outside forty cubits, was hidden by the steps, and on the inside that height was but twenty-five cubits; for it being built over against a higher part of the hill with steps, it was no farther to be entirely discerned within, being covered by the hill itself. Beyond these fourteen steps there was the distance of ten cubits: this was all plain; whence there were other steps, each of five cubits apiece, that led to the gates; which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east. For since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place wherein they were to worship, there was a necessity of a second gate for them; this gate was cut out of its wall over against the first gate. There was also on the other sides one southern and one northern gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women; for as to the other gates the women were not allowed to pass through them; nor when they went through their own gate could they go beyond their own wall. This place was allotted to the women of our own country, and of other countries, provided they were of the same nation, and that equally: the western part of this court had no gate at all, but the wall

* What Josephus seems here to mean is this, that these pillars supporting the cloisters in the second court, had their foundations or lowest parts as deep as the floor of the first or lowest court, but that so far of those lowest parts as were equal to the elevation of the upper floor above the lowest, were, and must be, hidden on the inside by the ground or rock itself, on which that upper court was built; so that forty cubits visible below were reduced to twenty-five visible above, and implies the difference of their heights to be fifteen cubits. The main difficulty lies here, how fourteen or fifteen steps should give an ascent of fifteen cubits, half a cubit seeming sufficient for a single step. Possibly there were fourteen or fifteen steps at the partition wall, and fourteen or fifteen more thence into the court itself, which would bring the whole near to the just proportion. See sect. 3, *infra*. But I determine nothing

was built entire on that side. But then the cloisters which were betwixt the gates extended from the wall inward before the chambers; for they were supported by very fine and large pillars. These cloisters were single, and, excepting their magnitude, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

3. Now nine of these gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, as were the jambs of their doors and their lintels: but there was one gate that was without [the inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and those, both in breadth and in length, built like towers, and their height was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits. Now the magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the holy house itself, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other. These nine gates had that silver and gold poured upon them by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. Now there were fifteen steps which led from the wall of the court of the women to this greater gate; whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter.

4. As to the holy house itself, which was placed in the midst [of the inmost court,] that most sacred part of the temple, it was ascended to by twelve steps; and in front its height and its breadth were equal, and each a hundred cubits, though it was behind forty cubits narrower; for on its front it had what may be styled shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits farther. Its first gate was seventy cubits high and twenty-five cubits broad: but this gate had no doors; for it represented the universal visibility of heaven, and that it cannot be excluded from any place. Its front was covered with gold all over, and through it the first part of the house, that was more inward, did all of it appear; which as it was very large, so did all the parts about the more inward gate appear to shine to those that saw them: but then as the entire house was divided into two parts within, it was only the first part of it that was open to our view. Its height extended all along to ninety cubits in height, and its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty. But that gate which was at this end of the first part of the house, was, as we have already observed, all over covered with gold, as was its whole wall about it: it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man's height. But then this house, as it was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the appearance of the outer, and had golden doors of fifty-five cubits altitude and sixteen in breadth; but before these doors there was a veil of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them having their colours the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures.

5. When any persons entered into the temple, its floor received them. This part of the temple, therefore, was in height sixty cubits, and its length the same; whereas its breadth was but twenty cubits: but still that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things that were very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candle-

stick, the table [of shew-bread,] and the altar of incense. Now, the seven lamps signified the seven planets; for so many there were springing out of the candlestick. Now, the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the zodiac and the year; but the altar of incense, by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices, with which the sea replenished it, signified that God is the possessor of all things that are both in the uninhabitable and habitable parts of the earth, and that they are all to be dedicated to his use. But the inmost part of the temple of all was of twenty cubits. This was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In this there was nothing at all. It was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any, and was called the *Holy of Holies*. Now, about the sides of the lower part of the temple there were little houses, with passages out of one into another: there were a great many of them, and they were of three stories high; there were also entrances on each side into them from the gate of the temple. But the superior part of the temple had no such little houses any farther, because the temple was there narrower, and forty cubits higher, and of a smaller body than the lower parts of it. Thus we collect that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

6. Now, the outward face of the temple, in its front, wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, and, at the first rising of the sun, reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it to turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But this temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some of them were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before this temple stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and equal both in length and breadth; each of which dimensions was fifty cubits. The figure it was built in was a square, and it had corners like horns, and the passage up to it was by an insensible acclivity. It was formed without any iron tool, nor did any such iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and so as to be grateful to the sight; this encompassed the holy house and the altar, and kept the people that were on the outside off from the priests. Moreover, those that had the gonorrhœa and the leprosy were excluded out of the city entirely: women also, when their courses were upon them, were shut out of the temple; nor, when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned: men also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner [court of the] temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure were prohibited to come into it also.

7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister by reason of some defect in their bodies, came within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share with them by reason of their stock, but still made use of none except their own private garments; for nobody but he that officiated had on his sacred garments: but then those priests that were without any blemish upon them went up to the altar clothed in fine linen. They abstained chiefly from wine out of this fear, lest otherwise they should transgress some rules of their ministration. The high priest did also go up with them; not always, indeed, but on the seventh days and new moons, and if any festivals belonging to our nation, which we celebrate every year, happened. When he officiated, he had on a pair of breeches that reached beneath his privy parts to his thighs, and had on an inner garment of linen, together with a blue garment round without seam, with fringe-work, and reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, and the pomegranates lightning. But that

girdle that tied the garment to the breast was embroidered with five rows of various colours of gold, and purple, and scarlet, as also of fine linen and blue, with which colours we told you before the veils of the temple were embroidered also. The like embroidery was upon the ephod; but the quantity of gold therein was greater. Its figure was that of a stomacher for the breast. There was upon it two golden buttons like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment: in these buttons were enclosed two very large and very excellent sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of that nation engraved upon them: on the other part there hung twelve stones, three in a row one way, and four in the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst and a ligure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which was again engraved one of the forementioned names of the tribes A mitre also of fine linen encompassed his head, which was tied by a blue riband, about which there was another golden crown, in which was engraved the sacred name [of God:] it consists of four vowels. However, the high priest did not wear these garments at other times, but a more plain habit; he only did it when he went into the most sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on that day when our custom is for all of us to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and the temple; but for the customs and laws hereto relating, we shall speak more accurately another time; for there remain a great many things thereto relating, which have not been here touched upon.

8. Now, as to the tower of Antonia, it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple, of that on the west and that on the north: it was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice; it was the work of King Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural magnanimity. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one, who would either try to get up or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the heigh of forty cubits. The inward parts had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniencies, such as courts and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch that, by having all conveniencies that cities wanted, it might seem to be composed of several cities, but by its magnificence it seemed a palace; and as the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners; whereof the others were but fifty cubits high, whereas that which lay upon the south-east corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed: but on the corner where it joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guards (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion,) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, as was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple; and in that tower were the guards* of those three. There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace; but for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as we have already told you; and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of these three, so did it adjoin to the new city, and was the only place that hindered the sight of the temple on the north. And this shall suffice at present to have spoken about the city, and the walls about it, because I have purposed to myself to make a more accurate description of it elsewhere.

* Those three guards that lay in the tower of Antonia must be those that guarded the city, the temple, and that tower of Antonia.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Tyrants Simon and John. How also, as Titus was going round the Wall of the City, Nicanor was wounded by a dart; which Accident provoked Titus to press on the Siege.*

§ 1. Now, the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumeans. Those ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom this Simon was supreme. The Idumeans that paid him homage were five thousand, and had eight commanders, among whom those of greatest fame were Jacob, the son of Sosas, and Simon, the son of Cathlas. John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders: the zealots also that had come over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same commander that they had formerly, Eleazar, together with Simon, the son of Arinus. Now, while these factions fought one against another, the people were their prey on both sides, as we have said already; and that part of the people which would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions, Simon held the upper city, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabene beyond Euphrates: he also held that fountain and the Acra, which was no other than the lower city: he also held all that reached to the palace of Queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. But John held the temple, and the parts thereto adjoining for a great way, as also Ophla, and the valley called *the Valley of Cedron:* and when the parts that were interposed between their possessions were burnt by them, they left a space wherein they might fight with each other; for this internal sedition did not cease even when the Romans were encamped near their very walls. But although they had grown wiser at the first onset the Romans made upon them, this lasted but awhile; for they returned to their former madness, and separated one from another, and fought it out, and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do; for they never suffered any thing that was worse from the Romans than they made each other suffer; nor was there any misery endured by the city, after these men's actions, that could be esteemed new. But it was most of all unhappy before it was overthrown, while those that took it did it a greater kindness; for I venture to affirm, that the sedition destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the sedition, which it was a much harder thing to do than to destroy the walls; so that we may justly ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, and the just vengeance taken on them to the Romans; as to which matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

2. Now, when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the city on the outside with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a proper place where he might make an impression upon the walls; but as he was in doubt where he could possibly make an attack on any side (for the place was no way accessible where the valleys were, and on the other side, the first wall appeared too strong to be shaken by the engines,) he thereupon thought it best to make his assault upon the monument of John the high priest; for there it was that the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited: here also was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself. But, at this time, as he was going round about the city, one of his friends, whose name was *Nicanor*, was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached, together with Josephus, too near the wall, and attempted to discourse to those that

were upon the wall about terms of peace; for he was a person known by them On this account it was that Cæsar, as soon as he knew their vehemence that they would not bear even such as reproached them to persuade them to what tended to their own preservation, was provoked to press on the siege. He also, at the same time, gave his soldiers leave to set the suburbs on fire, and ordered that they should bring timber together, and raise banks against the city; and when he had parted his army into three parts, in order to set about those works, he placed those that shot darts and the archers in the midst of the banks that were then raising; before whom he placed those engines that threw javelins, and darts, and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and might hinder those that were upon the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were now cut down immediately, and the suburbs left naked. But now while the timber was carrying to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in their works, the Jews were not, however, quiet; and it happened that the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, were now of good courage, and supposed they should have a breathing time, while the others were very busy in opposing their enemies without the city; and that they should now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, in case the Romans did but get the victory.

3. However, John staid behind out of his fear of Simon, even while his own men were earnest in making a sally upon their enemies without. Yet did not Simon lie still, for he lay near the place of the siege; he brought his engines of war, and disposed of them at due distances upon the wall; both those which they took from Cestius formerly, and those which they got when they seized the garrison that lay in the tower Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, they had so little skill in using them, that they were in a great measure useless to them; but a few there were who had been taught by deserters how to use them, which they did use, though after an awkward manner. So they cast stones and arrows at those that were making the banks: they also ran out upon them by companies, and fought with them. Now, those that were at work covered themselves with hurdles spread over their banks, and their engines were opposed to them when they made their excursions. These engines, that all the legions had ready prepared for them, were admirably contrived; but still more extraordinary ones belonged to the tenth legion: those that threw darts and those that threw stones were more forcible and larger than the rest, by which they not only repelled the excursions of the Jews, but drove those away that were upon the walls also. Now the stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent, and were carried two furlongs and farther. The blow they gave was no way to be sustained, not only by those that stood first in the way, but by those that were beyond them for a great space. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was of a white colour, and could, therefore, not only be perceived by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came by its brightness: accordingly, the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let go, and the stone came from it, and cried out aloud, in their own country language, THE SON COMETH:* so those that were in its way

* What should be the meaning of this signal or watchword, when the watchmen saw a stone coming from the engine, THE SON COMETH, or what mistake there is in the reading, I cannot tell. The MSS. both Greek and Latin, all agree in this reading; and I cannot approve of any groundless conjectural alteration of the text from ΥΙΟΣ to ΙΟΣ, that not the *son* or a *stone*, but that the *arrow* or *dart cometh*; as hath been made by Dr. Hudson, and not corrected by Havercamp. Had Josephus written even his first edition of these books of the war in pure Hebrew, or had the Jews then used the pure Hebrew at Jerusalem, the Hebrew word for a *son* is so like that for a *stone*, *Ben* and *Eben*, that such a correction might have been more easily admitted. But Josephus wrote his former edition for the use of the Jews beyond Euphrates, and so in the Chaldee language, as he did this second edition in the Greek language; and *Bar* was the Chaldee word for son, instead of the Hebrew *Ben*, and was used not only in Chaldea, &c. but in Judea also, as the New Testament informs us. Dio also lets us know that the very Romans at Rome pronounced the name of Simon, the son of Gioras, *Bar Poras* for *Bar Gioras*, as we learn from Xiphiline, p. 217. Reland takes notice, "That many will here look for a mystery, as though the meaning were that the *Son* of God *came* now to take vengeance on the sins of the Jewish nation," which is, in

stood off, and threw themselves down upon the ground; by which means, and by their thus guarding themselves, the stone fell down, and did them no harm. But the Romans contrived how to prevent that by blacking the stone, who then could aim at them with success, when the stone was not discerned beforehand, as it had been till then; and so they destroyed many of them at one blow. Yet did not the Jews, under all this distress, permit the Romans to raise their banks in quiet; but they shrewdly and boldly exerted themselves, and repelled them both by night and by day.

4. And now, upon the finishing the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall, and this by lead and line, which they threw to it from their banks; for they could not measure it any otherwise, because the Jews would shoot at them, if they came to measure it themselves; and when they found that the engines could reach the wall, they brought them thither. Then did Titus set his engines at proper distances, so much nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel them, and gave orders they should go to work: and when thereupon a prodigious noise echoed round about from three places, and that, on the sudden, there was a great noise made by the citizens that were within the city, and no less a terror fell upon the seditious themselves; whereupon both sorts, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make a like defence. So those of different factions cried out one to another, that they acted entirely as in concert with their enemies; whereas they ought, however, notwithstanding God did not grant them a lasting concord, in their present circumstances to lay aside their enmities one against another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those that came from the temple leave, by proclamation, to go upon the wall; John also himself, though he could not believe that Simon was in earnest, gave them the same leave. So, on both sides, they laid aside their hatred and their peculiar quarrels, and formed themselves into one body; they then ran round the walls, and having a vast number of torches with them, they threw them at the machines, and shot darts perpetually upon those that impelled those engines which battered the wall; nay, the bolder sort leaped out by troops upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those that belonged to them, and beat them, not so much by any skill they had, as principally by the boldness of their attacks. However, Titus himself still sent assistance to those that were the hardest set, and placed both horsemen and archers on the several sides of the engines, and thereby beat off those that brought the fire to them; he also thereby repelled those that shot stones or darts from the towers, and then set the engines to work in good earnest: yet did not the wall yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion moved the corner of a tower, while the wall itself continued unhurt; for the wall was not presently in the same danger with the tower, which was extant far above it: nor could the fall of that part of the tower easily break down any part of the wall itself together with it.

6. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while; but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works, and in their several camps (for they thought the Jews had retired out of weariness and fear,) these all at once made a sally at the tower Hippicus, through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans and to their very fortifications themselves, where, at the cry they made, those that were near came presently to their assistance, and those farther off came running

deed, the truth of the fact, but hardly what the Jews could now mean; unless, possibly by way of derision of Christ's threatenings so often made, that he would *come* at the head of the Roman army for their destruction. But even this interpretation has but a very small degree of probability. If I were to make an emendation, by mere conjecture, I would read ΠΕΤΡΟΣ instead of ΥΙΟΣ, though the likeness be not so great as in ΙΟΣ; because that is the word used by Josephus just before, as I have already noted, on his very occasion, while ΙΟΣ, an *arrow* or *dart*, is only a poetical word, and never used by Josephus elsewhere, and is, indeed, no way suitable to the occasion, this engine not throwing arrows or darts but great stones, at this time

after them; and here the boldness of the Jews was too hard for the good order of the Romans; and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed upon those that were now gotten together. So this fight about the machines was very hot, while the one side tried hard to set them on fire, and the other side to prevent it; on both sides there was a confused cry made, and many of those in the fore-front of the battle were slain. However the Jews were now too hard for the Romans, by the furious assaults they made like madmen; and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works and the engines themselves had been in danger of being burnt, had not many of those select soldiers that came from Alexandria opposed themselves to prevent it, and had they not behaved themselves with greater courage than they themselves supposed they could have done: for they outdid those in this fight that had greater reputation than themselves before. This was the state of things till Cæsar took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, when he himself slew twelve of those that were in the fore-front of the Jews; which death of these men, when the rest of the multitude saw, they gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from the fire. Now it happened at this fight that a certain Jew was taken alive, who, by Titus's order, was crucified before the wall, to see whether the rest of them would be affrighted, and abate of their obstinacy. But after the Jews were retired, John, who was commander of the Idumeans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately, leaving the greatest lamentation to the Jews and sorrow to the seditious: for he was a man of great eminence both for his actions and his conduct also.

## CHAP. VII.

*How one of the Towers erected by the Romans fell down of its own Accord; and how the Romans, after great Slaughter had been made, got possession of the first Wall. How also Titus made his Assaults upon the second Wall: as also concerning Longinus the Roman and Castor the Jew.*

§ 1. Now, on the next night a surprising disturbance fell upon the Romans; for whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers of fifty cubits nigh, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive those away who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight; and as its fall made a very great noise, fear fell upon the army, and they supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them, ran all to their arms. Whereupon a disturbance and a tumult arose among the legions; and as nobody could tell what had happened, they went on after a disconsolate manner; and seeing no enemy appeared, they were afraid one of another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watchword, with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now were they like people under a panic of fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with it; and then, though with some difficulty, they got clear of the disturbance they had been under.

2. Now these towers were very troublesome to the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they shot at them out of their lighter engines from those towers, as they did also by those that threw darts, and the archers, and those that flung stones. For neither could the Jews reach those that were over them, by reason of their height, and it was not practicable to take them, nor to overturn them, they were so heavy, nor to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and did no longer endeavour to hinder the impressions of their rams, which, by continually beating upon the wall, did gradually prevail against it; so

that the wall already gave way to the *Nico;* for by that name did the Jews themselves call the greatest of their engines, because it *conquered* all things. And now they were for a long while grown weary of fighting, and of keeping guards, and were retired to lodge on the night-times at a distance from the wall. It was on other accounts also thought by them to be superfluous to guard the wall, there being besides that two other fortifications still remaining, and they being slothful and their counsels having been ill concerted on all occasions; so a great many grew lazy and retired. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nico had made one, and all the Jews left the guarding that wall, and retreated to the second wall: so those that had gotten over that wall opened the gates, and received all the army within it. And thus did the Romans get possession of this first wall, on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius [Jyar,] when they demolished a great part of it, as well as they did of the northern parts of the city, which had been demolished also by Cestius formerly.

3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at that place which was called the *Camp of the Assyrians*, having seized upon all that lay as far as Cedron, but took care to be out of the reach of the Jews' darts. He then presently began his attacks, upon which the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended that wall, while John and his faction did it from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the temple, and fought the Romans before the monuments of King Alexander; and Simon's army also took for their share the spot of ground that was near John's monument, and fortified it as far as to that gate where water was brought into the tower Hippicus. However, the Jews made violent sallies, and that frequently also, and in bodies together, out of the gates, and there fought the Romans; and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those fights, as wanting the skill of the Romans. But when they fought them from the walls, they were too hard for them; the Romans being encouraged by their power, joined to their skill, as were the Jews by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that hardiness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still by the hope of deliverance, as were the Romans by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. Nor did either side grow weary but attacks and fightings upon the wall, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, were there all the day long; nor were there any sort of warlike engagements that were not then put in use. And the night itself had much ado to part them, when they began to fight in the morning; nay, the night itself was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more uneasy than the day to them, while the one was afraid lest the wall should be taken, and the other lest the Jews should make sallies upon their camps: both sides also lay in their armour during the night-time, and thereby were ready at the first appearance of light to go to the battle. Now, among the Jews the ambition was, who should undergo the first dangers, and thereby gratify their commanders. Above all, they had a great veneration and dread of Simon; and to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. What made the Romans so courageous was their usual custom of conquering, and disuse of being defeated, their constant wars, and perpetual warlike exercises, and the grandeur of their dominion: and what was now their chief encouragement, Titus, who was present every where with them all; for it appeared a terrible thing to grow weary while Cæsar was there, and fought bravely, as well as they did, and was himself at once an eyewitness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and he who was to reward them also. It was, besides, esteemed an advantage at present to have any one's valour known by Cæsar, on which account many of them appeared to have more alacrity than strength to answer it. And now, as the Jews were about this time standing in array before the wall, and that in a strong body and while both parties were

throwing their darts at each other, Longinus, one of the equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed themselves upon this attack, he slew two of their men of the greatest courage; one of them he struck in his mouth, as he was coming to meet him; the other was slain by him by that very dart which he drew out of the body of the other, with which he ran this man through his side, as he was running away from him, and when he had done this, he first of all ran out of the midst of his enemies to his own side. So this man signalized himself for his valour, and many there were who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered themselves from the Romans, and were only solicitous about what mischief they could do them; and death itself seemed a small matter to them, if at the same time they could but kill any one of their enemies. But Titus took care to secure his own soldiers from harm, as well as to have them overcome their enemies. He also said, that inconsiderate violence was madness, and that this alone was the true courage that was joined with good conduct. He, therefore, commanded his men to take care, when they fought their enemies, that they received no harm from them at the same time, and thereby show themselves to be truly valiant men.

4. And now Titus brought one of his engines to the middle tower of the north part of the wall, in which a certain crafty Jew, whose name was *Castor*, lay in ambush, with ten others like himself, the rest being fled away by reason of the archers. These men lay still for a while, as in great fear, under their breast-plates; but when the tower was shaken, they arose, and Castor did then stretch out his hand, as a petitioner, and called for Cæsar, and by his voice moved his compassion, and begged of him to have mercy upon them; and Titus, in the innocency of his heart, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering-ram, and forbade them to shoot at the petitioners, and bid Castor say what he had a mind to say to him. He said, that he would come down, if he would give him his right hand for his security. To which Titus replied, that he was well pleased with such his agreeable conduct, and would be well pleased if all the Jews would be of his mind, and that he was ready to give the like security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud, that they would never be slaves to the Romans, while it was in their power to die in a state of freedom. Now, while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed; Castor also sent to Simon, and told him that they might take some time for consultation about what was to be done, because he would delude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent thus to him, he appeared openly to exhort those that were obstinate to accept of Titus's hand for their security; but they seemed very angry at it, and brandished their naked swords upon the breast-works, and struck themselves upon their breasts, and fell down as if they had been slain. Hereupon Titus and those with him were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able to see exactly what was done, they admired at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. During this interval a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in his nose, whereupon he presently pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment: so Cæsar reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who then stood by him, to give his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, because these pretended petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were zealous to go to him. But still there was one Æneas, a deserter, who said he would go to him. Castor also called to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; this made Æneas the more earnestly to run to him, with his bosom open. Then did Castor take up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him, because he guarded himself against it, but still it wounded another soldier that was coming

to him. When Cæsar understood that this was a delusion, he perceived that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less place under the exercise of greater severity. So he caused the engine to work more strongly than before, on account of his anger at the deceit put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flame into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans farther suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire

## CHAP. VIII.

*How the Romans took the second Wall twice, and got all ready for taking the third Wall.*

§ 1. Now Cæsar took this wall there on the fifth day after he had taken the first; and when the Jews had fled from him, he entered into it, with a thousand armed men, and those of his choice troops, and this at a place where were the merchants of wool, the braziers, and the market for cloth, and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Wherefore, if Titus had either demolished a larger part of the wall immediately, or had come in, and, according to the law of war, had laid waste what was left, this victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any loss to himself. But now, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by not being willing, when he was able, to afflict them more than he needed to do, he did not widen the breach of the wall, in order to make a safer retreat upon occasion: for he did not think they would lay snares for him that did them such a kindness. When, therefore, he came in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they caught, nor to set fire to their houses neither; nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind, to fight without any harm to the people, and promised to restore the people's effects to them; for he was very desirous to preserve the city for his own sake, and the temple for the sake of the city. As to the people he had them of a long time ready to comply with his proposals; but as to the fighting men, this humanity of his seemed a mark of his weakness, and they imagined that he made these proposals because he was not able to take the rest of the city. They also threatened death to the people, if they should any one of them say a word about a surrender. They, moreover, cut the throats of such as talked of a peace, and then attacked those Romans that were come within the wall. Some of them they met in the narrow streets, and some they fought against from their houses, which they made a sudden sally out at the upper gates, and assaulted such Romans as were beyond the wall, till those that guarded the wall were so affrighted that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their several camps: upon which a great noise was made by the Romans that were within, because they were encompassed round on every side by their enemies; as also by them that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. Thus did the Jews grow more numerous perpetually, and had great advantages over the Romans by their full knowledge of those narrow lanes; and they wounded a great many of them, and fell upon them, and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were at present forced to make the best resistance they could, for they were not able, in great numbers, to get out at the breach in the wall, it was so narrow. It is also probable, that all those that were gotten within had been cut to pieces, if Titus had not sent them succours; for he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of these narrower lanes, and he stood himself where was the greatest multitude of his enemies, and with his darts he put a stop to them; as with him did Domitius Sabinus also, a valiant man, and one that in this battle appeared so to be. Thus did Cæsar continue to shoot darts at the

Jews continually, and to hinder them from coming upon his men, and this until all his soldiers had retreated out of the city.

2. And thus were the Romans driven out, after they had possessed themselves of the second wall: Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and were elevated upon this their good success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more; and that, if they kept within it themselves they should not be any more conquered. For God had blinded their minds for the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor could they see how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now expelled, no more than they could discern how a famine was creeping upon them; for hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public miseries, and drank the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the better part, and a great many had already died for want of necessaries: although the seditious, indeed, supposed the destruction of the people to be an easement to themselves; for they desired that none others might be preserved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them; and they were pleased when the multitude of those of a contrary opinion were consumed, as being then freed from a heavy burden. And this was their disposition of mind with regard to those that were within the city, while they covered themselves with their armour, and prevented the Romans when they were trying to get into the city again, and made a wall of their own bodies over against that part of the wall that was cast down. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not support themselves against the vehement assaults of Titus, but were compelled by force to fly whither they had fled before; so he quietly possessed himself again of that wall, and demolished it entirely. And when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south parts of the city, he contrived how he might assault the third wall.

## CHAP. IX.

*Titus, when the Jews were not at all mollified by his leaving off the Siege for awhile, set himself again to prosecute the same; but soon sent Josephus to discourse with his own Countrymen about Peace.*

§ 1. A RESOLUTION was now taken by Titus to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the seditious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the demolishing of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or whether they were not somewhat afraid of a famine, because the spoils they had gotten by rapine would not be sufficient for them long; so he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own designs. Accordingly, as the usual appointed time, when he must distribute subsistence money to the soldiers, was now come, he gave orders that the commanders should put the army into battle array, in the face of the enemy, and then gave every one of the soldiers their pay. So the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases wherein their arms before lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, as did the horsemen lead their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places that were before the city shine very splendidly for a great way; nor was there any thing ever so grateful to Titus's own men or so terrible to the enemy, as that sight. For the whole old wall and the north side of the temple were full of spectators; and one might see the houses full of such as looked at them: nor was there any part of the city which was not covered over with their multitudes; nay, a very great consternation seized upon the hardiest of the Jews themselves, when they saw all the army in the same place, together with the fineness of their arms and the good order of their men. And I cannot but think that the seditious would have

changed their minds at that sight, unless the crimes they had committed against the people had been so horrid that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; but as they believed death with torments must be their punishment, if they did not go on in the defence of the city, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also prevailed so far over them, that the innocent were to perish with the guilty, and the city was to be destroyed with the seditious that were in it.

2. Thus did the Romans spend four days in bringing this subsistence money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, when no signs of peace appeared to come from the Jews, Titus divided his legions, and began to raise banks both at the tower of Antonia and at John's monument. Now, his designs were to take the upper city at that monument, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to keep the city itself; so at each of these parts he raised him banks, each legion raising one. As for those that wrought at John's monument, the Idumeans, and those that were in arms with Simon, made sallies upon them, and put some stop to them; while John's party, and the multitude of zealots with them, did the like to those that were before the tower of Antonia. These Jews were now too hard for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon the higher ground, but because they had now learned to use their own engines; for their continual use of them one day after another, did by degrees improve their skill about them; for of one sort of engines for darts they had three hundred, and forty for stones, by the means of which they made it more tedious for the Romans to raise their banks. But then Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, did not only proceed earnestly in the siege, but did not omit to have the Jews exhorted to repentance: so he mixed good counsel with his works for the siege. And being sensible that exhortations are frequently more effectual than arms. he persuaded them to surrender the city, now in a manner already taken, and thereby to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language; for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a countryman of their own.

3. So Josephus went round about the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of the reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them, in many words,—"To spare themselves, to spare their country and their temple, and not to be more obdurate in these cases than foreigners themselves: for that the Romans, who had no relation to those things, had a reverence for their sacred rites and places, although they belonged to their enemies, and had till now kept their hands off from meddling with them, while such as were brought up under them, and, if they be preserved, will be the only people that will reap the benefit of them, hurry on to have them destroyed. That certainly they have seen their strongest walls demolished, and that the wall still remaining was weaker than those that were already taken. That they must know the Roman power was invincible, and that they had been used to serve them; for that in case it be allowed a right thing to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; but for them that have once fallen under the power of the Romans, and have now submitted to them for so many long years, to pretend to shake off that yoke afterward, was the work of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, men may well enough grudge at the dishonour of owning ignoble masters over them, but ought not to do so to those who have all things under their command: for what part of the world is there that hath escaped the Romans, unless it be such as are of no use for violent heat or for violent cold? And evident it is that fortune is on all hands gone over to them; and that God, when he had gone round the nations with this dominion, is now settled in Italy. That, moreover, it is a strong and fixed law, even among brute beasts as well as among men, to yield to those that are too strong for them, and to suffer those to have the dominion who are too hard for the rest in war. For which reason it was that their forefathers, who were far superior to them both in their souls and

bodies and other advantages, did yet submit to the Romans, which they would not have suffered, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what can they depend on in this their opposition, when the greatest part of their city is already taken? and when those that are within it are under greater miseries than if they were taken, although their walls be still standing? For that the Romans are not unacquainted with that famine which is in the city, whereby the people are already consumed, and the fighting men will in a little time be so too, for although the Romans should leave off the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there an insuperable war that beset them within, and was augmented every hour; unless they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone conquer their natural appetites." He added this farther,—"How right a thing it was to change their conduct, before their calamities were become incurable, and to have recourse to such advice as might preserve them, while opportunity was offering them for so doing: for that the Romans would not be mindful of their past actions to their disadvantage, unless they persevered in their insolent behaviour to the end; because they were naturally mild in their conquests, and preferred what was profitable before what their passions dictated to them; which profit of theirs lay not in leaving the city empty of inhabitants nor the country a desert: on which account Cæsar did now offer them his right hand for their security: whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not save any of them, and this especially if they rejected his offers in these their utmost distresses; for the walls that were already taken could not but assure them that the third wall would quickly be taken also. And although their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would the famine fight for the Romans against them."

4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested upon him from the wall, and many reproached him; nay, some threw their darts at him; but when he could not himself persuade them by such open good advice, he betook himself to the histories belonging to their own nation, and cried out aloud,—"O miserable creatures! are you so unmindful of those that used to assist you, that you will fight by your weapons and by your hands against the Romans? when did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when was it that God, who is the Creator of the Jewish people, did not avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn again and look back, and consider whence it is that you fight with such violence, and how great a supporter you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers and this holy place, and how great enemies of yours were by him subdued under you? I even tremble myself in declaring the works of God before your ears that are unworthy to hear them; however, hearken to me, that you may be informed how you fight not only against the Romans, but against God himself. In old time there was one Necao, king of Egypt, who was also called *Pharaoh;* he came with a prodigious army of soldiers, and seized Queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself from this injurious person by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them? Indeed, he deemed them to be no number at all without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place,* which you have now polluted, and reckoned upon him as upon his invincible supporter, instead of his own army. Was not our queen sent back, without any defilement to her husband the very next evening? while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place, which you have defiled by shedding thereon the blood of your own countrymen; and he also trembled at those visions which he saw in the night

* Josephus supposes, in this his admirable speech to the Jews, that not Abraham only, but Pharaoh king of Egypt, prayed towards a temple at Jerusalem, or towards Jerusalem itself, in which were Mount Zion and Mount Moriah, on which the tabernacle and temple did afterwards stand; and this long before either the Jewish tabernacle or temple was built. Nor is the famous command given by God to Abraham to go two or three days journey on purpose to offer up his son Isaac there, unfavourable to such a notion.

reason, and bestowed both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on a people beloved by God. Shall I say nothing, or shall I mention the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who when they were used tyrannically, and were fallen under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, and might have defended themselves by war and by fighting, did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God? Who is there that does not know how Egypt was overrun with all sorts of wild beasts, and consumed by all sorts of distempers? how their land did not bring forth its fruit? how the Nile failed of water? how the ten plagues of Egypt followed upon one another? and how by those means our fathers were sent away under a guard, without any bloodshed, and without running any dangers, because God conducted them as his peculiar servants! Moreover, did not Palestine groan under the ravages the Assyrians* made, when they carried away our sacred ark? as did their idol Dagon, and as also did that entire nation of those that carried it away; how they were smitten with a loathsome distemper in the secret parts of their bodies, when their very bowels came down together with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole it away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and timbrels, and other oblations, in order to appease the anger of God for their violation of his holy ark. It was God who then became our general, and accomplished these great things for our fathers, and this because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about their affairs. When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, brought along with him all Asia, and encompassed this city round with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers, without meddling with their arms, when an angel of God destroyed that prodigious army in one night? when the Assyrian king, as he arose the next day, found a hundred fourscore and five thousand dead bodies, and when he, with the remainder of his army fled away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed, and did not pursue them. You are also acquainted with the slavery we were under at Babylon, where the people were captives for seventy years; yet were they not delivered into freedom again before God made Cyrus his gracious instrument in bringing it about: accordingly, they were set free by him, and did again restore the worship of their deliverer at his temple. And, to speak in general, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success when without war they committed themselves to God. When they stayed at home, they conquered, as pleased their judge; but when they went out to fight, they were always disappointed: for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to what predictions were made to him by Jeremiah the prophet, he was at once taken prisoner, and saw the city and the temple demolished. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king than is that of your present governors, and that of the people then under him, than is that of you at this time? for when Jeremiah cried out aloud, how very angry God was at them, because of their transgressions, and told them they should be taken prisoners, unless they would surrender up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death: but for you (to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe, as your wickedness deserves,) you abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, as being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and cannot bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. For another example, when Antiochus, who was called *Epi-*

* Note here, that Josephus, in this his same admirable speech, calls the Syrians, nay, even the Philistines on the most south part of Syria, *Assyrians;* which Reland observes as what was common among the ancient writers. Note also, that Josephus might well put the Jews in mind, as he does here more than once, of their wonderful and truly miraculous deliverance from Sennacherib king of Assyria, while the Roman army, and himself with them, were now encamped upon and beyond that very spot of ground where the Assyrian army lay 730 years before, and which retained the very name of the *Camp of the Assyrians* to that very day. See chap. vii. sect. 3, and chap. xii. sect. 2.

*phanes*, lay before this city, and had been guilty of many indignities against God and our forefathers met him in arms, they then were slain in the battle, this city was plundered by our enemies, and our sanctuary made desolate for three years and six months. And what need I bring any more examples? Indeed, what can it be that hath stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? is it not the impiety of the inhabitants? Whence did our servitude commence? was it not derived from the seditions that were among our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, and our mutual quarrels, brought Pompey upon this city, and when God reduced those under subjection to the Romans who were unworthy of the liberty they had enjoyed. After a siege, therefore, of three months they were forced to surrender themselves, although they had not been guilty of such offences with regard to our sanctuary and our laws as you have; and this while they had much greater advantages to go to war than you have. Do not we know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, under whose reign God provided that this city should be taken again upon account of the people's offences? When Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sosius, and Sosius brought upon us the Roman army, they were then encompassed and besieged for six months, till, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that arms were never given to our nation, but that we are always given up to be fought against and to be taken for I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and then only to disregard the assistance of men, when they resign themselves up to their arbitrator who is above. As for you, what have you done of those things that are recommended by our legislator? and what have you not done of those things that he hath condemned? How much more impious are you than those which were so quickly taken? You have not avoided so much as those sins that are usually done in secret; I mean thefts and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. You are quarrelling about rapines and murders and invent strange ways of wickedness. Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and this divine place is polluted by the hands of those of our own country; which place hath yet been reverenced by the Romans, when it was at a distance from them, when they have suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect him whom you have so impiously abused to be your supporter? To be sure, then you have a right to be petitioners, and to call upon him to assist you, so pure are your hands! Did your king [Hezekiah] lift up such hands in prayer to God against the king of Assyria, when he destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness, as did the king of Assyria, that you may have reason to hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on this condition, that he should not destroy the city; and yet contrary to the oath he had taken, he came down to burn the temple? while the Romans do demand no more than that accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they may but once obtain that, they neither aim to destroy this city nor to touch this sanctuary; nay, they will grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and will preserve your holy laws inviolate to you. And it is plain madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous since he knows when it is proper to punish men for their sins immediately; accordingly, he brake the power of the Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. Wherefore, had he judged that our nation was worthy of freedom, or the Romans of punishment, he had immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans, as he did upon the Assyrians, when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when, after him, Sosius came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or, lastly, when Titus came first of all near to this city although Magnus and Sosius did not only suffer nothing, but took the city by

force; as did Vespasian go from the war he had made against you to receive the empire; and as for Titus, those springs that were formerly almost dried up* when they were under your power, since he has come, run more plentifully than they did before: accordingly, you know that Siloam, as well as all the other springs that were without the city, did so far fail that water was sold by distinct measures; whereas they now have such a great quantity of water for your enemies, as is sufficient not only for drink both for themselves and their cattle, but for watering their gardens also. The same wonderful sign you had also experience of formerly, when the forementioned king of Babylon made war against us, and when he took the city and burnt the temple; while yet I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. Wherefore, I cannot but suppose that God is fled out of his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you fight. Now, even a man, if he be but a good man, will fly from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you persuade yourselves that God will abide with you in your iniquities, who sees all secret things, and hears what is kept most private? Now, what crime is there, I pray you, that is so much as kept secret among you, or is concealed by you? nay, what is there that is not open to your very enemies? for you show your transgressions after a pompous manner, and contend one with another which of you shall be more wicked than another; and you make a public demonstration of your injustice, as if it were virtue. However, there is a place left for your preservation, if you be willing to accept of it; and God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults and repent of them. O hard-hearted wretches as you are! cast away all your arms, and take pity of your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the excellency of that city you are going to betray, to that excellent temple, with the donations of so many countries in it. Who could bear to be the first that should set that temple on fire? who could be willing that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O insensible creatures, and more stupid than are the stones themselves! and if you cannot look at these things with discerning eyes, yet, however, have pity upon your families, and set before every one of your eyes your children, and wives, and parents, which will be gradually consumed either by famine or by war. I am sensible that this danger will extend to my mother and wife, and to that family of mine which hath been by no means ignoble, and, indeed, to one that hath been very eminent in old time; and, perhaps you may imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice: if that be all, kill them; nay, take my own blood as a reward, if it may but procure your preservation; for I am ready to die, in case you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

## CHAP. X.

*How a great many of the People earnestly endeavoured to desert to the Romans: as also, what intolerable Things those that stayed behind suffered by Famine, and the sad Consequences thereof.*

1. As Josephus was speaking thus with a loud voice, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe for them to alter their conduct; but as for the people, they had a great inclination to desert to the Romans: accordingly, some of them sold what they had, and even the most precious things that had been laid up as treasures by them, for a very small matter, and swallowed

* This drying up of the Jerusalem fountain of Siloam, when the Jews wanted it, and its flowing abundantly when the enemies of the Jews wanted it, and these both in the days of Zedekiah and of Titus and this last as a certain event well known by the Jews at that time, as Josephus, here tells them openly to their faces,) are very remarkable instances of a divine Providence for the punishment of the Jewish nation, when they were grown very wicked, at both those times of the destruction of Jerusalem.

down pieces of gold that they might not be found out by the robbers; and whe they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and had wherewithal to provid plentifully for themselves: for Titus let a great number of them go away into th country whither they pleased. And the main reasons why they were so read to desert were these, that now they should be freed from those miseries whic they had endured in that city, and yet should not be in slavery to the Romans however, John and Simon, with their factions, did more carefully watch thes men's going out, than they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one di but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cu immediately.

2. But as for the richer sort, it proved all one to them whether they staid in th city or attempted to get out of it; for they were equally destroyed in both cases for every such person was put to death under this pretence, that they were goin to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get what they had. The madnes of the seditious did also increase together with their famine, and both those mise ries were every day inflamed more and more; for there was no corn which an where appeared publicly, but the robbers came running into, and searched men' private houses; and then if they found any, they tormented them, because the had denied they had any, and if they found none, they tormented them worse because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The indicatio they made use of, whether they had any or not, was taken from the bodies o these miserable wretches; which, if they were in good case, they supposed the were in no want at all of food, but if they were wasted away, they walked of without searching any farther: nor did they think it proper to kill such as these because they saw they would very soon die of themselves for want of food. Man there were, indeed, who sold what they had for one measure; it was of wheat, i they were of the richer sort, but of barly, if they were poorer. When these ha so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and eat th corn they had gotten; some did it without grinding it, by reason of the extremity of the want they were in, and others baked bread of it, according as necessit and fear dictated to them: a table was nowhere laid for a distinct meal, but the snatched the bread out of the fire, half-baked, and eat it very hastily.

3. It was now a miserable case, and a sight that would justly bring tears int our eyes, how men stood as to their food, while the more powerful had more tha enough, and the weaker were lamenting [for want of it.] But the famine wa too hard for all other passions, and it is destructive to nothing so much as to mo desty; for what was otherwise worthy of reverence was in this case despised insomuch that children pulled the very morsels that their fathers were eating ou of their very mouths; and what was still more to be pitied, so did the mothers d as to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing unde their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops tha might preserve their lives: and while they ate after this manner, yet were the not concealed in so doing; but the seditious everywhere came upon them imme diately, and snatched away from them what they had gotten from others; fo when they saw any house shut up, this was to them a signal that the people withi had gotten some food; whereupon they broke open the doors, and ran in, an took pieces of what they were eating almost up out of their very throats, and thi by force: the old men, who held their food fast, were beaten; and if the wome hid what they had between their hands, their hair was torn for so doing; nor wa there any commiseration shown either to the aged or to the infants, but they lifte up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had gotten an shook them down upon the floor. But still were they more barbarously cruel t those that had prevented their coming in, and had actually swallowed down wha they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of thei right. They also invented terrible methods of torments, to discover where an food was, and they were these: to stop up the passages of the privy parts of th

miserable wretches, and to drive sharp stakes up their fundaments; and a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might discover a handful of barley-meal that was concealed; and this was done when these tormenters were not themselves hungry; for the thing had been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it: but this was done to keep their madness in exercise, and as making preparation of provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night, as far as the Roman guards, to gather some plants and herbs that grew wild; and when those people thought they had got clear of the enemy, these snatched from them what they had brought with them, even while they had frequently entreated them, and that by calling upon the tremendous name of God, to give them back some part of what they had brought; though these would not give them the least crumb, and they were to be well contented that they were only spoiled, and not slain at the same time.

4. These were the afflictions which the lower sort of the people suffered from these tyrants' guards; but for the men that were in dignity, and withal were rich, they were carried before the tyrants themselves: some of which were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and so were destroyed; others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was this, to suborn somebody to affirm that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon was sent back again to John; as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained; insomuch that they drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them: so that although, on account of their ambition after dominion, they contended with each other, yet did they very well agree in their wicked practices; for he that did not communicate what he got by the miseries of others to the other tyrant, seemed to be too little guilty, and in one respect only; and he that did not partake of what was so communicated to him grieved at this, as at the loss of what was a valuable thing, that he had no share in such barbarity.

5. It is therefore impossible to go distinctly over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall, therefore, speak my mind here at once briefly, that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed, what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation, while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation by acting gloriously against them, and did almost draw that fire upon the temple which they seemed to think came too slowly; and, indeed, when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they were neither troubled at it, nor did they shed any tears on that account, while yet these passions were discovered among the Romans themselves. Which circumstances we shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when we come to treat of such matters.

## CHAP. XI.

*How the Jews were crucified before the Walls of the City. Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes: and how the Jews overthrew the Banks that had been raised by the Romans.*

§ 1. So now Titus's banks were advanced a great way, notwithstanding his soldiers had been very much distressed from the wall. He then sent a party of horsemen, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to gather food. Some of these were, indeed, fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine; but the greater part of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were under for their own relations; for they could not hope to escape away, together with their wives and children, without the knowledge of the seditious; nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers on their account; nay, the severity of the famine made them bold in thus going out: so nothing remained but that when they were concealed from the robbers, they should be taken by the enemy; and when they were going to be taken, they were forced to defend themselves for fear of being punished; as after they had fought, they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy: so they were first whipped, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures, before they died, and were then crucified* before the wall of the city. This miserable procedure made Titus greatly to pity them, while they caught every day five hundred Jews; nay, some days they caught more: yet did it not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force to go their way; and to set a guard over so many he saw would be to make such as guarded them useless to him. The main reason why he did not forbid that cruelty was this, that he hoped the Jews might, perhaps, yield at that sight, out of fear lest they might themselves afterwards be liable to the same cruel treatment. So the soldiers, out of the wrath and hatred they bore the Jews, nailed those they caught, one after one way and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest, when their multitude was so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

2. But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they made the rest of the multitude believe otherwise; for they brought the relations of those that had deserted upon the wall, with such of the populace as were very eager to go over upon the security offered them, and showed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans: and told them, that those who were caught were supplicants to them, and not such as were taken prisoners. This sight kept many of those within the city who were so eager to desert, till the truth was known: yet did some of them run away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be a quiet departure, if compared with that by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many of those that were caught should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of the calamity they were under, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, that "they would now at length leave off [their madness,] and not force him to destroy the city, whereby they would have those advantages of repentance, even in their utmost distress, that they would preserve their own lives, and so fine a city of their own, and that temple which was their peculiar." He then went round about the banks that were cast up, and hastened them in order to show that his words should in no long time be

* Reland very properly takes notice here, how justly this judgment came upon the Jews, when they were *crucified* in such multitudes together, that the Romans wanted room for the *crosses*, and *crosses* for the bodies of those Jews, since they had brought this judgment on themselves by the *crucifixion* of their Messiah.

followed by his deeds. In answer to which the seditious cast reproaches upon Cæsar himself, and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, that "they contemned death, and did well in preferring it before slavery: that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could while they had breath in them; and that for their own city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and that the world itself was a better temple to God than this: that yet this temple would be preserved by him that inhabited therein, whom they still had for their assistant in this war, and did, therefore, laugh at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing; because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only." These words were mixed with reproaches, and with them they made a mighty clamour.

3. In the meantime Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the *Macedonian Band* about him, all of the same age, tall and just past their childhood, armed, and instructed after the Macedonian manner, whence it was that they took that name. Yet were many of them unworthy of so famous a nation; for it had so happened that the king of Commagena had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till a change happened in his condition; and when he was become an old man, he declared plainly, that we ought not to call any man happy before he was dead. But this son of his, who was then come thither before his father was decaying, said, that, "he could not but wonder what made the Romans so tardy in making their attacks upon the wall." Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man, that his boldness seldom failed of having success; upon this Titus smiled, and said,—"He would share the pains of an attack with him." However, Antiochus went as he then was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall; and, indeed, for his own part, his strength and skill were so great, that he guarded himself from the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them, while yet the young men with him were almost all sorely galled: for they had so great a regard to the promises that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in their fighting, and at length many of them retired, but not till they were wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

4. Now as the Romans began to raise their banks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar], so had they much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great banks raised, one of which was at the tower Antonia: this was raised by the fifth legion over against the middle of that pool which was called *Struthius*. Another was cast up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labours of the tenth legion which lay a great way off these, were on the north quarter, and at the pool called *Amygdalon;* as was that of the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, and at the high priest's monument. And now, when the engines were brought, John had from within undermined the space that was over against the tower of Antonia, as far as the banks themselves, and had supported the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an uncertain foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought in as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire: and as the cross beams that supported the banks were burning, the ditch yielded on the sudden, and the banks were shaken down, and fell into the ditch with a prodigious noise. Now, at the first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the bank; but as the suffocated materials were now gradually consumed, a plain flame brake out, on which sudden appearance of the flame a consternation fell upon the Romans, and the shrewdness of the contrivance discouraged them: and, indeed, this accident coming

upon them at the time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be to no purpose to take the pains to extinguish the fire, since if it were extinguished, the banks were swallowed up already [and become useless to them.]

5. Two days after this Simon and his party made an attempt to destroy the other banks; for the Romans had brought their engines to bear there, and began already to make the wall shake And here one Tephtheus of Garsis, a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one who was derived from some of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them one from Adiabene, he was the son of Nabateus, and called by the name of *Chagiras*, from the ill fortune he had, the word signifying a *lame man*, snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in their own boldness or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were enemies but friends, without fear or delay; nor did they leave their enemies till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their machines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with their enemies' swords, yet did they not withdraw themselves out of the dangers they were in till the fire had caught hold of the instruments; but when the flame went up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines. Then did the Jews hinder their succours from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire without any regard to the danger their bodies were in. So the Romans pulled the engines out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire: but the Jews caught hold of the battering-rams through the flame itself, and held them fast, although the iron upon them was become red hot: and now the fire spread itself from the engines to the banks, and prevented those that came to defend them; and all this while the Romans were encompassed round about with the flame, and, despairing of saving their works from it, they retired to their camp. Then did the Jews become still more and more in number, by the coming of those that were within the city to their assistance; and as they were very bold upon the good success they had had, their violent assaults were almost irresistible: nay, they proceeded as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now there stood a body of soldiers in array before that camp, which succeeded one another by turns in their armour; and as to those the law of the Romans was terrible, that he who left his post there, let the occasion be whatsoever it might be, he was to die for it; so that body of soldiers preferring rather to die in fighting courageously, than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood firm; and at the necessity these men were in of standing to it, many of the others that had run away, out of shame turned back again: and when they had set the engines against the wall, they kept the multitudes from coming more of them out of the city [which they could the more easily do,] because they had made no provision for preserving or guarding their bodies at this time; for the Jews fought now hand to hand with all that came in their way, and, without any caution, fell against the points of their enemies' spears, and attacked them, bodies against bodies: for they were now too hard for the Romans, not so much by their other warlike actions, as by these courageous assaults they made upon them; and the Romans gave way more to their boldness than they did to the sense of the harm they had received from them.

6. And now Titus was come from the tower of Antonia, whither he was gone to look out for a place for raising other banks, and reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own walls to be in danger, when they had taken the walls of their enemies, and sustained the fortune of men besieged, while the Jews were allowed to sally out against them, though they were already in a sort of prison. He then went round about the enemy with some chosen troops, and fell upon their flank himself; so the Jews, who had been before assaulted in their faces, wheeled about to Titus, and continued the fight. The armies also were now mixed one

among another, and the dust that was raised so far hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so far hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could discern an enemy from a friend. However, the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength as from their despair of deliverance. The Romans also would not yield, by reason of the regard they had to glory, and to their reputation in war, and because Cæsar himself went into the danger before them; insomuch that I cannot but think the Romans would in the conclusion have now taken even the whole multitude of the Jews, so very angry were they at them, had these not prevented the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, seeing the banks of the Romans were demolished, these Romans were very much cast down upon the loss of what had cost them so long pains, and this in one hour's time. And many, indeed, despaired of taking the city with their usual engines of war only.

## CHAP. XII.

*Titus thought fit to encompass the City round with a Wall; after which the Famine consumed the People by whole Houses and Families together*

§ 1. And now did Titus consult with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were of the warmest tempers thought he should bring the whole army against the city, and storm the wall; for that hitherto no more than a part of their army had fought with the Jews; but that in case the entire army was to come at once, they would not be able to sustain their attacks, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were for a more cautious management, some were for raising their banks again, and others advised to let the banks alone, but to lie still before the city, to guard against the coming out of the Jews, and against their carrying provisions into the city, and so to leave the enemy to the famine, and this without direct fighting with them; for that despair was not to be conquered, especially as to those who are desirous to die by the sword, while a more terrible misery than that is reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it fit for so great an army to lie entirely idle, and that yet it was in vain to fight with those that would be destroyed one by another: he also showed them how impracticable it was to cast up any more banks for want of materials, and to guard against the Jews coming still more impracticable; as also, that to encompass the whole city round with his army was not very easy, by reason of its magnitude, and the difficulty of the situation, and on other accounts dangerous upon the sallies the Jews might make out of the city. For although they might guard the known passages out of the place, yet would they, when they found themselves under the greatest distress, contrive secret passages out, as being well acquainted with all such places; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer delayed. He also owned, that he was afraid that the length of time thus to be spent would diminish the glory of his success: for though it be true that length of time will perfect every thing, yet that to do what we do in a little time is still necessary to the gaining reputation: that, therefore, his opinion was, that if they aimed at quickness, joined with security, they must build a wall round about the whole city, which was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and that then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or be still the more easily conquered, when the famine had farther weakened them. For that besides this wall he would not lie entirely at rest afterward, but would take care then to have banks raised again, when those that would oppose them were become weaker. But that if any one should think such a work to be too great, and not to be finished without much difficulty, he ought to

consider that it is not fit for Romans to undertake any small work; and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing whatsoever.

2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work; and, indeed, there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that they did not only part the whole wall that was to be built among them, nor did only one legion strive with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; insomuch that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders; while Cæsar himself took notice of and rewarded the like contention in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and took a view of what was done. Titus began the wall from the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and drew it down to the lower parts of Cenopolis; thence it went along the valley of Cedron to the Mount of Olives; it then bent towards the south, and encompassed the mountain as far as the rock called *Peristerion*, and that other hill which lies next it, and is over the valley which reaches to Siloam; whence it bended again to the west, and went down to the valley of the fountain, beyond which it went up again at the monument of Ananus the high priest, and encompassing that mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and was carried on as far as a certain village called the *House of the Erebinthi;* after which it encompassed Herod's monument, and there, on the east, was joined to Titus's own camp, where it began. Now, the length of this wall was forty furlongs, one only abated. Now, at this wall without were erected thirteen places to keep garrison in, whose circumferences put together amounted to ten furlongs; the whole was completed in three days: so that what would naturally have required some months was done in so short an interval as is incredible. When Titus had, therefore, encompassed the city with this wall, and put garrisons into proper places, he went round the wall at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night-time, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were interposed between the garrisons.

3. So all hope of escaping was now cut off from the Jews, together with their liberty of going out of the city. Then did the famine widen its progress, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were full of women and children that were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all swelled with the famine, and fell down dead, wheresoever their misery seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it, and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great multitude of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty there was how soon they should die themselves; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before that fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentations made under these calamities nor were heard any mournful complaints; but the famine confounded all natural passions; for those that were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and open mouths. A deep silence also, and a kind of deadly night, had seized upon the city; while yet the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were themselves; for they brake open those houses which were no other than graves of dead bodies, and plundered them of what they had, and carrying off the coverings of their bodies, went out laughing, and tried the points of their swords in their dead bodies; and in order to prove what metal they were made of, they thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground; but for those that entreated them to lend them their right

hand and their sword to dispatch them, they were too proud to grant their requests, and left them to be consumed by the famine. Now every one of these died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the seditious alive behind them. Now the seditious at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, as not enduring the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the valleys beneath.

4. However, when Titus in going his rounds along those valleys saw them full of dead bodies, and the thick putrefaction running about them, he gave a groan, and spreading out his hands to heaven, called God to witness that this was not his doing; and such was the sad case of the city itself. But the Romans were very joyful, since none of the seditious could now make sallies out of the city, because they were themselves disconsolate, and the famine already touched them also. These Romans besides had great plenty of corn and other necessaries out of Syria, and out of the neighbouring provinces; many of which would stand near to the wall of the city, and show the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine, by the great plenty, even to satiety, which they had themselves. However, when the seditious still showed no inclinations of yielding, Titus, out of his commiseration of the people that remained, and out of his earnest desire of rescuing what was still left of these miseries, began to raise his banks again, although materials for them were hard to be come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former banks. Yet did the soldiers bring with them other materials from the distance of ninety furlongs, and thereby raised banks in four parts much greater than the former, although this was done only at the tower of Antonia. So Cæsar went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the works, and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men, and these only, were incapable of repenting of the wickedness they had been guilty of; and separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other folks and not to themselves: for no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they could still tear the dead bodies of the people, as dogs do, and fill the prisons with those that were sick.

## CHAP. XIII.

*The great Slaughters and Sacrilege that were in Jerusalem.*

§ 1. Accordingly Simon would not suffer Matthias, by whose means he got possession of the city, to go off without torment. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was one of the high priests, one that had been very faithful to the people, and in great esteem with them: he, when the multitude were distressed by the zealots, among whom John was numbered, persuaded the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, while he had made no terms with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon was come in, and had gotten the city under his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as his enemy equally with the rest, as looking upon that advice as a piece of his simplicity only: so he had him then brought before him, and condemned to die for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence. He condemned also his three sons to die with him; for as to the fourth, he prevented him by running away to Titus before. And when he begged for this, that he might be slain before his sons, and that as a favour, on account that he had procured the gates of the city to be opened to him, he gave order that he should be slain the last of them also; so he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and that by being produced over against

the Romans; for such a charge had Simon given to Ananus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his guards. He also jested upon him, and told him, that he might now see whether those to whom he intended to go over would send him any succours or not; but still he forbade their dead bodies should be buried. After the slaughter of these, a certain priest, Ananias, the son of Masambulus, a person of eminency, as also Aristeus, the scribe of the sanhedrim, and born at Emmaus, and with him fifteen men of figure among the people, were slain. They also kept Josephus's father in prison, and made public proclamation, that no citizen whatsoever should either speak to him himself, or go into his company among others, for fear he should betray them. They also slew such as joined in lamenting these men without any farther examination.

2. Now when Judas, the son of Judas, who was one of Simon's under officers, and a person intrusted by him to keep one of the towers, saw this procedure of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him (perhaps this was done partly out of pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but principally in order to provide for his own safety,) and spake thus to them:—"How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of deliverance by thus continuing faithful to such wicked wretches? Is not the famine already come against us? Are not the Romans in a manner gotten within the city? Is not Simon become unfaithful to his benefactors? and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come on, let us surrender up this wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, now he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he thinks on." Now these ten were prevailed upon by those arguments; so he sent the rest of those that were under him some one way and some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon. Accordingly, he called to the Romans from the tower about the third hour; but they, some of them out of pride, despised what he said, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, though the greatest number delayed the matter, as believing they should get possession of the city in a little time without any hazard. But when Titus was just coming thither with his armed men, Simon was acquainted with the matter before he came, and presently took the tower into his own custody before it was surrendered, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans themselves; and when he had mangled their dead bodies, he threw them down before the wall of the city.

3. In the meantime Josephus, as he was going round the city, had his head wounded by a stone that was thrown at him, upon which he fell down as giddy; upon which fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he had been hurried into the city, if Cæsar had not sent men to protect him immediately; and as these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he heard little of what was done. So the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they were the most desirous of killing, and made thereupon a great noise in way of rejoicing. This accident was told in the city; and the multitude that remained became very disconsolate at the news, as being persuaded that he was really dead, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans. But when Josephus's mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to those that watched about her, that "she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata, [that he would be slain,] and she should never enjoy him alive any more." She also made great lamentation privately to the maid servants that were about her, and said,—"This was all the advantage she had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this son into the world, that she should not be able even to bury that son of hers, by whom she expected to have been buried herself." However, this false report did not put his mother to pain, nor afford merriment to the robbers long; for Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came out, and cried out aloud,—"That it would not be long ere they should be punished for this wound

they had given him." He also made a fresh exhortation to the people to come out upon the security that would be given them. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought a great consternation upon the seditious.

4. Hereupon some of the deserters, having no other way, leaped down from the wall immediately, while others of them went out of the city with stones, as if they would fight them; but thereupon they fled away to the Romans. But here a worse fate accompanied these than what they had found within the city; and they met with a quicker dispatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans than they could have done from the famine among the Jews; for when they came first to the Romans, they were puffed up by the famine, and swelled like men in a dropsy: after which they all on the sudden overfilled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were skilful enough to restrain their appetites, and by degrees took in their food into bodies unaccustomed thereto. Yet did another plague seize upon those that were thus preserved; for there was found among the Syrian deserters a certain person who was caught gathering pieces of gold out of the excrement of the Jews' bellies; for the deserters used to swallow such pieces of gold, as we told you before, when they came out; and for these did the seditious search them all; for there was a great quantity of gold in the city, insomuch that as much was now sold [in the Roman camp] for twelve Attic [drams] as was sold before for twenty-five. But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the fame of it filled their several camps, that the deserters came to them full of gold. So the multitude of the Arabians, with the Syrians, cut up those that came as supplicants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me that any misery befell the Jews that was more terrible than this, since in one night's time about two thousand of these deserters were thus dissected.

5. When Titus came to the knowledge of this wicked practice, he had like to have surrounded those that had been guilty of it with his horse, and have shot them dead; and he had done it, had not their number been so very great; and those that were liable to this punishment would have been manifold more than those whom he had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the auxiliary troops he had with him, as well as the commanders of the Roman legions (for some of his own soldiers had been also guilty herein, as he had been informed,) and had great indignation against both sorts of them, and said to them,—"What! have any of my own soldiers done such things as this out of the uncertain hope of gain, without regarding their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first of all begin to govern themselves as they please, and to indulge their appetites in a foreign war, and then out of their barbarity in murdering men, and out of their hatred to the Jews, get it ascribed to the Romans?" for this infamous practice was said to be spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus then threatened, that he would put such men to death, if any of them were discovered to be so insolent as to do so again: moreover, he gave it in charge to the legions, that they should make a search after such as were suspected, and should bring them to him. But it appeared that the love of money was too hard for all their dread of punishment, and a vehement desire of gain is natural to men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; otherwise such passions have certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But, in reality, it was God who condemned the whole nation, and turned every course that was taken for their preservation to their destruction. This, therefore, which was forbidden by Cæsar under such a threatening, was ventured upon privately against the deserters, and these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before any saw them, and looking about them to see that no Romans spied them, they dissected them, and pulled this polluted money out of their bowels; which money was still found in a few of them, while yet a

great many were destroyed by the bare hope there was of thus getting by them; which miserable treatment made many that were deserting to return back again into the city.

6. But as for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the sacred utensils, which had been given to the temple, as also many of those vessels which were necessary for such as ministered about holy things, the caldrons, the dishes, and the tables; nay, he did not abstain from those pouring vessels that were sent them by Augustus and his wife; for the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn this temple: whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to those that were with him, that it was proper for them to use divine things, while they were fighting for the Divinity, without fear; and that such whose warfare is for the temple, should live of the temple: on which account he emptied the vessels of that sacred wine and oil which the priests kept to be poured on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner court of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, who, in their anointing themselves, and drinking used [each of them] above a hin of them. And here I cannot but speak my mind and what the concern I am under dictates to me, and it is this:—I suppose, that had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these villains, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening upon them, or been overflowed by water, or else been destroyed by such thunder as the country of Sodom* perished by; for it had brought forth a generation of men much more atheistical than were those that suffered such punishments; for by their madness it was that all the people came to be destroyed.

7. And, indeed, why do I relate these particular calamities? while Manneus the son of Lazarus, came running to Titus at this very time, and told him, that there had been carried out through that one gate, which was intrusted to his care, no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan,] when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.] This was itself a prodigious multitude: and though this man was not himself set as a governor at that gate, yet was he appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so was obliged of necessity to number them, while the rest were buried with their relations; though all their burial was but this, to bring them away, and cast them out of the city. After this man there ran away to Titus many of the eminent citizens, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead, and that no fewer than six hundred thousand were thrown out at the gates; though still the number of the rest could not be discovered: and they told him farther, that, when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also that a medimnus of wheat was sold for a talent, and that when a while afterward, it was not possible to gather herbs, by reason the city was all walled about, some persons were driven to that terrible distress as to search the common shores and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there; and what they of old could not endure so much as to see, they now used for food. When the Romans barely heard all this, they commiserated their case; while the seditious, who saw it also, did not repent but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves; for they were blinded by that fate which was already coming upon the city, and upon themselves also.

* Josephus, both here and before, B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 4, esteems the land of Sodom not as part of the lake Asphaltitis, or under its waters, but near it only, as Tacitus also took the same notion from him Hist. v. vi. 7, which the great Reland takes to be the very truth, both on his note on this place, and in his Palestina, tom. i. p. 254—258; though I rather suppose part of that region of Pentapolis to be now under the waters of the south part of that sea, but perhaps not the whole country.

# BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH

*FROM THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.*

## CHAP. I.

*That the Miseries of the Jews still grew worse; and how the Romans made an Assault upon the Tower of Antonia.*

THUS did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they were under, even while the famine preyed upon themselves after it had preyed upon the people. And, indeed, the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilentiel stench, which was a hinderance to those that would make sallies out of the city, and fight the enemy: but as those were to go in battle array, who had been already used to ten thousand murders, and must tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along, so were they not terrified, nor did they pity men as they marched over them; nor did they deem this affront offered to the deceased to be any ill omen to themselves; but as they had their right hands already polluted with the murders of their own countrymen, and in that condition ran out to fight with foreigners, they seem to me to have cast a reproach upon God himself, as if he were too slow in punishing them: for the war was not now gone on with, as if they had any hope of victory; for they glorified after a brutish manner in that despair of deliverance they were already in. And now the Romans, although they were greatly distressed in getting together their materials, raised their banks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country that adjoined to the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And, truly, the very view itself of the country was a melancholy thing; for those places which were before adorned with trees and pleasant gardens, were now become a desolate country every way, and its trees were all cut down; nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judea and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw it as a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change; for the war had laid all the signs of beauty quite waste; nor if any one that had known the place before had come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again; but though he were at the city itself, yet would he have inquired for it notwithstanding.

2. And now the banks were finished, they afforded a foundation for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews; for the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn those banks, as did the Romans expect that, if these were once burnt down, they should never be able to take it; for there was a mighty scarcity of materials, and the bodies of the soldiers began to fail with such hard labours. as did their souls faint with so many instances of ill success; nay the very calamities themselves that were in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within the city; for they found the fighting men of the Jews to be not at all mollified among such their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hopes of success, and

their banks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engine to the firmness of their wall, and their closest fights to the boldness of their at tack; and, what was their greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews courageous souls to be superior to the multitude of the miseries they were unde by their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; insomuch that they were read to imagine, that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the alac rity they showed would not be discouraged by their calamities; for what woul not those be able to bear if they should be fortunate, who turned their very mis fortunes to the improvement of their valour? These considerations made th Romans to keep a stronger guard about their banks than they formerly ha done.

3. But now John and his party took care for securing themselves afterward even in case this wall should be thrown down, and fell to their work before th battering-rams were brought against them. Yet did they not compass what the endeavoured to do, but as they were gone out with their torches, they came bac under great discouragement before they came near to the banks: and the rea sons were these:—That, in the first place, their conduct did not seem to b unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties, and at distinct intervals, an after a slow manner, and timorously, and, to say all in word, without a Jewis courage; for they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is in boldness, in violence of assault, and in running upon the enemy altogether and in persevering in what they go about, though they do not at first succeed i it; but they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and at the sam time found the Romans set in array, and more courageous than ordinary, an that they guarded their banks both with their bodies and their entire armour, an this to such a degree on all sides, that they left no room for the fire to get amon them, and that every one of their souls were in such good courage, that the would sooner die than desert their ranks; for besides their notion that all thei hopes were cut off, in case these their works were once burnt, the soldiers wer greatly ashamed that subtilty should be quite too hard for courage, madness fo armour, multitude for skill, and Jews for Romans. The Romans had now als another advantage, in that their engines for seiges cooperated with them in throw ing darts and stones as far as the Jews, when they were coming out of the city whereby the man that fell became an impediment to him that was next him, a did the danger of going farther make them less zealous in their attempts; an for those that had run under the darts, some of them were terrified by the goo order and closeness of the enemies ranks, before they came to a close fight, an others were pricked with their spears, and turned back again: at length the reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing This attack was made upon the first day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.] S when the Jews were retreated, the Romans brought their engines, although the had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were as saulted by fire and sword, and by all sorts of darts which necessity afforded th Jews make use of; for although these had great dependence on their own wall and a contempt of the Roman engines, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Ro mans from bringing them. Now these Romans struggled hard, on the contrary to bring them, as deeming that this zeal of the Jews was in order to avoid an impression to be made on the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weal and its foundations rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blow given it from the engines; yet did the Romans bear the impressions mad by the enemies' darts, which were perpetually cast at them, and did not giv way to any of those dangers that came upon them from above, and so the brought their engines to bear. But then, as they were beneath the other, an were sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them threw their shields over their bodies, and partly with their hands, and partly with thei bodies, and partly with crows, they undermined its foundations, and with grea

rams they removed four of its stones. Then night came upon both sides, and put an end to this struggle for the present: however, that night the wall was so shaken by the battering-rams in that place where John had used his stratagem before, and had undermined their banks, that the ground then gave way, and the wall fell down suddenly.

4. When this accident had unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were variously affected: for though one would expect that the Jews would be discouraged, because this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision in that case, yet did they pull up their courage, because the tower of Antonia itself was still standing; as was the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built within it. However, the attack of this second wall appeared to be easier than that of the former, because it seemed a thing of greater facility to get up to it through the parts of the former wall that were now thrown down. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and, accordingly, the Romans imagined that it had been erected so much on the sudden, that they should soon overthrow it: yet did not any body venture now to go up to this wall; for that such as first ventured to do so must certainly be killed.

5. And now Titus, upon consideration that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hopes and by good words, and that exhortations and promises do frequently make men to forget the hazards they run, nay, and sometimes to despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried what he could do with his men by these methods:—"O fellow soldiers," said he, "to make an exhortation to men to do what hath no peril in it, is, on that very account, inglorious to such to whom that exhortation is made; and, indeed, so it is in him that makes the exhortation an argument of his own cowardice also. I therefore, think that such exhortations ought then only to be made use of when affairs are in a dangerous condition, and yet are worthy of being attempted by every one themselves: accordingly, I am fully of the same opinion with you, that it is a difficult task to go up this wall; but that it is proper for those that desire reputation for their valour to struggle with difficulties in such cases, will then appear, when I have particularly showed that it is a brave thing to die with glory, and that the courage here necessary shall not go unrewarded in those that first begin the attempt. And let my first argument to move you to it be taken from what probably some would think reasonable to dissuade you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews, even under their ill successes; for it is unbecoming you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have in peace been taught how to make wars, and who have also been used to conquer in those wars, to be inferior to Jews either in action of the hand or in courage of the soul, and this especially when you are at the conclusion of your victory, and are assisted by God himself; for as to our misfortunes, they have been owing to the madness of the Jews, while their sufferings have been owing to your valour, and to the assistances God hath afforded you; for as to the seditions they have been in, and the famine they are under, and the siege they now endure, and the fall of their walls without our engines, what can they all be but demonstrations of God's anger against them, and of his assistance afforded us! It will not, therefore, be proper for you either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray that divine assistance which is afforded you. And, indeed, how can it be esteemed otherwise than a base and unworthy thing, that while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be deserted, because they have long learned to be slaves to others, do yet despise death, that they be so no longer; and do make sallies to the very midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us, but merely for a demonstration of their courage; we, who have gotten possession of almost all the world that belongs to either land or sea, to whom it will be a great shame if we do not conquer them, do not once undertake any attempt against our ene-

mies wherein there is much danger, but sit still idle, with such brave arms as we have, and only wait till the famine and fortune do our business themselves, and this when we have it in our power, with some small hazard, to gain all that we desire: for, if we go up to this tower of Antonia, we gain the city; for if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will, since we shall then be upon the top of the hill,* and be upon our enemies before they can have taken breath, these advantages promise us no less than a certain and sudden victory. As for myself, I shall at present wave any ommendations of those who die in war,† and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery: yet cannot I forbear to imprecate upon those who are of a contrary disposition, that they may die in time of peace, by some distemper or other, since their souls are condemned to the grave, together with their bodies; for what man of virtue is there who does not know that those souls which are severed from their fleshly bodies in battle by the sword, and received by the other, that purest of elements, and joined to that company which we are placed among the stars: that they become good demons and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterwards? while upon those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies, comes a subterranean night, to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all the remembrance of them, and this notwithstanding they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world, so that, in this case the soul at the same time comes to the utmost bounds of its life, and of its body and of its memorial also. But, since fate hath determined that death is to come of necessity upon all men, a sword is a better instrument for that purpose than any disease whatsoever. Why is it not then a very mean thing for us not to yield up that to the public benefit, which we must yield up to fate? And this discourse have I made upon the supposition that those who first attempt to go upon this wall must needs be killed in the attempt, though still men of true courage have a chance to escape, even in the most hazardous undertakings. For, in the first place, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easily to be ascended, and for the new built wall it is easily destroyed. Do you, therefore, many of you, put up your courage, and set about this work and do you mutually encourage and assist one another; and this your bravery will soon break the hearts of your enemies; and, perhaps, such a glorious undertaking as yours is may be accomplished without bloodshed. For although it be justly to be supposed that the Jews will try to hinder you, at your first beginning, to go up to them, yet when you have once concealed yourselves from them, and driven them away by force, they will not be able to sustain your efforts against them any longer, though but a few of you prevent them, and get over the wall. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should blush for shame if I did not make him to be envied of others, by those rewards I would bestow upon him. If such a one escape with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now but his equals; although it be true also, that the greatest rewards ‡ will accrue to such as die in the attempt."

6. Upon this speech of Titus the rest of the multitude were affrighted at so great a danger. But there was one whose name was *Sabinus*, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and a Syrian by birth, who appeared to be of very great fortitude, both in the actions he had done and the courage of his soul he

* Reland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple, or court adjoining to it; and that, accordingly, they *descended* thence into the temple, as Josephus elsewhere speaks also. See B. vi. ch. ii. sect. 5.

† In this speech of Titus we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war, and the contrary estate of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness. Reland here also produces two parallel passages, the one out of Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the Alani, lib. 31, that "they judged that man happy who laid down his life in battle." The other of Valerius Maximus, lib. xi. c. 6, who says, that "the Cimbri and Celtiberi exulted for joy in the army, as being to go out of the world gloriously and happily."

‡ See note preceding page.

ad showed; although any body would have thought, before he came to his work, hat he was of such a weak constitution of body, that he was not fit to be a oldier; for his colour was black, his flesh was lean and thin, and lay close ogether; but there was a certain heroic soul that dwelt in this small body, which ody was, indeed, much too narrow for that peculiar courage which was in him. ccordingly, he was the first that rose up, when he thus spake:—"I readily urrender up myself to thee, O Cæsar! I first ascend the wall, and I heartily ish that my fortune may follow my courage and my resolution. And if some l fortune grudge me the success of my undertaking, take notice that my ill suc- ess will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, and spread out his shield over his head with his left hand, nd had with his right hand drawn his sword, he marched up to the wall, just bout the sixth hour of the day. There followed him eleven others, and no more, iat resolved to imitate his bravery; but still this was the principal person of iem all, and went first, as excited by a divine fury. Now those that guarded e wall shot at them from thence, and cast innumerable darts upon them from very side; they also rolled very large stones upon them, which overthrew some those eleven that were with him. But, as for Sabinus himself, he met the irts that were cast at him; and though he were overwhelmed with them, yet d he not leave off the violence of his attack before he had gotten up on the p of the wall, and had put the enemy to flight: for as the Jews were astonished his great strength and the bravery of his soul, and as, withal, they imagined ore of them had got upon the wall than really had, they were put to flight. nd now one cannot but complain here of fortune, as still envious at virtue, and ways hindering the performance of glorious achievements: this was the case the man before us, when he had just obtained his purpose; for he then umbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong, with a very eat noise: upon which the Jews turned back, and when they saw him to alone, and fallen down also, they threw darts at him from every side. owever, he got upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and the first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that me near him: but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, by the mul- ude of the wounds that had been given him, till, at length, he was quite co- red over with darts, before he gave up the ghost. He was one who deserved etter fate, by reason of his bravery; but, as might be expected, he fell under vast an attempt. As for the rest of his partners, the Jews dashed three of em to pieces with stones, and slew them, as they were gotten up to the top of the ll; the other eight being wounded, were pulled down, and carried back to the mp. These things were done upon the third day of the month Panemus [Tamuz.] 7. Now, two days afterward, twelve of those men that were on the forefront, d kept watch upon the banks, got together, and called to them the standard- arer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horsemen, and one trum- er: these went without noise, about the ninth hour of the night, through the ns, to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of the first ards of the place, as they were asleep, they got possession of the wall, and lered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet: upon which the rest of the guard up on the sudden, and ran away, before any body could see how many there re that were gotten up; for partly from the fear they were in, and partly from sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined a great number of the emy were gotten up. But as soon as Cæsar heard the signal, he ordered the ny to put on their armour immediately, and came thither with his commanders, l first of all ascended, as did the chosen men that were with him. And as the vs were flying away to the temple, they fell into that mine which John had dug ler the Roman banks. Then did the seditious of both the bodies of the Jewish ny, as well that belonging to John as that belonging to Simon, drive them ay; and, indeed, were no way wanting as to the highest degree of force and

alacrity; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined, if once the Romans g into the temple, as did the Romans look upon the same thing as the beginnir of their entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of th temple, while the Romans were forcing their way in order to get possession c that temple, and the Jews were driving them back to the tower of Antonia; which battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, ar both sides drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand. Now, during th struggle, the positions of the men were undistinguished on both sides, and the fought at random, the men being intermixed one with another, and confounde by reason of the narrowness of the place; while the noise that was made fe on the ear after an indistinct manner, because it was so very loud. Gre slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combattants trod upon th bodies and the armour of those that were dead, and dashed them to pieces. A cordingly, to which side soever the battle inclined those that had the advanta exhorted one another to go on, as did those that were beaten make great lame tation. But still there was no room for flight nor for pursuit, but disorderly r volutions and retreats, while the armies were intermixed one with another; b those that were in the first ranks were under the necessity of killing or bein killed, without any way for escaping; for those on both sides that came behin forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between th armies. At length the Jews' violent zeal was too hard for the Roman skill, ar the battle already inclined entirely that way; for the fight had lasted from th ninth hour of the night to the seventh hour of the day, while the Jews can on in crowds, and had the danger the temple was in for their motive; th Romans having no more here than a part of their army; for those legio on which the soldiers on that side depended were not to come up to thei So it was at present thought sufficient by the Romans to take possession the tower of Antonia.

8. But there was one Julian, a centurion, that came from Bithynia, a man was of great reputation, whom I had formerly seen in that war, and one of t highest fame, both for his skill in war, his strength of body, and the courage his soul. This man seeing the Romans giving ground, and in a sad condition, he stood by Titus at the tower of Antonia, leaped out, and of himself alone p the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire far as the corner of the inner court of the temple: from him the multitude fl away in crowds, as supposing that neither his strength nor his violent attac could be those of a mere man. Accordingly, he rushed through the midst of t Jews, as they were dispersed all abroad, and killed those that he caught. N indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Cæs or more terrible to others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fa which it was not possible that he, who was but a mortal man, should escape; as he had shoes* all full of thick and sharp nails, as had every one of the oth soldiers, so when he ran on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, fell down up his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. This ma those that were running away to turn back; whereupon those Romans that we in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the ma But the Jews got about him in crowds, and struck at him with their spears a with their swords on all sides. Now he received a great many of the strokes these iron weapons upon his shield, and often attempted to get up again, but w thrown down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay along, stab ma of them with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as being covered with his helm and his breastplate in those parts of his body where he might be mortally woun ed: he also pulled his neck close to his body till all his other limbs were shatter and nobody durst come to defend him, and then he yielded to his fate. Now Cæs

* No wonder that this Julian, who had so many nails in his shoes, slipped upon the pavement of temple, which was smooth, and laid with marble of different colours.

was deeply affected on account of this man of so great fortitude, and especially as he was killed in the sight of so many people; he was desirous himself to come to his assistance, but the place would not give him leave, while such as could have done it were too much terrified to attempt it. Thus, when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wound go off unhurt, he had at last his throat cut, though not without some difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only among the Romans and with Cæsar himself, but among his enemies also; then did the Jews catch up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most signalized themselves, and fought most zealously in this battle of the Jewish side, were one Alexis and Gyphtheus of John's party, and of Simon's party were Malachias, and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumeans; and of the zealots two brethren, Simon and Judas, the sons of Jairus.

## CHAP. II.

*How Titus gave Orders to demolish the Tower of Antonia, and then persuaded Josephus to exhort the Jews again to a* [*Surrender.*]

§ 1. And now Titus gave order to his soldiers that were with him to dig up the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make him a ready passage for his army to come up; whilst he himself had Josephus brought to him (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the seventeenth* day of Panemus [Tamuz,] the sacrifice called the *daily sacrifice* had failed, and had not been offered to God, for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously troubled at it,) and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, that, "if he had any malicious inclination for fighting, he might come out with as many of his men as he pleased, in order to fight without the danger of destroying either his city or temple; but that he desired he would not defile the temple, nor thereby offend against God: that he might, if he pleased, offer the sacrifices which were now discontinued, by any of the Jews whom he should pitch upon." Upon this Josephus stood in such a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then declared to them what Cæsar had given him in charge, and this in the Hebrew language.† So he earnestly prayed them, "To spare their own city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the temple, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein." At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people. But the tyrant himself cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations besides; and at last added this withal,—"That he did never fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city." In answer to which Josephus said thus with a loud voice:—"To be sure thou hast kept this city wonderful pure for God's sake; the temple also continues entirely unpolluted! Nor hast thou been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance thou hopest! He still receives his accustomed sacrifices! Vile wretch that thou art! If any one should deprive thee of thy daily food, thou wouldest esteem him to be an enemy to thee; but thou hopest to have that God for thy supporter in this war whom thou hast deprived of his

* This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus [Tamuz,] A. D. 70, when, according to Daniel's prediction, 606 years before, the Romans, *in half a week, caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease*, Dan. ix. 27. For from the month of February, A. D. 66, about which time Vespasian entered on this war, to this very time, was just three years and a half. See Bp. Lloyd's Tables of Chronology, published by Mr. Marshall, on this year. Nor is it to be omitted what very nearly confirms this duration of the war, that four years before the war began was somewhat above seven years five months before the destruction of Jerusalem, ch. v. sect. 3.

† The same that in the New Testament is always so called, and was then the common language of the Jews in Judea, which was the Syriac dialect.

everlasting worship: and thou imputest those sins to the Romans, who, to this very time, take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel these sacrifices to be still offered to God which have by thy means been intermitted. Who is there that can avoid groans and lamentations at the amazing change that is made in the city? since very foreigners and enemies do now correct that impiety which thou hast occasioned; while thou who art a Jew, and wast educated in our laws, art become a greater enemy to them than the others. But still, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and amend what hath been done amiss even at the last extremity. Thou hast an instance before thee in Jechoniah,* the king of the Jews, if thou hast a mind to save the city, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him, did, of his own accord, go out of this city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity, with his family, that the sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire; on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be conveyed fresh down to our posterity through all ages. This John is an excellent example in such a time of danger; and I dare venture to promise that the Romans shall still forgive thee. And take notice, that I, who make this exhortation to thee, am one of thine own nation; I, who am a Jew, do make this promise to thee. And it will become thee to consider who I am that give thee this counsel, and whence I am derived: for while I am alive I shall never be in such slavery as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. Thou hast indignation at me again, and makest a clamour at me, and reproachest me; indeed, I cannot deny but I am worthy of worse treatment than all this amounts to, because, in opposition to fate, I make this kind invitation to thee, and endeavour to force deliverance upon those whom God hath condemned. And who is there that does not know what the writings of the ancient prophets contain in them? and particularly that oracle† which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this miserable city? For they foretold that this city should be then taken, when somebody shall begin the slaughter of his own countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your countrymen? It is God,‡ therefore, it is God himself, who is bringing on this fire to purge that city and temple by means of the Romans, and is going to pluck up this city, which is full of your pollutions."

2. As Josephus spake these words, with groans and tears in his eyes, his voice was intercepted by sobs. However, the Romans could not but pity the affliction he was under, and wonder at his conduct. But for John and those that were with him, they were but the more exasperated against the Romans on this account, and were desirous to get Josephus also into their power: yet did that discourse influence a great many of the better sort; and truly some of them were so afraid of the guards set by the seditious, that they tarried where they were, but still were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also there were, who, watching a proper opportunity when they might quietly get away, fled to the Romans, of whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of high priests three, whose father was Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene, and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after§ his father's death, and whose father was slain by Simon, the son

* Our present copies of the Old Testament want this encomium upon King Jechoniah or Jehoiachim, which it seems was in Josephus's copy.

† Of this oracle, see the note on B. iv. ch. vi. sect. 3.

‡ Josephus, both here and in many places elsewhere, speaks so, that it is most evident he was fully satisfied that God was on the Romans' side, and made use of them now for the destruction of that wicked nation of the Jews, which was, for certain, the true state of this matter, as the prophet Daniel first and our Saviour himself afterwards, had clearly foretold. See Lit. Accompl. of Proph. p. 64, &c.

§ Josephus had before told us, B. v. ch. xiii. sect. 1. that this fourth son of Matthias ran away to the Romans *before* his father's and brethren's slaughter, and not *after* it, as here. The former account is, in all probability, the truest; for had not that fourth son escaped before the others were caught and put to death, he had been caught and put to death with them. This last account, therefore looks like an instance of a small inadvertence of Josephus in the place before us.

of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many also of the other nobility went over to the Romans, together with the high priests. Now Cæsar not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, he sent them to Gophna, and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he was gotten clear of this war, he would restore each of them to their possessions again: so they cheerfully retired to that small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger. But as they did not appear, the seditious gave out again that these deserters were slain by the Romans, which was done in order to deter the rest from running away, by fear of the like treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded now for a while, as did the like trick before; for the rest were thereby deterred from deserting, by fear of the like treatment.

3. However, when Titus had recalled those men from Gophna, he gave orders that they should go round the wall together with Josephus, and show themselves to the people; upon which a great many fled to the Romans. These men also got in a great number together, and stood before the Romans, and besought the seditious, with groans and tears in their eyes, in the first place, to receive the Romans entirely into the city, and save that their own place of residence again; but that, if they would not agree to such a proposal, they would at least depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for their own use; for that the Romans would not venture to set the sanctuary on fire, but under the most pressing necessity. Yet did the seditious still more and more contradict them; and while they cast loud and bitter reproaches upon these deserters, they also set their engines for throwing of darts, and javelins, and stones, upon the sacred gates of the temple, at due distances from one another, insomuch that all the space round about within the temple might be compared to a burying-ground, so great was the number of the dead bodies therein; as might the holy house itself be compared to a citadel. Accordingly, these men rushed upon these holy places in their armour, that were otherwise unapproachable, and that while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their own people, which they had shed: nay, they proceeded to such great transgressions, that the very same indignation which Jews would naturally have against Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them, the Romans now had against Jews, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs. Nay, indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with a sacred horror upon the holy house, and adored it, and wished that the robbers would repent before their miseries became incurable.

4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and reproached John and his party, and said to them—"Have not you, vile wretches that you are, by our permission put up this partition-wall* before your sanctuary? Have not you been allowed to put up the pillars thereto belonging, at due distances, and on it to engrave in Greek, and in your own letters, this prohibition,—That no foreigner should go beyond that wall? have not we given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, you pernicious villains? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in this temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place (for I do not suppose it to be now regarded by any of them;) I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to you yourselves, that I do not force you to defile this your sanctuary; and if you will but change the place whereon you will fight, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it; nay, I will endeavour to preserve you your holy house whether you will or no."†

* Of this partition-wall, separating Jews and Gentiles, with its pillars and inscription, see the description of the temples, ch. xv.

† That these seditious Jews were the direct occasions of their own destruction, and of the conflagration of their city and temple, and that Titus earnestly and constantly laboured to save both, is here and everywhere most evident in Josephus.

5. As Josephus explained these things from the mouth of Cæsar, both the robbers and the tyrant thought that these exhortations proceeded from Titus's fear and not from his good will to them, and grew insolent upon it. But when Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by commiseration towards themselves, nor had any concern upon them to have the holy house spared, he proceeded unwillingly to go on with the war again against them. He could not, indeed, bring all his army against them, the place was so narrow; but choosing thirty soldiers of the most valiant out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis their commander in chief, he gave orders that they should attack the guards of the temple about the ninth hour of that night. But as he was now in his armour, and preparing to go down with them, his friends would not let him go, by reason of the greatness of the danger, and what the commanders suggested to them; for they said, that "he would do more by sitting above in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that signalized themselves in the fight, than by coming down, and hazarding his own person in the forefront of them; for that they would all fight stoutly, while Cæsar looked upon them." With this advice Cæsar complied, and said, that "the only reason he had for such compliance with the soldiers was this, that he might be able to judge of their courageous actions, and that no valiant soldier might lie concealed, and miss of his reward, and no cowardly soldier might go unpunished, but that he might himself be an eyewitness, and able to give evidence of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards to them." So he sent the soldiers about their work at the hour forementioned, while he went out himself to a higher place in the tower of Antonia, whence he might see what was done, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the guards of the temple asleep, as they hoped to have done, but were obliged to fight with them immediately hand to hand, as they rushed with violence upon them with a great shout. Now, as soon as the rest within the temple heard that shout of those that were upon the watch, they ran out in troops upon them. Then did the Romans receive the onset of those that came first upon them; but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies; for the great confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from distinguishing one another's voices, as did the darkness of the night hinder them from the like distinction by the sight; besides that blindness which arose otherwise also from the passion and the fear they were in at the same time: for which reason it was all one to the soldiers who it was they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, because they were joined together under their shields, and made their sallies more regularly than the others did, and each of them remembered their watchward; while the Jews were perpetually dispersed abroad, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and so did frequently seem to one another to be enemies: for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans, and made an assault upon them; so that more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming on of the day, the nature of the fight was discerned by the eye afterward. Then did they stand in battle-array in distinct bodies, and cast their darts regularly, and regularly defended themselves. Nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans contended with each other who should fight the most strenuously, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus: and every one concluded that this day would begin his promotion, if he fought bravely. What were the great encouragements of the Jews to act vigorously, were their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant, who exhorted some, and beat and threatened others, to act courageously. Now, it so happened that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, wherein the soldiers went on and came back in a short time and suddenly; for there was no long space of ground for either of their flights

or pursuits. But still there was a tumultuous noise among the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out upon all occasions to their own men to press on courageously, when they were too hard for the Jews, and to stay, when they were retiring backward; so that here was a kind of theatre of war; for what was done in this fight could not be concealed either from Titus or from those that were about him. At length it appeared that this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day, and that in the same place where the battle began neither party could say they had made the other to retire; but both the armies left the victory almost in uncertainty between them; wherein those that signalized themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, and of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josias; of the Idumeans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, and James was the son of Sosas; of those that were with John, Gyptheus and Alexas, and of the zealots Simon the son of Jairus.

7. In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown [some] foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made a ready and broad way to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first court,* and began to raise their banks. The one bank was over against the northwest corner of the inner temple;† another was at that northern edifice which was between the two gates: of the other two, one was at the western cloister of the outer court‡ of the temple; the other against its northern cloister. However, these works were thus far advanced by the Romans, not without great pains and difficulty, and particularly by being obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They had farther difficulties also upon them; sometimes by their overgreat security they were in that they should overcome the Jewish snares laid for them, and by that boldness of the Jews which their despair of escaping had inspired them withal; for some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed, without having their bridles on, during the time of foraging; upon which horses the Jews sallied out in whole bodies, and seized them. And when this was continually done, and Cæsar believed, what the truth was, that the horses were stolen more by the negligence of his own men than by the valour of the Jews, he determined to use greater severity to oblige the rest to take care of their horses: so he commanded that one of those soldiers who had lost their horses should be capitally punished; whereby he so terrified the rest, that they preserved their horses for the time to come; for they did not any longer let them go from them to feed by themselves, but, as if they had grown to them, they went always along with them when they wanted necessaries. Thus did the Romans still continue to make war against the temple, and to raise their banks against it.

8. Now, after one day had been interposed since the Romans ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by the famine upon the present failure of their ravages, that they got together, and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the mount of Olives, and this about the eleventh hour of the day, as supposing, first, that they would not expect an onset, and, in the next place, that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that, therefore, they should easily beat them. But the Romans were apprized of their coming to attack them beforehand, and running together from the neighbouring camps on the sudden, prevented them from getting over their fortification, or forcing the wall that was built about them. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; while the Romans showed both their courage and their skill in war, as did the Jews come on them with immoderate violence and intolerable passion. The one party were urged on by shame, and the other by necessity; for it seemed a very shameful thing to the Romans to

* Court of the Gentiles. † Court of Israel ‡ Court of the Gentiles.

let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net; while the Jews had but one hope of saving themselves, and that was in case they could by violence break through the Roman wall; and one, whose name was *Pedanius*, belonging to a party of horsemen, when the Jews were already beaten and forced down into the valley together, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ankle, as he was running away. The man was, however, of a robust body, and in his armour; so low did Pedanius bend himself downward from his horse, even as he was galloping away, and so great was the strength of his right hand and of the rest of his body, as also such skill had he in horsemanship. So this man seized upon that his prey as upon a precious treasure, and carried him as his captive to Cæsar: whereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was caught to be punished [with death] for his attempt against the Roman wall, but betook himself to the siege of the temple, and to pressing on the raising of the banks.

9. In the meantime the Jews were so distressed by the fights they had been in, as the war advanced higher and higher, and creeping up to the holy house itself, that they, as it were, cut off those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper's spreading farther; for they set the northwest cloister, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, on fire, and after that break off about twenty cubits of that cloister, and thereby made a beginning in burning the sanctuary: two days after which, or on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz,] the Romans set fire to the cloister that joined to the other, when the fire went fifteen cubits farther. The Jews, in like manner, cut off its roof; nor did they entirely leave off what they were about till the tower of Antonia was parted from the temple, even when it was in their power to have stopped the fire; nay, they lay still while the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their own advantage. However, the armies were still fighting one against another about the temple, and the war was managed by continual sallies of particular parties against one another.

10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews; low of stature he was, and of a despicable appearance; of no character either as to his family, or in other respects; his name was *Jonathan*. He went out at the high priest John's monument, and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them all to a single combat. But many of those that stood there in the army huffed him, and many of them (as they might well be) were afraid of him. Some of them also reasoned thus, and that justly enough, that it was not fit to fight with a man that desired to die: because those that utterly despaired of deliverance had, besides other passions, a violence of attacking men that could not be opposed, and had no regard to God himself: and that to hazard one's self with a person, whom, if you overcome, you do no great matter, and by whom it is hazardous that you may be taken prisoner, would be an instance not of manly courage, but of unmanly rashness. So there being nobody that came out to accept the man's challenge, and the Jew cutting them with a great number of reproaches, as cowards (for he was a very haughty man in himself, and a great despiser of the Romans,) one whose name was *Pudens*, of the body of horsemen, out of his abomination of the other's words, and of his impudence withal, and, perhaps, out of an inconsiderate arrogance, on account of the other's lowness of stature, ran out to him, and was too hard for him in other respects, but was betrayed by his ill fortune; for he fell down; and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat; and then standing upon his dead body, he brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and made many acclamations to the Roman army, and insulted over the dead man, and jested upon the Romans; till at length one Priscus a centurion shot a dart at him, as he was leaping and playing the fool with himself, and thereby pierced him through; upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and the

Romans, though on different accounts. So Jonathan grew giddy by the pain of his wounds, and fell down upon the body of his adversary, as a plain instance how suddenly vengeance may come upon men that have success in war without any just deserving the same.

## CHAP. III.

*Concerning a Stratagem that was devised by the Jews, by which they burnt many of the Romans; with another Description of the terrible Famine that was in the City.*

§ 1. But now the seditious that were in the temple did every day openly endeavour to beat off the soldiers that were upon the banks; and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month [Panemus or Tamuz] contrived such a stratagem as this:—They filled that part of the western cloister* which was between the beams and the roof under them with dry materials, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from that place, as though they were tired with the pains they had taken; at which procedure of theirs many of the most inconsiderate among the Romans, who were carried away with violent passions, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the cloister, and got up to it suddenly: but the more prudent part of them, when they understood this unaccountable retreat of the Jews, stood still where they were before. However, the cloister was full of those that were gone up the ladders; at which time the Jews set it all on fire; and as the flame burst out every where on the sudden, the Romans that were out of the danger were seized with a very great consternation, as were those that were in the midst of the danger in the utmost distress. So when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down backwards into the city, and some among their enemies [in the temple;] as did many leap down to their own men, and broke their limbs to pieces; but a great number of those that were going to take these violent methods were prevented by the fire, though some prevented the fire by their own swords. However, the fire was on the sudden carried so far as to surround those who would have otherwise perished. As for Cæsar himself, he could not, however, but commiserate those that thus perished, although they got up thither without any order for so doing, since there was no way of giving them any relief. Yet was this some comfort to those that were destroyed, that every body might see that person grieve for whose sake they came to their end; for he cried out openly to them, and leaped up, and exhorted those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, as carrying along with him these words, and this intention of Cæsar, as a sepulchral monument. Some there were, indeed, who retired into the wall of the cloister, which was broad, and were preserved out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews; and although they made resistance against the Jews for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at length they all fell down dead.

2. At the last, a young man among them, whose name was *Longus*, became a decoration to this sad affair, and while every one of them that perished were worthy of a memorial, this man appeared to deserve it beyond all the rest. Now the Jews admired this man for his courage, and were farther desirous of having him slain; so they persuaded him to come down to them upon security given him for his life. But Cornelius his brother persuaded him on the contrary not to tarnish their own glory, nor that of the Roman army. He complied with this last advice, and lifting up his sword before both armies, he slew himself. Yet was there one Artorius among those surrounded with the fire who escaped by his sub-

* Of the court of the Gentiles.

tility; for when he had with a loud voice called to him Lucius, one of his fellow soldiers that lay with him in the same tent, and said to him,—"I do leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me." Upon this he came running to receive him readily: Artorius then threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so vehemently against the stone pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This melancholy accident made the Romans sad for a while, but still it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the delusions of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged, through their unacquaintedness with the places and with the nature of the inhabitants. Now this cloister was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he built in the war he made against Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus. The Jews also cut off the rest of that cloister from the temple, after they had destroyed those that got up to it. But the next day the Romans burnt down the northern cloister entirely as far as the east cloister, whose common angle joined to the valley that was called *Cedron*, and was built over it; on which account the depth was frightful. And this was the state of the temple at that time.

3. Now of those that perished by famine in the city the number was prodigious, and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food did any where appear, a war was commenced presently, and the dearest friends fell a fighting one with another about it, snatching from each other the most miserable supports of life. Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in their bosoms, and counterfeited dying: nay, these robbers gaped for want, and ran about stumbling and staggering along like mad dogs, and reeling against the doors of the houses like drunken men; they would also, in the great distress they were in, rush into the very same houses two or three times in one and the same day. Moreover, their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, while they gathered such things as the most sordid animals would not touch, and endured to eat them; nor did they, at length, abstain from girdles and shoes, and the very leather which belonged to their shields they pulled off and gnawed: the very wisps of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmæ.] But why do I describe the shameless impudence that the famine brought on men in their eating inanimate things? while I am going to relate a matter of fact, the like to which no history relates,* either among the Greeks or barbarians. It is horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I had, indeed, willingly omitted this calamity of ours, that I might not seem to deliver what is so portentous to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it in my own age; and, besides, my country would have had little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond Jordan; her name was *Mary*; her father was Eleazar, of the village Bethezub, which signifies *the House of Hyssop*. She was eminent for her family and her wealth, and had fled away to Jerusalem, with the rest of the multitude, and was with them besieged therein

* What Josephus observes here, that no parallel examples had been recorded before this time of such sieges, wherein mothers were forced by extremity of famine to eat their own children, as had been threatened to the Jews, in the law of Moses, upon obstinate disobedience, and more than once fulfilled (see my Boyle's Lectures, p. 210—214,) is by Dr. Hudson supposed to have had two or three parallel examples in later ages. He might have had more examples, I suppose, of persons on shipboard, or in a desert island, casting lots for each other's bodies. But all this was only in cases where they knew of no possible way to avoid death themselves but by killing and eating others. Whether such examples come up to the present case may be doubted. The Romans were not only willing but very desirous to grant those Jews in Jerusalem both their lives and their liberties, and to save both their city and their temple. But the zealots, the robbers, and the seditious, would hearken to no terms of submission. They voluntarily chose to reduce the citizens to that extremity, as to force mothers to this unnatural barbarity, which in all its circumstances has not, I still suppose, been hitherto paralleled among the rest of mankind.

at this time. The other effects of this woman had been already seized upon, such I mean as she had brought with her out of Perea, and removed to the city. What she had treasured up besides, as also what food she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running into her house for that purpose. This put the poor woman into a very great passion; and by the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these rapacious villains, she had provoked them to anger against her; but none of them, either out of the indignation she had raised against herself, or out of commiseration of her case, would take away her life; and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and not for herself; and it was now become impossible for her any way to find any more food, while the famine pierced through her very bowels and marrow, when also her passion fired to a degree beyond the famine itself; nor did she consult with any thing but with her passion and the necessity she was in. She then attempted a most unnatural thing, and snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she said,—"O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves. This famine also will destroy us even before that slavery comes upon us. Yet are the seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets, and a byword to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and ate the one-half of him, and kept the other half by her, concealed. Upon this the seditious came in presently, and smelling the horrid scent of this food, they threatened her, that they would cut her throat immediately, if she did not show them what food she had gotten ready. She replied, that "she had saved a very fine portion of it for them;" and withal uncovered what was left of her son. Hereupon they were seized with a horror and amazement of mind, and stood astonished at the sight, when she said to them,—"This is mine own son, and what hath been done was mine own doing. Come, eat of this food, for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother: but if you be so scrupulous, and do abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one-half, let the rest be reserved for me also." After which those men went out trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as they were at this, and with some difficulty they left the rest of that meat to the mother. Upon which the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately: and while every body laid this miserable case before their own eyes, they trembled, as if this unheard of action had been done by themselves. So those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or to see such miseries.

5. This sad instance was quickly told to the Romans, some of which could not believe it, and others pitied the distress which the Jews were under; but there were many of them who were hereby induced to a more bitter hatred than ordinary against our nation. But for Cæsar, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said, "that he had proposed peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as an oblivion of all their former insolent practices; but that they, instead of concord, had chosen sedition; instead of peace, war; and, before satiety and abundance, a famine: that they had begun with their own hands to burn down that temple which we have preserved hitherto; and that, therefore, they deserved to eat such food as this was; that, however, this horrid action of eating an own child ought to be covered with the overthrow of their very country itself: and men ought not to leave such a city upon the habitable earth, to be seen by the sun, wherein mothers are thus fed, although such food be fitter for the fathers than for the mothers to eat of, since it is they that continue still in a state of war against us, after they have undergone such miseries as these." And at the same

time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in; nor could he expect that such men could be recovered to sobriety of mind after they had indured those very sufferings, for the avoiding whereof it only was probable they might have repented.

## CHAP. IV.

*When the Banks were completed, and the Battering-Rams brought and could do nothing, Titus gave Orders to set Fire to the Gates of the Temple: in no long Time after which the holy House itself was burnt down, even against his Consent.*

§ 1. And now two of the legions had completed their banks on the eighth day of the month Lous [Ab.] Whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering-rams should be brought, and set over against the western edifice of the inner temple; for, before these were brought, the firmest of all the other engines had battered the wall for six days together without ceasing, without making any impresssion upon it; but the vast largeness and strong connection of the stones was superior to that engine and to the other battering-rams also. Other Romans did, indeed, undermine the foundations of the northern gate, and, after a world of pains, removed the outermost stones; yet was the gate still upheld by the inner stones, and stood still unhurt; till the workmen, despairing of all such attempts by engines and crows, brought their ladders to the cloisters. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing; but when they were gotten up they fell upon them, and fought with them; some of them they thrust down, and threw them backwards headlong; others of them they met and slew: they also beat many of those that went down the ladders again, and slew them with their swords before they could bring their shields to protect them; nay, some of the ladders they threw down from above when they were full of armed men: a great slaughter was made of the Jews also at the same time, while those that bare the ensigns fought hard for them, as deeming it a terrible thing, and what would tend to their great shame if they permitted them to be stolen away. Yet did the Jews at length get possession of these engines, and destroyed those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so intimidated by what those suffered who were slain that they retired, although none of the Romans died without having done good service before his death. Of the seditious those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now; as besides them did Eleazar, the brother's son of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and made them be killed, he gave order to set the gates on fire.

2. In the mean time there deserted to him Ananus, who came from Emmaus, the most bloody of all Simon's guards, and Archilaus, the son of Magadatus, they hoping to be still forgiven, because they left the Jews at a time when they were the conquerors. Titus objected this to these men as a cunning trick of theirs; and as he had been informed of their other barbarities towards the Jews, he was going in all haste to have them both slain. He told them, "that they were only driven to this desertion because of the utmost distress they were in, and did not come away of their own good disposition; and that those did not deserve to be preserved, by whom their own city was already set on fire, out of which fire they now hurried themselves away." However, the security he had promised deserters overcame his resentments, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not give them the same privileges that he had afforded to others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver that was over them quickly carried the flames to the wood that was within it, whence it spread itself all on the sudden, and caught hold of the cloisters. Upon the Jews

seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk, together with their bodies, and they were under such astonishment that not one of them made any haste either to defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators of it only. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning as to grow wiser thereby for the time to come; but, as though the holy house itself had been on fire already, they whetted their passions against the Romans. This fire prevailed during that day and the next also; for the soldiers were not able to burn all the cloisters that were round about together at one time, but only by pieces.

3. But then, on the next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself gathered the commanders together. Of those there were assembled the six principal persons, Tiberius Alexander, the commander [under the general] of the whole army, with Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, and Larcius Lepidus the commander of the tenth legion, and Titus Frigius, the commander of the fifteenth legion; there was also with them Eternius, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, procurator of Judea: after these came together also the rest of the procurators and tribunes. Titus proposed to these, that they should give him their advice what should be done about the holy house. Now some of these thought "it would be the best way to act according to the rules of war [and demolish it,] because the Jews would never leave off rebelling while that house was standing, at which house it was that they used to get all together." Others of them were of opinion, that "in case the Jews would leave it, and none of them would lay their arms up in it, he might save it; but that in case they got upon it, and fought any more, he might burn it; because it must then be looked upon not as a holy house, but as a citadel; and that the impiety of burning it would then belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them." But Titus said, that "although the Jews should get upon that holy house, and fight us thence, yet ought we not to revenge ourselves on things that are inanimate instead of the men themselves; and that he was not in any case for burning down so vast a work as that was, because this would be a mischief to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their government while it continued." So Fronto, and Alexander, and Cerealis, grew bold upon that declaration, and agreed to the opinion of Titus. Then was this assembly dissolved, when Titus had given order to the commanders that the rest of their forces should lie still, but that they should make use of such as were most courageous in this attack. So he commanded that the chosen men that were taken out of the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

4. Now, it is true, that on this day the Jews were so weary, and under such consternation, that they refrained from any attacks. But on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and ran upon those that guarded the outward court of the temple very boldly through the east gate, and this about the second hour of the day. These guards received that their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields before, as if it were with a wall, they drew their squadrons close together; yet was it evident that they could not abide there very long, but would be overborne by the multitude of those that sallied out upon them, and by the heat of their passion. However, Cæsar seeing, from the tower of Antonia, that this squadron was likely to give way, he sent some chosen horsemen to support them. Hereupon the Jews found themselves not able to sustain their onset, and, upon the slaughter of those in the forefront, many of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans were going off, the Jews turned upon them, and fought them; and as those Romans came back upon them, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were overborne, and shut themselves up in the inner [court of the] temple.

5. So Titus retired into the tower of Antonia, and resolved to storm the temple the next day, early in the morning, with his whole army, and to encamp round

about the holy house. But as for that house, God had for certain long ago doomed it to the fire; and now that fatal day was come, according to the revolution of ages; it was the tenth day of the month Lous [Ab,] upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon: although these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them: for upon Titus's retiring, the seditious lay still for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the holy house fought with those that quenched the fire that was burning in the inner [court of the] temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the holy house itself. At which time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any concern or dread upon him at so great an undertaking, and being hurried only by a certain divine fury, snatched somewhat out of the materials that were on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, he set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms that were round about the holy house, on the north side of it. As the flames went upward, the Jews made a great clamour, such as so mighty an affliction required, and ran together to prevent it: and now they spared not their lives any longer, nor suffered any thing to restrain their force, since that holy house was perishing, for whose sake it was that they kept such a guard about it.

6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the last battle; whereupon he rose up in great haste, and, as he was, ran to the holy house, in order to have a stop put to the fire; after him followed all his commanders, and after them followed the several legions in great astonishment: so there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly motion of so great an army. Then did Cæsar, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting with a loud voice and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, order them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spake so loud, having their ears already dinned by a greater noise another way: nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand neither, as still some of them were distracted with fighting, and others with passion. But as for the legions that came running thither, neither any persuasions nor any threatenings could restrain their violence; but each one's own passion was his commander at this time; and as they were crowding into the temple together, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the ruins of the cloisters, which were still hot and smoking, and were destroyed in the same miserable way with those whom they had conquered: and when they were come near the holy house, they made as if they did not so much as hear Cæsar's orders to the contrary; but they encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire:] they were every where slain, and every where beaten; and as for a great part of the people, they were weak, and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were caught. Now round about the altar lay dead bodies heaped one upon another, as at the steps* going up to it ran a great quantity of their blood, whither also the dead bodies that were slain above [on the altar] fell down.

7. And now, since Cæsar was no way able to restrain the enthusiastic fury of the soldiers, and the fire proceeded on more and more, he went into the holy place of the temple, with his commanders, and saw it, with what was in it, which he found to be far superior to what the relations of foreigners contained, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted of and believed about it. But as the flame had not as yet reached to its inward parts, but was still consuming the rooms that were about the holy house, and Titus supposing, what the fact was, that the house

* These steps to the altar of burnt-offering seem here either an improper and inaccurate expression of Josephus, since it was unlawful to make ladder steps (see the description of the temples, chap. xiii. and note on Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 5,) or else those steps or stairs we now use were invented before the days of Herod the Great, and had been here built by him; though the later Jews always deny it, and say, that even Herod's altar was ascended to by an acclivity only.

itself might yet be saved, he came up in haste, and endeavoured to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire; and gave order to Liberalius, the centurion, and one of those spearmen that were about him, to beat the soldiers that were refractory with their staves, and to restrain them: yet were their passions too hard for the regards they had for Cæsar, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as was their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them too hard for them also. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as having this opinion, that all the places within were full of money, and as seeing that all around about it was made of gold. And, besides, one of those that went into the place prevented Cæsar, when he ran so hastily out to restrain the soldiers, and threw the fire upon the hinges of the gate, in the dark; whereby the flame burst out from within the holy house itself immediately, when the commanders retired, and Cæsar with them, and when nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to it. And thus was the holy house burnt down without Cæsar's approbation.

8. Now, although any one would justly lament the destruction of such a work as this was, since it was the most admirable of all the works that we have seen or heard, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the glorious reputation it had for its holiness; yet might such a one comfort himself with this thought, that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which is inevitable, both as to living creatures and as to works and places also. However, one cannot but wonder at the accuracy of this period thereto relating; for the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, wherein the holy house was burnt formerly by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first foundation, which was laid by King Solomon, till this its destruction, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are collected to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it, which was done by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

## CHAP. V.

*The great Distress the Jews were in upon the Conflagration of the Holy House Concerning a false Prophet, and the Signs that preceded this Destruction.*

§ 1. While the holy house was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were caught were slain: nor was there a commiseration of any age, or any reverence of gravity, but children and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war went round all sorts of men, and brought them to destruction, and as well those that made supplication for their lives as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flame was also carried a long way, and made an echo, together with the groans of those that were slain; and because this hill was high, and the works at the temple were very great one would have thought the whole city had been on fire. Nor can one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than this noise; for there was at once a shout of the Roman legions, who were marching all together, and a sad clamour of the seditious, who were now surrounded with fire and sword. The people also that were left above were beaten back upon the enemy, and under a great consternation, and made sad moans at the calamity they were under: the multitude also that was in the city joined in this outcry with those that were upon the hill: and, besides, many of those that were worn away by the famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the fire of the holy house, they exerted their utmost strength, and brake out into

groans and outcries again: Perea* did also return the echo, as well as the moun tains round about [the city,] and augmented the force of the entire noise. Ye as the misery itself more terrible than this disorder; for one would have though that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot, as full of fire o every part of it; that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and those tha were slain more in number than those that slew them: for the ground did no where appear visible, for the dead bodies that lay on it; but the soldiers wen over heaps of those bodies, as they ran upon such as fled from them. And nov it was that the multitude of the robbers were thrust out [of the inner court of th temple] by the Romans, and had much ado to get into the outward court, and fron thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled into the cloister o that outer court. As for the priests, some of them plucked up from the holy hous the spikes† that were upon it, with their bases, which were made of lead, an shot them at the Romans instead of darts. But then, as they gained nothing b so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they retired to the wall, that wa eight cubits broad, and there they tarried; yet did two of these of eminence amon them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or hav borne up with courage, and taken their fortune with the others, throw themselve into the fire, and were burnt, together with the holy house: their names wer *Meirus*, the son of Belgas, and *Joseph*, the son of Daleus.

2. And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was roun about the holy house, burnt all those places, as also the remains of the cloister and the gates, two excepted; the one on the east side and the other on the south both which, however, they burnt afterward. They also burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense numbe of garments, and other precious goods there reposited; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together while the rich people had there built themselves chambers [to contain such fur niture.] The soldiers also came to the rest of the cloisters that were in the outer [court of the] temple, whither the women and children, and a great mixed multi tude of the people, fled, in number about six thousand. But before Cæsar had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders re lating to them, the soldiers were in such a rage that they set that cloister on fire; by which means it came to pass, that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and some were burnt in the cloisters themselves. Not did any one of them escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion‡ of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that "God commanded them to get up upon the temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs of their deliverance." Now there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people, who denounced this to them, that they should wait for deliverance from God; that this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man that is in adversity does easily comply with such promises; for when such a seducer makes him believe that he shall be delivered from those miseries which oppress him, then it is that the patient is full of hopes of such his deliverance.

3. Thus were the miserable people persuaded by these deceivers, and such

* This Perea, if the word be not mistaken in the copies, cannot well be that Perea which was beyond Jordan, whose mountains were at a considerable distance from Jordan, and much too remote from Jerusalem to join this echo at the conflagration of the temple; but Perea must be rather some mountains beyond the brook Cedron, as was the mount of Olives, or some others, about such a distance from Jerusalem: which observation is so obvious, that it is a wonder our commentators here take no notice of it.

† Reland, I think, here judges well, when he interprets these spikes (of those that stood on the top of the holy house) with sharp points: they were fixed into lead to prevent the birds from sitting there, and defiling the holy house; for such spikes there were now upon it, as Josephus himself hath already assured us, B. v. ch. v. sect. 6.

‡ Reland here justly takes notice, that these Jews, who had despised the *true Prophet*, were deservedly abused and deluded by these *false ones*.

as belied God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident, and did so plainly foretell their future desolation, but like men infatuated, without either eyes to see or minds to consider, did not regard the denunciations that God made to them. Thus there was a star* resembling a sword which stood over the city, and a comet* that continued a whole year. Thus also before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day† of the month Xanthicus [Nisan,] and at the ninth hour of the night so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright daytime; which light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful, but was so interpreted by the sacred scribes as to portend those events that followed immediately upon it. At the same festival also, a heifer as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner [court of the temple,] which was of brass, and vastly heavy, and had been with difficulty shut by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with iron, and had bolts fastened very deep into the firm floor, which was there made of one entire stone, was seen to be opened of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Now those that kept watch in the temple came hereupon running to the captain of the temple, and told him of it, who then came up thither, and not without great difficulty was able to shut the gate again. This also appeared to the vulgar to be a very happy prodigy, as if God did thereby open them the gate of happiness. But the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. So these publicly declared, that the signal foreshowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after that feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius [Jyar,] a certain prodigious and incredible phenomenon appeared: I suppose the account of it would seem to be a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the events that followed it of so considerable a nature as to deserve such signals: for, before sunsetting, chariots and troops of soldiers in their armour were seen running about among the clouds, and surrounding of cities. Moreover, at the feast which we call *Pentecost*, as the priests were going by night into the inner‡ [court of the] temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said, that in the first place they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a multitude, saying, "LET US REMOVE HENCE." But what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus the son of Ananus, a plebeian and a husbandman, who four years before the war began, and at that time the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast whereon it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple,§ began, on a sudden to cry aloud, —"A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, and a voice against this whole people." This was his cry, as he went about by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city. However, certain

* Whether Josephus means, that this *star* was different from that *comet* which lasted a whole year, cannot certainly determine. His words most favour their being different one from another.

† Since Josephus still used the Syro-Macedonian month Xanthicus for the Jewish month Nisan, this 8th, or, as Nicephorus read it, this ninth of Xanthicus or Nisan was almost a week before the Passover on the 14th: about which time we learn from St. John, that *many* used to go *out of the country to Jerusalem to purify themselves*, John, xi. 55, with xii. 1, in agreement with Josephus also, B. v. ch. iii. sect. 1. And it might well be, that in the sight of these this extraordinary light might appear.

‡ This here seems to be the court of the priests.

§ Both Reland and Havercamp in this place after the natural punctuation and sense of Josephus, and this contrary to the opinion of Valesius and Dr. Hudson, lest Josephus should say, that the Jews built booths or tents *within the temple*, at the feast of Tabernacles; which the latter rabbins will not allow to have been the ancient practice: but then, since it is expressly told us in Nehemiah, viii. 16, that in still elder times, *the Jews made booths in the court of the house of God* at that festival, Josephus may well be permitted to say the same. And, indeed, the modern rabbins are of very small authority in all such matters of remote antiquity.

of the most eminent among the populace had great indignation at this dire cry o his, and took up the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes: y did he not either say any thing for himself, or any thing peculiar to those th chastised him, but still went on with the same words which he cried befor Hereupon our rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that this was a sort o divine fury in the man, brought him to the Roman procurator, where he w whipped till his bones were laid bare: yet did not he make any supplication f himself, nor shed any tears; but turning his voice to the most lamentable to possible, at every stroke of the whip his answer was, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem And when Albinus (for he was then our procurator) asked him,—"Who he wa and whence he came? and why he uttered such words?" he made no manner o reply to what he said, but still did not leave off his melancholy ditty, till Albin took him to be a madman, and dismissed him. Now, during all the time that pas ed before the war began, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor w seen by them while he said so; but he every day uttered these lamentable word as if it were his premeditated vow,—"Woe, woe to Jerusalem." Nor did h give ill words to any of those that beat him every day, nor good words to tho that gave him food; but this was his reply to all men, and, indeed, no other than melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was the loudest at th festivals; and he continued this ditty for seven years and five months, witho growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw h presage in earnest fulfilled in our siege, when it ceased; for as he was goin round upon the wall, he cried out with his utmost force,—"Woe, woe to the c ty again, and to the people, and to the holy house." And just as he added at th last,—"Woe, woe to myself also," there came a stone out of one of the engine and smote him, and killed him immediately; and, as he was uttering the ver same presages, he gave up the ghost.

4. Now, if any one consider these things, he will find that God takes care o mankind, and by all ways possible foreshows to our race what is for their prese vation, but that men perish by those miseries which they madly and voluntaril bring upon themselves; for the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia, ha made their temple four-square, while, at the same time, they had it written i their sacred oracles, that "then should their city be taken, as well as their hol house, when once their temple should become four-square." But now, what di the most elevate them in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that wa found also in their sacred writings, how, "about that time, one from their cou try should become governor of the habitable earth." The Jews took this pre diction to belong to themselves in particular, and many of the wise men wer thereby deceived in their determination. Now, this oracle certainly denoted th government of Vespasian, who was appointed emperor in Judea. However, it i not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. But these me interpreted some of these signals according to their own pleasure, and some o them they utterly despised, until their madness was demonstrated both by th taking of their city and their own destruction.

## CHAP. VI.

*How the Romans carried their Ensigns to the Temple, and made joyful Accla nations to Titus. The Speech that Titus made to the Jews when they made Supplication for Mercy. What Reply they made thereto, and how that Reply moved Titus's Indignation against them.*

§ 1. And now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, an upon the burning of the holy house itself, and of all the buildings roun

about it, brought their ensigns to the temple,* and set them over against its eastern gate; and there did they offer sacrifices to them, and there did they make Titus *Imperator*† with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had such vast quantities of the spoils which they had gotten by plunder, that in Syria a pound weight of gold was sold for half its former value. But as for those priests that kept themselves still upon the wall of the holy house,‡ there was a boy that, out of the thirst he was in, desired some of the Roman guards to give him their right hands as a security for his life, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards commiserated his age, and the distress he was in, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went off, and fled away to his own friends; nor could any of those guards overtake him; but still they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he made this answer:—"I have not broken the agreement; for the security I had given me was not in order to my staying with you, but only in order to my coming down safely, and taking up some water; both which things I have performed, and thereupon think myself to have been faithful to my engagement." Hereupon those whom the child had imposed upon admired at his cunning, and that on account of his age. On the fifth day afterward the priests that were pined with the famine came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, they begged for their lives: but he replied, that "the time of pardon was over as to them; and that this very holy house, on whose account only they could justly hope to be preserved, was destroyed; and that it was agreeable to their office, that priests should perish with the house itself to which they belonged." So he ordered them to be put to death.

2. But as for the tyrants themselves, and those that were with them, when they found that they were encompassed on every side, and, as it were, walled round without any method of escaping, they desired to treat with Titus by word of mouth. Accordingly, such was the kindness of his nature, and his desire of preserving the city from destruction, and was joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were come to a temper, that he placed himself on the western side of the outer [court of the] temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge that connected the upper city to the temple. This bridge it was that lay between the tyrants and Cæsar, and parted them; while the multitude stood on each side; those of the Jewish nation about Simon and John, with great hopes of pardon, and the Romans about Cæsar, in great expectation how Titus would receive their supplication. So Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and appointed an interpreter between them, which was a sign that he was the conqueror, and first began the discourse, and said,—"I hope you, sirs, are now satiated with the miseries of your country, who have not had any just notions either of our great power or of your own great weakness, but have, like madmen, after a violent and inconsiderate manner, made such attempts as have brought your people, your city, and your holy house to destruction. You have been the men that have never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you, and have since that time made open war with the Romans. Have you depended on your multitude, while a very small part of the Roman soldiery have been strong enough for you? Have you relied on the fidelity of your confederates? And what nations are there, out of the

* Take Havercamp's note here.—"This," says he, "is a remarkable place:" and Tertullian truly says in his Apologetic, ch. xvi. p. 162, that "the entire religion of the Roman camp almost consisted in worshiping the ensigns, in swearing by the ensigns, and in preferring the ensigns before all the [other] gods." See what Havercamp says upon that place of Tertullian.

† This declaring Titus *Imperator* by the soldiers, upon such signal success, and the slaughter of such a vast number of enemies, was according to the usual practice of the Romans in like cases, as Reland assures us on this place.

‡ The Jews of later times agree with Josephus, that there were hiding places or secret chambers about the holy house, as Reland here informs us, where he thinks he has found these very walls described by them.

limits of our dominion, that would choose to assist the Jews before the Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? Nay, you know that the [strong] Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have? Pray, what greater obstacle is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are encompassed, and yet do adore the arms of the Romans. Do you exceed us in courage of soul and in the sagacity of your commanders? Nay, indeed, you cannot but know that the very Carthaginians have been conquered by us. It can, therefore, be nothing certainly but the kindness of the Romans which hath excited you against us; who, in the first place, have given you this land to possess; and, in the next place, have set over you kings of your own nation; and, in the third place, have preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and have withal permitted you to live either by yourselves or among others, as it should please you; and, what is our chief favour of all, we have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God,* with such other gifts that are dedicated to him; nor have we called those that carried these donations to account, nor prohibited them; till at length you became richer than we ourselves, even when you were our enemies; and you made preparations for war against us with our money: nay, after all, when you were in the enjoyment of all these advantages, you turned your too great plenty against those that gave it you, and, like merciless serpents, have thrown out your poison against those that treated you kindly. I suppose, therefore, that you might despise the slothfulness of Nero, and, like limbs of the body that are broken or dislocated, you did then lie quiet, waiting for some other time, though still with a malicious intention, and have now showed your distemper to be greater than ever, and have extended your desires as far as your impudent and immense hopes would enable you to do it. At this time my father came into this country, not with a design to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you; for had he come to overthrow your nation, he had run directly to your fountain-head, and had immediately laid this city waste; whereas he went and burnt Galilee, and the neighbouring parts, and thereby gave you time for repentance: which instance of humanity you took for an argument of his weakness, and nourished up your impudence by our mildness. When Nero was gone out of the world, you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us by our civil dissensions, and abused that time when both I and my father were gone away for Egypt, to make preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to raise disturbances against us when we were made emperors, and this while you had experienced how mild we had been, when we were no more than generals of the army. But when the government was devolved upon us, and all other people did thereupon lie quiet, and even foreign nations sent embassies, and congratulated our access to the government, then did you Jews show yourselves to be our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your nation that are beyond Euphrates to assist you in your raising disturbances; new walls were built by you round your city, seditions arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke out among you; such, indeed, as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city, as unwillingly sent by my father, and received melancholy injunctions from him. When I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it: I exhorted you to leave off these proceedings, before I began this war: I spared you, even when you had fought against me a great while: I gave my right hand as security to the deserters: I observed what I had promised faithfully. When they fled to me, I had compassion on many of those I had taken captive: I tortured those that were eager for war, in order to restrain them. It was unwillingly that I brought my engines of war against your walls: I always prohibited my soldiers, when they were set upon your slaughter, from their severity against you. After every victory I persuaded you to peace, as though I had been my-

* Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and send it to Jerusalem; of which we have had abundant evidence in Josephus already on other occasions.

self conquered. When I came near your temple, I again departed from the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your holy house to yourselves. I allowed you a quiet exit out of it, and security for your preservation: nay, if you had a mind, I gave you leave to fight in another place Yet have you still despised every one of my proposals, and have set fire to your holy house with your own hands. And now, vile wretches, do you desire to treat with me by word of mouth? to what purpose is it that you would save such a holy house as this was, which is now destroyed? what preservation can you now desire after the destruction of your temple? Yet do you stand still at this very time in your armour; nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be supplicants, even in this your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures! what is it you depend on? Are not your people dead? is not your holy house gone? is not your city in my power? and are not your own very lives in my hands? And do you still deem it a part of valour to die? However, I will not imitate your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to me, I grant you your lives; and I will act like a mild master of a family; what cannot be healed shall be punished, and the rest I will preserve for my own use."

3. To that offer of Titus they made this reply, that "they could not accept of it, because they had sworn never to do so; but they desired they might have leave to go through the wall that had been made about them, with their wives and children; for that they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him." At this Titus had great indignation, that, when they were in the case of men already taken captives, they should pretend to make their own terms with him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered this proclamation to be made to them, that "they should no more come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any farther security; for that he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army; and that they must save themselves as well as they could; for that he would from henceforth treat them according to the laws of war." So he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city, who did nothing, indeed, that day; but on the next day they set fire to the repository of the archives, to Acra, to the council-house, and to the place called *Ophlas;* at which time the fire proceeded as far as the palace of Queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra: the lanes also were burnt down, as were also those houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as were destroyed by famine.

4. On the same day it was that the sons and brethren of Izates the king, together with many others of the eminent men of the populace, got together there, and besought Cæsar to give them his right hand for their security: upon which, though he were very angry at all that were now remaining, yet did he not lay aside his old moderation, but received these men. At that time, indeed, he kept them all in custody, but still bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and led them with him to Rome, in order to make them hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

## CHAP. VII.

*What afterwards befell the Seditious, when they had done a great deal of Mischief, and suffered many Misfortunes; as also how Cæsar became Master of the upper City.*

§ 1. And now the seditious rushed into the royal palace, into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number eight thousand four hundred, and plundered them of what they had. They also took two of the Romans alive; the one was a horseman and the other a footman. They then cut the throat of the footman, and immediately had him drawn through

the whole city, as revenging themselves upon the whole body of the Romans by this one instance. But the horseman said he had somewhat to suggest to them, in order to their preservation; whereupon he was brought before Simon; but he having nothing to say when he was there, he was delivered to Ardalas, one of his commanders, to be punished, who bound his hands behind him, and put a riband over his eyes, and then brought him out over against the Romans, as intending to cut off his head. But the man prevented that execution, and ran away to the Romans, and this while the Jewish executioner was drawing out his sword. Now, when he was gotten away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death; but because he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, on account that he had been taken alive by the enemy, he took away his arms, and ejected him out of the legion where to he belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

2. On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam. These soldiers were, indeed, glad to see the city destroyed; but they missed the plunder, because the seditious had carried off all their effects, and were retired into the upper city; for they did not yet at all repent of the mischiefs they had done, but were insolent as if they had done well; for as they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances, in expectation, as they said, of death to end their miseries. Accordingly, as the people were now slain, the holy house was burnt down, and the city was on fire, there was nothing farther left for the enemy to do. Yet did not Josephus grow weary, even in this utmost extremity, to beg of them to spare what was left of the city: he spake largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them his advice in order to their escape, though he gained nothing thereby more than to be laughed at by them; and as they could not think of surrendering themselves up, because of the oath they had taken, nor were strong enough to fight with the Romans any longer upon the square, as being surrounded on all sides, and a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from acting accordingly. So they dispersed themselves before the city, and laid themselves in ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans, accordingly many such deserters were caught by them, and were all slain; for these were too weak, by reason of their want of food, to fly away from them; so their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now, every other sort of death was thought more tolerable than the famine, insomuch that though the Jews despaired now of mercy, yet would they fly to the Romans, and would themselves, even of their own accord, fall among the murderous rebels also. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but was entirely covered with those that were killed either by the famine or the rebellion; and all was full of the dead bodies of such as had perished either by that sedition or by that famine.

3. So now the last hope which supported the tyrants and that crew of robbers which were with them, was in the caves and caverns under ground, whither if they could once fly, they did not expect to be searched for, but endeavoured, that after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again, and escape from them. This was no better than a dream of theirs; for they were not able to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they depended on these undergound subterfuges, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and those that fled out of their houses, thus set on fire, into ditches, they killed without mercy, and pillaged them also; and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it, and swallowed it down, together with their blood also; nay, they were now come to fight one with another about their plunder; and I cannot but think, that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them taste of even the dead bodies themselves.

## CHAP. VIII.

*How Cæsar raised Banks round about the Upper City,* and when they were completed, gave Orders that the Machines should be brought. He then possessed himself of the whole City.*

§ 1. Now when Cæsar perceived that the upper city was so steep, that it could not possibly be taken without raising banks against it, he distributed the several parts of that work among his army, and this on the twentieth day of the month Lous [Ab.] Now, the carriage of the materials was a difficult task, since all the trees, as I have already told you, that were about the city within the distance of a hundred furlongs, had their branches cut off already, in order to make the former banks. The works that belonged to the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, over against the royal palace; but the whole body of the auxiliary troops, with the rest of the multitude that were with them [erected their banks] at the Xystus, whence they reached to the bridge, and that tower of Simon which he had built as a citadel for himself against John, when they were at war with one another.

2. It was at this time that the commanders of the Idumeans got together privately, and took counsel about surrendering up themselves to the Romans. Accordingly, they sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand for their security. So Titus thinking that the tyrants would yield, if the Idumeans, upon whom a great part of the war depended, were once withdrawn from them, after some reluctancy and delay complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumeans were preparing to march out, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and took their commanders, and put them in prison, of whom the most eminent was Jacob, the son of Sosas; but as for the multitude of the Idumeans, who did not at all know what to do, now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and secured the walls by a more numerous garrison. Yet could not that garrison resist those that were deserting, for although a great number of them were slain, yet were the deserters many more in number. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself grew negligent as to his former orders for killing them, and because the very soldiers grew weary of killing them, and because they hoped to get some money by sparing them; for they left only the populace, and sold† the rest of the multitude, with their wives and children, and every one of them for a very low price, and that because such as were sold were very many and the buyers very few: and although Titus had made proclamation beforehand, that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families with them, yet did he receive such as these also. However, he set over them such as were to distinguish some from others, in order to see if any of them deserved to be punished. And, indeed, the number of those that were sold was immense; but of the populace above forty thousand were saved, whom Cæsar let go whither every one of them pleased.

3. But now at this time it was that one of the priests, the son of Thebuthus, whose name was *Jesus*, upon his having security given him by the oath of Cæsar,

* *i. e.* Mount Sion.

† This innumerable multitude of Jews that were *sold* by the Romans, were an eminent completion of God's ancient threatening by Moses, that, if they apostatized from the obedience to his laws, they should be *sold unto their enemies for bondmen and bondwomen*, Deut. xxviii. 68. See more especially the note on ch. ix. sect. 2. But one thing here is peculiarly remarkable, that Moses adds, Though they should be *sold* for slaves, yet *no man should buy them; i. e.* either they should have none to redeem them from this sale into slavery; or, rather, that the slaves to be sold should be more than were the purchasers for them, and so they should be sold for little or nothing; which is what Josephus here affirms to have been the case at this time.

that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things that had been reposited in the temple,* came out of it, and delivered him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the holy house, with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all made of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils and the garments, with the precious stones, and a great number of other precious vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was *Phineas*, was seized on, and showed Titus the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were there reposited for the uses of the veil, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia,† with a large quantity of other sweet spices, which used to be mixed together, and offered as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered to him, with sacred ornaments of the temple not a few; which things thus delivered to Titus obtained of him for this man the same pardon that he had allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.

4. And now were the banks finished on the seventh day of the month Gorpieus [Elul,] in eighteen days time, when the Romans brought their machines against the wall. But for the seditious, some of them, as despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to the citadel; others of them went down into the subterranean vaults, though still a great many of them defended themselves against those that brought the engines for the battery; yet did the Romans overcome them by their number and by their strength, and what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were quite dejected and become weak. Now, as soon as a part of the wall was battered down, and certain of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering-rams, those that opposed themselves fled away, and such a terror fell upon the tyrants as was much greater than the occasion required; for before the enemy got over the breach, they were quite stunned, and were immediately for flying away. And now, one might see these men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, to be cast down, and to tremble, insomuch that it would pity one's heart to observe the change that was made in those vile persons. Accordingly, they ran with great violence upon the Roman wall that encompassed them, in order to force away those that guarded it, and to break through it, and get away. But when they saw that those who had formerly been faithful to them had gone away (as, indeed, they were fled whithersoever the great distress they were in persuaded them to flee;) as also, when those that came running before the rest told them, that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans were gotten in, and others that they were near, and looking out for them which were only the dictates of their fear, which imposed upon their sight, they fell upon their face, and greatly lamented their own mad conduct; and their nerves were so terribly loosed, that they could not flee away. And here one may chiefly reflect on the power of God exercised upon these wicked wretches, and on the good fortune of the Romans; for these tyrants did now wholly deprive themselves of the security they had in their own power, and came down from those very towers of their own accord, wherein they could have never been taken by force, nor, indeed, any other way than by famine. And thus did the Romans when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have gotten by their engines; for three of these towers were too strong for all mechanical engines whatsoever, concerning which we have treated above.

5. So they now left these towers of themselves, or, rather, they were ejected

* What became of these spoils of the temple that escaped the fire, see Josephus himself hereafter, B vii. ch. v. sect. 5, and Reland *de Spoliis Templi*, p. 129—138.

† These various sorts of spices, even more than those four which Moses prescribed, Exod. xxxi. 34, we see were used in the public worship under Herod's temple, particularly cinnamon and cassia; which Reland takes particular notice of, as agreeing with the later testimony of the Talmudists.

out of them by God himself, and fled immediately to that valley which was under Siloam, where they again recovered themselves out of the dread they were in for a while, and ran violently against that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side; but as their courage was too much depressed to make their attacks with sufficient force, and their power was now broken with fear and affliction, they were repulsed by the guards, and, dispersing themselves at distances from each other, went down into the subterranean caverns. So the Romans being now become masters of the walls, they both placed their ensigns upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, as having found the end of this war much lighter than its beginning: for when they had gotten upon the last wall, without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe what they found to be true; but seeing nobody to oppose them, they stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. But when they went in numbers into the lanes of the city, with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they overtook without mercy, and set fire to the houses whither the Jews were fled, and burnt every soul in them, and laid waste a great many of the rest; and when they were come to the houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the upper rooms full of dead corpses, that is, of such as died by the famine; they then stood in horror at this sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they had this commiseration, for such as were destroyed in that manner, yet had they not the same for those that were still alive, but they ran every one through whom they met with, and obstructed the very lanes with their dead bodies, and made the whole city run down with blood, to such a degree, indeed, that the fire of many of the houses was quenched with these men's blood. And truly so it happened, that though the slayers left off at the evening, yet did the fire greatly prevail in the night; and as all was burning, came that eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul,] upon Jerusalem, a city that had been liable to so many miseries during this siege, that had it always enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would certainly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it, on any other account, so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as by producing such a generation of men as were the occasion of this its overthrow.

## CHAP. IX.

*What Injunctions Cæsar gave when he was come within the City. The Number of the Captives, and of those that perished in the Siege: as also concerning those that had escaped into the subterranean Caverns, among whom were the Tyrants Simon and John themselves.*

§ 1. Now, when Titus was come into this [upper] city, he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but particularly those strong towers which the tyrants, in their mad conduct, had relinquished: for when he saw their solid altitude, and the largeness of their several stones, and the exactness of their joints, as also how great was their breadth, and how extensive their length, he expressed himself after the manner following:—"We have certainly had God for our assistant in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men or any machines do towards overthrowing these towers?" At which time he had many such discourses to his friends: he also let such go free as had been bound by the tyrants, and were left in the prisons. To conclude, when he had entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had proved his auxiliaries, and enabled him to take what otherwise could not have been taken by him.

2. And now, since his soldiers were already quite tired with killing men, and

yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still remaining alive, Cæsar gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms, and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. But, together with those whom they had orders to slay, they slew the aged and the infirm; but for those that were in their flourishing age, and who might be useful to them, they drove them together into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; over which Cæsar set one of his freedmen, as also Fronto, one of his own friends, which last was to determine every one's fate, according to his merits. So this Fronto slew all those that had been seditious and robbers, who were impeached one by another; but of the young men he chose out the tallest and most beautiful, and reserved them for the triumph: and as for the rest of the multitude that were above seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian* mines. Titus also sent a great number into the provinces, as a present to them, that they might be destroyed upon their theatres by the sword and by the wild beasts, but those that were under seventeen years of age were sold for slaves. Now, during the days wherein Fronto was distinguishing these men, there perished for want of food eleven thousand, some of which did not taste any food, through the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take in any when it was given them. The multitude also was so very great, that they were in want even of corn for their sustenance.

3. Now, the number† of those that were carried captive during this whole war, was collected to be ninety-seven thousand; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege eleven hundred thousand, the greater part of whom were, indeed, of the same nation [with the citizens of Jerusalem,] but not belonging to the city itself; for they were come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut up by an army, which at the very first occasioned so great a straitness among them, that there came a pestilential destruction upon them, and soon afterward such a famine, as destroyed them more suddenly. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by that number of them which was taken under Cestius, who being desirous of informing Nero of the flower of the city, who otherwise was disposed to contemn that nation, entreated the high priests, if the thing were possible, to take the number of their whole multitude. So these high priests, upon the coming of that feast which is called the *Passover*, when they slay their sacrifices, from the ninth hour till the eleventh, but so that a company not less than ten‡ belong to every sacrifice (for it is not lawful for them to feast singly by themselves;) and many of us are twenty in a company. Now, the number of sacrifices was two hundred fifty-six thousand and five hundred, which, upon the allowance of no more than ten that feast together, amounts to two millions seven hundred thousand

* See the several predictions, that the Jews, if they became obstinate in their idolatry and wickedness, should be sent again, or sold, into Egypt, for their punishment, Deut. xxviii. 68; Jer. xlv. 7; Hos. viii. 13; ix. 3; xi. 4, 5; Esd. xv. 10—13, with Authentic Records, Part i. page 49, 121, and Reland Palæstina, tom. ii. page 715.

† The whole multitude of Jews that were destroyed during the entire seven years before this time, in all the countries of and bordering on Judea, is summed up by Archbishop Usher, from Lypsius, out of Josephus, at the year of Christ 70, and amounts to 1,337,490. Nor could there have been that number of Jews in Jerusalem to be destroyed in this siege, as will be presently set down by Josephus; but that both Jews and proselytes of justice were just then come up out of the other countries of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, Perea, and other remoter regions, to the Passover, in vast numbers, and therein cooped up, as in a prison, by the Roman army, as Josephus himself well observes in this and the next section, and as is exactly related elsewhere, B. v. ch. iii. sect. 1, and ch. xiii. sect. 7.

‡ This number of a company for one paschal lamb, between ten and twenty, agrees exactly with the number thirteen, at our Saviour's last passover. As to the whole number of the Jews that used to come up to the Passover, and eat of it at Jerusalem, see the note on B. ii. ch. xiv. sect. 3. This number ought to be here, indeed, just ten times the number of the lambs, or just 2,565,000 by Josephus's own reasoning; whereas it is in his present copies no less than 2,700,000 which last number is, however, nearest the other number in the place now cited, which is 3,000,000. But what is here chiefly remarkable is this, that no foreign nation ever came thus to destroy the Jews at any of their solemn festivals, from the days of Moses till this time, but came now upon their apostacy from God, and from obedience to him. Nor is it possible, in the nature of things, that, in any other nation, such vast numbers should be gotten together, and perish in the siege of any one city whatsoever, as now happened in Jerusalem.

nd two hundred persons that were pure and holy; for as to those that have the eprosy or the gonorrhœa, or women that have their monthly courses, or such as re otherwise polluted, it is not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice, ior, indeed, for any foreigners neither, who come hither to worship.

4. Now, this vast multitude is, indeed, collected out of remote places; but the entire nation was now shut up by fate, as in a prison, and the Roman army encompassed the city when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of those that therein perished exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world: for to speak only of what was publicly known, the Romans slew some of them, some they carried captives, and others they made a search for under ground, and when they found where they were, they broke up the ground, and slew all they met with. There were also found slain there above two thousand persons, partly by their own hands and partly by one another, but chiefly destroyed by the famine: but then the ill savour of the dead bodies was most offensive to those that lighted upon them, insomuch that some were obliged to get away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in among the dead bodies that lay on heaps, and tread upon them; for a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it to be esteemed lawful. Many also of those that had been put in prison by the tyrants were now brought out; for they did not leave off their barbarous cruelty at the very last: yet did God avenge himself upon them both, in a manner agreeable to justice. As for John, he wanted food, together with his brethren, in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now give him their right hand for his security, which he had often proudly rejected before; but for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter; so he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain; as was John condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and entirely demolished its walls.

## CHAP. X.

*That whereas the City of Jerusalem had been five times taken formerly, this was the second Time of its Desolation. A brief Account of its History.*

1. And thus was Jerusalem taken, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpieus [Elul,] It had been taken five times* before, though this was the second time of its desolation; for Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sosias and Herod took the city, but still preserved it: but before all these the king of Babylon conquered it, and made it desolate, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. But he who first built† it was a

* Besides these five here enumerated who had taken Jerusalem of old, Josephus, upon farther recollection, reckons a sixth, Antiq. B. xii. ch. i. sect. 1, who should have been here inserted in the second place, I mean Ptolemy, the son of Lagus.

† Why the great Bochart should say, De Phœnic. Colon. B. ii. ch. iv. that "there are in this clause of Josephus as many mistakes as words," I do by no means understand. Josephus thought Melchisedek first built or rebuilt and adorned this city, and that it was then called *Salem*, as Psal. lxxvi. 2, that afterward came to be called *Jerusalem;* and that Melchisedek, being a priest as well as a king, built to the true God therein a temple or place for public divine worship and sacrifice; all which things may be very true, for ought we know to the contrary. And for the word ἱερὸν or *Temple*, as if it must needs belong to the Great Temple built by Solomon long afterward, Josephus himself uses ναὸς, for the small tabernacle of Moses, Antiq. B. iii. ch. vi. sect. 4. See also Antiq. B. iii. ch. vi. sect. 1, as he here presently uses ἱερὸν for a large and splendid synagogue of the Jews at Antioch only, B. vii. ch. iii. sect. 3.

*N. B.* This is the proper place for such as have closely attended to these latter Books of the War, to peruse, and that with equal attention, those distinct and plain predictions of Jesus of Nazareth, in the Gospels thereto relating, as compared with their exact completions in Josephus's history; upon which completions, as Dr. Whitby well observes, Annot. on Matth. xxiv. 2, no small part of the evidence for

potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called [*Melchisedek.*] *The righteous King*, for such he really was; on which account he was [there] the first priest of God, and first built a temple [there,] and called the city *Jerusalem*, which was formerly called *Salem*. However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people therein. It was demolished entirely by the Babylonians four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after him. And from King David, who was the first of the Jews who reigned therein, to this destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years; but from its first building till this last destruction were two thousand one hundred seventy-seven years: yet hath not its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the diffusion of its nation over all the habitable earth, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on a religious account, been sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. And thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

the truth of the Christian religion does depend; and as I have, step by step, compared them together in my *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*. The reader is to observe farther, that the true reason why I have so seldom taken notice of those completions in the course of these notes, notwithstanding their being so very remarkable, and frequently so very obvious, is this, that I had entirely prevented myself in that treatise beforehand; to which therefore, I must here, once for all, seriously refer every inquisitive reader.

# BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.

*FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.*

## CHAP. I.

*How the entire City of Jerusalem was demolished, excepting the three Towers: and how Titus commended his Soldiers in a Speech made to them, and distributed Rewards to them, and then dismissed many of them.*

1. Now as soon as the army had no more people to slay or to plunder, because here remained none to be the objects of their fury (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any other such work to be done,) Cæsar gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminency, that is, Phasaelus, and Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west side. This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison, as were the towers also spared, in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued; but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe it had ever been inhabited. This was the end which Jerusalem came to by the madness of those that were for innovations; a city otherwise of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

2. But Cæsar resolved to leave there as a guard the tenth legion, with certain troops of horsemen and companies of footmen. So having entirely completed his war, he was desirous to commend his whole army on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had signalized themselves therein. He had, therefore, a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him, and spake so as to be heard by the whole army in the manner following:—"That he returned them abundance of thanks for their good will which they had showed to him: he commended them for that ready obedience they had exhibited in this whole war; which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone, as also for that courage they had showed, and had thereby augmented of themselves their country's power, and had made it evident to all men, that neither the multitude of their enemies, nor the strength of their places, nor the largeness of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish rage of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to get clear of the Roman valour, although some of them may have fortune in many respects on their side. He said farther, that it was but reasonable for them to put an end to this war, now it had lasted so long; for they had nothing better to wish for when they entered into it; and that this happened more favourably for them, and more for their glory, that all the Romans had willingly accepted of those for their governors, and the curators of their dominions, whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their own country for that purpose, which still continued under the management of those whom they had pitched

on, and were thankful to them for pitching upon them: that, accordingly, although he did both admire and tenderly regard them all, because he knew that every one of them had gone as cheerfully about their work as their abilities and opportunities would give them leave; yet, he said, that he would immediately bestow rewards and dignities on those that had fought the most bravely, and with greater force, and had signalized their conduct in the most glorious manner, and had made his army more famous by their noble exploits; and that no one who had been willing to take more pains than another should miss of a just retribution for the same: for that he had been exceeding careful about this matter, and that the more, because he had much rather reward the virtues of his fellow soldiers than punish such as had offended."

3. Hereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read the list of all that had performed great exploits in this war, whom he called to him by their names, and commended them before the company, and rejoiced in them in the same manner as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits. He also put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and ensigns that were made of silver, and removed every one of them to a higher rank; and, besides this, he plentifully distributed among them out of the spoils, and the other prey they had taken, silver, and gold and garments. So when they had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his own appointment made to every one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down, among the great acclamations which were made to him, and then betook himself to offer thank offerings [to the gods, and at once sacrificed a vast number of oxen, that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had staid three days among the principal commanders, and so long feasted with them, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be every one best situated; but permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard at Jerusalem, and did not send them away beyond Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had given way to the Jews under Cestius their general, he expelled them out of all Syria; for they had lain formerly at Raphanea, and sent them away to a place called *Meletine* near Euphrates, which is in the limits of Armenia and Cappadocia: he also thought fit that two of the legions should stay with him till he should go into Egypt. He then went down with his army to that Cæsarea which lay by the seaside, and there laid up the rest of his spoils in great quantities, and gave order that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy.

## CHAP. II.

*How Titus exhibited all Sorts of Shows at Cæsarea Philippi. Concerning Simon the Tyrant, how he was taken, and reserved for the Triumph.*

§ 1. Now, at the same time that Titus Cæsar lay at the siege of Jerusalem, did Vespasian go on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes; whence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars; and as he touched at several cities that lay in his road, he was joyfully received by them all, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corcyra to the promontory of Iapyx, whence he took his journey by land. But as for Titus, he marched from that Cæsarea which lay by the seaside, and came to that which is named *Cæsarea Philippi*, and staid there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts, and others in multitudes forced to kill one another, as if they were their enemies. And here it was that Titus was informed

the seizure of Simon, the son of Gioras, which was made after the manner llowing :—This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city, it when the Roman army was gotten within the walls, and were laying the city aste, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them me that were stonecutters, with those iron tools which belonged to their oc- ipation, and as great a quantity of provisions as would suffice them for a ng time, and let himself and all of them down into a certain subterraneous ivern that was not visible above ground. Now so far as had been digged old, they went onward along it without disturbance; but where they met ith solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, and this in hopes that they should able to proceed so far as to rise from under ground in a safe place, and by that eans escape. But when they came to make the experiment, they were dis- pointed of their hope: for the miners could make but small progress, and that ith difficulty also; insomuch that their provisions, though they distributed them measure, began to fail them. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to tonish and delude the Romans, put on a white frock, and buttoned upon him a irple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had rmerly been. At the first, indeed, those that saw him were greatly astonished, id stood still where they were; but afterward they came nearer to him, and ked him, who he was? Now Simon would not tell them, but bid them call r their captain; and when they ran to call him, Terentius Rufus,* who was left command the army there, came to Simon, and learned of him the whole truth, id kept him in bonds, and let Cæsar know that he was taken. Thus did God ing this man to be punished, for what bitter and savage tyranny he had exer- sed against his countrymen, by those who were his worst enemies; and this hile he was not subdued by violence, but voluntarily delivered himself up to em to be punished, and that on the very same account that he had laid false cusations against many Jews, as if they were falling away to the Romans, and id barbarously slain them; for wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, r is justice too weak to punish offenders, but in time overtakes those that trans- ess its laws, and inflicts its punishments upon the wicked in a manner so much ore severe, as they expected to escape it, on account of their not being punished mediately.† Simon was made sensible of this by falling under the indignation the Romans. This rise of his out of the ground did also occasion the disco- ry of a great number of others of the seditious at that time, who had hidden emselves under ground. But for Simon, he was brought to Cæsar in bonds, hen he was come back to that Cæsarea which was on the seaside, who gave der that he should be kept against that triumph which he was to celebrate at me upon this occasion.

## CHAP. III.

*ow Titus, upon the Celebration of his Brother's and Father's Birthdays, had many of the Jews slain. Concerning the Danger the Jews were in at Antioch by Means of the Transgression and Impiety of one Antiochus a Jew.*

1. While Titus was at Cæsarea, he solemnized the birthday of his brother Domitian] after a splendid manner, and inflicted a great deal of the punishment tended for the Jews in honour of him; for the number of those that were now ain in fighting with the beasts, and were burnt, and fought with one another,

* This Terentius Rufus, as Reland in part observes here, is the same person whom the Talmudists ll *Turnus Rufus*, of whom they relate, that *he ploughed up Sion as a field, and made Jerusalem become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest;* which was long before foretold by prophet Micah, iii. 12, and quoted from him in the prophecies of Jeremiah, xxvi. 18.

† See Eccles. viii. 11.

exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans, wh they were thus destroyed ten thousand several ways, to be a punishment bene their deserts. After this, Cæsar came to Berytus,* which is a city of Phœnic and a Roman colony, and staid there a longer time, and exhibited a still mo pompous solemnity about his father's birth day, both in the magnificence of t shows, and in the other vast expenses he was at in his devices thereto belongin so that a great multitude of the captives were here destroyed after the same ma ner as before.

2. It happened also about this time that the Jews who remained at Antio were under accusations, and in danger of perishing, from the disturbances th were raised against them by the Antiochians, and this both on account of t slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and on account of what pran they had played not long before, which I am obliged to describe without fa though briefly, that I may the better connect my narration of future actions w those that went before.

3. For as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable ea among its inhabitants, so it is very much intermingled with Syria, by reason its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch, by reason of t largeness of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a h bitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity; for though Antiochus, who w called *Epiphanes*, laid Jerusalem waste, and spoiled the temple, yet did those th succeeded him in the kingdom restore all the donations that were made of bra to the Jews of Antioch, and dedicated them to their synagogue, and granted the the enjoyment of equal privileges of citizens with the Greeks themselves; and the succeeding kings treated them after the same manner, they both multiplied a great number, and adorned their temple† gloriously by fine ornaments, and w great magnificence, in the use of what had been given them. They also ma proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby after a s brought them to be a portion of their own body. But about this time, when t present war began, and Vespasian was newly sailed to Syria, and all men h taken up a great hatred against the Jews, then it was that a certain person who name was *Antiochus*, being one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected account of his father, who was governor‡ of the Jews at Antioch, came upon t theatre at a time when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and h came an informer against his father, and accused both him and others, that th had resolved to burn the whole city in one night; he also delivered up to the some Jews that were foreigners, as partners in their resolutions. When t people heard this, they could not refrain their passion, but commanded that the who were delivered up to them should have fire brought to burn them, who we accordingly, all burnt upon the theatre immediately. They did also fall violen upon the multitude of the Jews, as supposing that, by punishing them sudden they should save their own city. As for Antiochus, he aggravated the rage th were in, and thought to give them a demonstration of his own conversion, and his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greek he persuaded the rest also to compel them to do the same, because they wou by that means discover who they were that had plotted against them, since th would not do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some f complied, but those that would not do so were slain. As for Antiochus himse he obtained soldiers from the Roman commander, and became a severe mas

* This Berytus was certainly a Roman colony, and has coins extant that witness the same, as Hud and Spanheim inform us. See the note on Antiq. B. xvi. ch. xi. sect. 1.

† *i. e.* their synagogue. See the note on B. vi. ch. x. sect. 1.

‡ The Jews at Antioch and Alexandria, the two principal cities in all the east, had allowed th both by the Macedonians, and afterward by the Romans, a governor of their own, who was exempt f the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes barely *governor*, sometimes *narch*, and [at Alexandria] *alabarch*, as Dr. Hudson takes notice on this place out of Fuller's Misce nies. They had the like governor or governors allowed them at Babylon under their captivity there the history of Susanna implies

ver his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing hem to do all that they usually did on other days; and to that degree of distress id he reduce them in this matter, that the rest of the seventh day was dissolved ot only at Antioch, but the same thing which took thence its rise was done in ther cities also, in like manner, for some small time.

4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second alamity befell them, the description of which when we were going about, we remised the account foregoing: for upon this accident, whereby the four-square arket-place was burnt down, as well as the archives, and the place where the ublic records were preserved, and the royal palaces (and it was not without difficulty that the fire was then put a stop to, which was likely, by the fury wherewith it was carried along, to have gone over the whole city,) Antiochus accused he Jews as the occasion of all the mischief that was done. Now this induced he people of Antioch, who were now under the immediate persuasion, by reason f the disorder they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been nder the same persuasion, even though they had not borne an ill will at the Jews efore, to believe this man's accusation, especially when they considered what ad been done before, and this to such a degree, that they all fell violently upon hose that were accused, and this like madmen, in a very furious rage also, even s if they had seen the Jews in a manner setting fire themselves to the city: nor as it without difficulty that one Cneas Collegas, the legate, could prevail with hem to permit the affairs to be laid before Cæsar; for as to Cecennius Petus, the resident of Syria, Vespasian had already sent him away; and so it happened, hat he was not yet come back thither. But when Collegas had made a careful nquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, and that not one of those Jews that ere accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that all was done by some ile persons greatly in debt, who supposed, that if they could once set fire to the arket-place and burn the public records, they should have no farther demands ade upon them. So the Jews were under great disorder and terror, in the ncertain expectations of what would be the upshot of these accusations against hem.

## CHAP. IV.

*How Vespasian was received at Rome; as also how the Germans revolted from the Romans, but were subdued. That the Samaritans overran Mysia, but were compelled to return to their own Country again.*

1. And now Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his ather, that his coming was much desired by all the Italian cities, and that Rome specially received him with great alacrity and splendour, betook himself to reoicing and pleasures to a great degree, as now freed from the solicitude he ad been under, after the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy howed their respects to him in their minds before he came thither, as if he were ready come, as esteeming the very expectation they had of him to be his real resence, on account of the great desires they had to see him, and because the ood will they bore him was entirely free and unconstrained; for it was a desirable thing to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their governors, to receive a governor who was dorned with the gravity of old age, and with the highest skill in the actions of war, whose advancement would be, as they knew, for nothing else but for the reservation of those that were to be governed. Moreover, the people had been o harassed by their civil miseries, that they were still more earnest for his oming immediately, as supposing they should then be firmly delivered from their alamities, and believed they should then recover their secure tranquillity and

prosperity; and for the soldiery, they had the principal regard to him, for th were chiefly apprized of his great exploits in war; and, since they had exp rienced the want of skill and want of courage in other commanders, they we very desirous to be freed from that great shame they had undergone by th means, and heartily wished to receive such a prince as might be a security a an ornament to them. And as this good will to Vespasian was universal, tho that enjoyed any remarkable dignities could not have patience enough to stay Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it: nay, indee none of the rest could endure the delay of seeing him, but did all pour out of t city in such crowds, and were so universally possessed with the opinion, that was easier and better for them to go out than to stay there, that this was the ve first time that the city joyfully perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; f those that staid within were fewer than those that went out. But as soon as t news was come that he was hard by, and those that had met him at first relat with what good humour he received every one that came to him, then it was th the whole multitude that had remained in the city, with their wives and childre came into the road, and waited for him there; and for those whom he passed b they made all sorts of acclamations on account of the joy they had to see him, a the pleasantness of his countenance, and styled him *their benefactor* and *savio* and the only person who was worthy to be ruler of the city of Rome. And n the city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odours; nor was it easy f him to come to the royal palace, for the multitude of people that stood about hin where yet at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his househo gods, for his safe return to the city. The multitude did also betake themselv to feasting; which feasts and drink offerings they celebrated by their tribes, a their families, and their neighbourhoods, and still prayed God to grant that Ve spasian, his sons, and all their posterity might continue in the Roman governme for a very long time, and that his dominion might be preserved from all oppos tion. And this was the manner in which Rome so joyfully received Vespasia and thence grew immediately into a state of great prosperity.

2. But before this time, and while Vespasian was about Alexandria, and Titu was lying at the siege of Jerusalem, a great multitude of the Germans were commotion, and tended to rebellion; and as the Gauls in their neighbourhoo joined with them, they conspired together, and had thereby great hopes of su cess, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Roman The motives that induced the Germans to this attempt for a revolt, and for b ginning the war, were these.—In the first place, the nature [of the people,] whic was destitute of just reasonings, and ready to throw themselves rashly into da ger upon small hopes: in the next place, the hatred they bore to those that wer their governors, while their nation had never been conscious of subjection to an but to the Romans, and that by compulsion only. Besides these motives, it wa the opportunity that now offered itself which above all the rest prevailed wit them so to do; for when they saw the Roman government in a great interna disorder, by the continual changes of its rulers, and understood that every pa of the habitable earth under them was in an unsettled and tott ring conditio they thought this was the best opportunity that could afford itself for themselve to make a sedition, when the state of the Romans was so ill. Classicus* als

* This Classicus, and Civilis, and Cerealis, are names well known in Tacitus; the two former moving sedition against the Romans, and the last as sent to repress them by Vespasian, just as they a here described in Josephus, which is the case also of Fonteius Agrippa, and Rubrius Gallus, in sect. But as to the very favourable account presently given of Domitian, particularly as to his designs in th his Gallic and German expedition, it is not a little contrary to that in Suetonius, Vesp. sect. 7. Nor a the reasons unobvious that might occasion this great diversity: Domitian was one of Josephus's patron and when he published these books of the Jewish war, was very young, and had hardly begun thos wicked practices which rendered him so infamous afterward; while Suetonius seems to have been to young, and too low in life, to receive any remarkable favours from him, as Domitian was certainly ver lewd and cruel, and generally hated, when Suetonius wrote about him.

nd Vitellius,* two of their commanders, puffed them up with such hopes. These ad, for a long time, been openly desirous of such an innovation, and were in-uced by the present opportunity to venture upon the declaration of their senti-nents; the multitude was also ready, and when these men told them of what ney intended to attempt, that news was gladly received by them. So when a reat part of the Germans had agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better dis-osed, Vespasian, as guided by divine Providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, vho had formerly had the command of Germany, whereby he declared him to ave the dignity of consul, and commanded him to take upon him the government f Britain; so he went whither he was ordered to go, and when he was informed f the revolt of the Germans, he fell upon them as soon as they were gotten to-ether, and put his army in battle array, and slew a great multitude of them in he fight, and forced them to leave off their madness, and to grow wiser; nay, ad he not fallen thus suddenly upon them on the place, it had not been long ere hey would, however, have been brought to punishment; for as soon as ever the ews of their revolt was come to Rome, and Cæsar Domitian was made acquainted vith it, he made no delay even at that his age, when he was exceeding young, ut undertook this weighty affair. He had a courageous mind from his father, nd had made greater improvements than belonged to such an age: accordingly, e marched against the barbarians immediately; whereupon their hearts failed hem at the very rumour of his approach, and they submitted themselves to him vith fear, and thought it a happy thing that they were brought under their old oke again without suffering any farther mischiefs. When, therefore, Domitian ad settled all the affairs of Gaul in such good order, that it would not be easily ut into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, as aving performed such exploits as were above his own age, but worthy of so great a father.

3. At the very same time with the forementioned revolt of the Germans, did he bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans concur; for those Scythians vho are called *Sarmatians*, being a very numerous people, transported themselves ver the Danube into Mysia without being perceived; after which by their vio-ence and entirely unexpected assault, they slew a great many of the Romans hat guarded the frontiers; and as the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to neet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They hen overran all the region that had been subject to him, tearing and rending very thing that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what ad happened, and how Mysia was laid waste, he sent away Rubrius Gallus to unish these Sarmatians; by whose means many of them perished in the battles e fought against them, and that part which escaped fled with fear to their own ountry. So when this general had put an end to the war, he provided for the uture security of the country also; for he placed more and more numerous gar-isons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to pass ver the river any more. And thus had this war in Mysia a sudden conclusion.

## CHAP. V.

*Concerning the Sabbatic River which Titus saw as he was journeying through Syria; and how the People of Antioch came with a Petition to Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by him: as also concerning Titus's and Vespasian's Triumph.*

§. 1. Now Titus Cæsar tarried sometime at Berytus, as we told you before. He hence removed, and exhibited magnificent shows in all those cities of Syria,

* Civilis. *Tacit.*

through which he went, and made use of the captive Jews as public instances of the destruction of that nation. He then saw a river as he went along, of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history; it runs in the middle between Arcea belonging to Agrippa's kingdom and Raphanea. It hath somewhat very peculiar in it; for when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water, after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see after which days it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all: it hath also been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly; whence it is that they call it the *Sabbatic river*,* that name being taken from the sacred seventh day among the Jews.

2. But when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching they were so glad at it, that they could not keep within their walls, but hasted away to give him the meeting; nay, they proceeded as far as thirty furlongs and more with that intention. These were not the men only, but a multitude of women also, with their children, did the same, and when they saw him coming up to them, they stood on both sides of the way, and stretched out their right hands saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back together with him. They also, among all the acclamations they made to him, besought him all the way they went to eject the Jews out of their city; yet did not Titus at all yield to this their petition, but gave them the bare hearing of it quietly. However, the Jews were in a great deal of terrible fear under the uncertainty they were in what his opinion was, and what he would do to them: for Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his progress immediately to Zeugma which lies upon the Euphrates, whither came to him messengers from Vologeses king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold upon the victory he had gained over the Jews; which he accepted of, and feasted the king's messengers, and then came back to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch earnestly entreated him to come upon their theatre, where their whole multitude was assembled, and expected him, he complied with great humanity; but when they pressed him with much earnestness, and continually begged of him that he would eject the Jews out of their city, he gave them this very pertinent answer:—"How can this be done, since that country of theirs, whither the Jews must be obliged then to retire, is destroyed, and no place will receive them besides?" Whereupon the people of Antioch, when they had failed of success in their first request, made him a second; for they desired that he would order those tables of brass to be removed on which the Jews' privileges were engraven. However, Titus would not grant that neither, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt; and as he came to Jerusalem in his progress, and compared the melancholy condition he saw it then in with the ancient glory of the city, and called to mind the greatness of its present ruins, as well as its ancient splendour, he could not but pity the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that so great and goodly a city as that was had been by him taken by force; nay, he frequently cursed those that had been the authors of their revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city; insomuch that it openly appeared, that he did not desire that such a calamity as this punishment of theirs amounted to should be a demonstration of his courage. Yet was there no small quantity of the riches that had been in that city still found among its ruins, a great deal of which the Romans dug up; but the greatest part was discovered by those who were captives, and so they carried it away: I mean the gold and the silver, and the rest of

* Since in these latter ages this *Sabbatic river*, once so famous, which, by Josephus's account here, ran every *seventh* day, and rested on *six*, but according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxi. 11, ran perpetually on *six* days, and rested every *seventh* (though it no way appears by either of their accounts that the *seventh day* of this river was the Jewish *seventh day* or Sabbath,) is quite vanished, I shall add no more about it; only see Dr. Hudson's note. In Varenius's Geography, I. 17, the reader will find several instances of such periodical fountains and rivers, though none of their periods were that of just a week, as o old this appears to have been

that most precious furniture which the Jews had, and which the owners had treasured up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

3. So Titus took the journey he intended to Egypt, and passed over the desert very suddenly, and came to Alexandria, and took up a resolution to go to Rome by sea. And as he was accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places whence they had before come; the fifth he sent to Mysia and the fifteenth to Pannonia: as for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, with the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest, as being eminently tall and handsome of body, he gave order that they should be soon carried to Italy, as resolving to produce them in his triumph. So when he had had a prosperous voyage to his mind, the city of Rome behaved itself in his reception, and their meeting him at a distance, as it did in the case of his father. But what made the most splendid appearance in Titus's opinion was, when his father met him and received him; but still the multitude of the citizens conceived the greatest joy when they saw them all three* together, as they did at this time: nor were many days overpast when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both of them, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph by himself. So when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for this pompous solemnity to be made on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city, but every body went out so far as to gain only a station where they might stand, and left only such a passage as was necessary for those that were to be seen to go along it.

4. Now, all the soldiery marched out beforehand, by companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, in the night-time, and were about the gates, not of the upper palaces, but those near the temple of Isis; for there it was that the emperors had rested the foregoing night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out, crowned with laurel, and clothed in those ancient purple habits which were proper to their family, and then went as far as Octavian's walks: for there it was that the senate and the principal rulers, and those that had been recorded as of the equestrian order, waited for them. Now, a tribunal had been erected before the cloisters, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, when they came and sat down upon them. Whereupon the soldiery made an acclamation of joy to them immediately, and all gave them attestations of their valour; while they were themselves without their arms, and only in their silken garments, and crowned with laurel: then Vespasian accepted of these shouts of theirs; but while they were still disposed to go on in such acclamations, he gave them a signal of silence. And when every body entirely held their peace, he stood up, and covering the greatest part of his head with his cloak, he put up the accustomed solemn prayers: the like prayers did Titus put up also: after which prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent away the soldiers to a dinner prepared for them by the emperors. Then did he retire to that gate which was called the *Gate of the Pomp*, because pompous shows do always go through that gate: there it was that they tasted some food; and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods that were placed at the gate, they sent the triumph forward, and marched through the theatres, that they might be the more easily seen by the multitudes

5. Now it is impossible to describe the multitude of the shows as they deserve, and the magnificence of them all; such, indeed, as a man could not easily think of, as performed either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature: for almost all such curiosities as the most happy men ever get by piecemeal were here one heaped on another, and those both admirable and costly in their nature; and as all brought together on that day demonstrated the vastness of the dominions of the Romans; for there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of silver, and gold, and ivory, contrived into all sorts of things,

* Vespasian, and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.

and did not appear as carried along in pompous show only, out, as a man may say, running along like a river. Some parts were composed of the rarest purple hangings, and so carried along, and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the art of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold and some in other ouches as the workmen pleased; and of these such a vast number were brought, that we could not but thence learn how vainly we imagined any of them to be rarities. The images of the gods were also carried, being as well wonderful for their largeness as made very artificially, and with great skill of the workmen: nor were any of these images of any other than very costly materials; and many species of animals were brought, every one in their own natural ornaments. The men also, who brought every one of these shows, were great multitudes, and adorned with purple garments, all over interwoven with gold; those that were chosen for carrying these pompous shows having also about them such magnificent ornaments as were both extraordinary and surprising. Besides these, one might see that even the great number of the captives was not unadorned, while the variety that was in their garments and their fine texture concealed from the sight the deformity of their bodies. But what afforded the greatest surprise of all was, the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for, indeed, he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able firmly enough to support them, such was their magnitude: for many of them were so made that they were on three or even four stories one above another. The magnificence also of their structure afforded one both pleasure and surprise; for upon many of them were laid carpets of gold. There was also wrought gold and ivory fastened about them all, and many resemblances of the war, and those in several ways, and variety of contrivances, affording a most lively portraiture of itself: for there was to be seen a happy country laid waste, and entire squadrons of enemies slain; while some of them ran away, and some were carried into captivity, with walls of great altitude and magnitude overthrown, and ruined by machines, with the strongest fortifications taken, and the walls of most populous cities upon the tops of hills seized on, and an army pouring itself within the walls; as also every place full of slaughter, and supplications of the enemies when they were no longer able to lift up their hands in way of opposition. Fire also sent upon temples was here represented, and houses overthrown, and falling upon their owners: rivers also, after they came out of a large and melancholy desert, ran down, not into a land cultivated, nor as drink for men or for cattle, but through a land still on fire upon every side; for the Jews related that such a thing they had undergone during this war. Now, the workmanship of these representations was so magnificent and lively in the constructon of the things, that it exhibited what had been done to such as did not see it, as if they had been there really present. On the top of every one of these pageants, was placed the commander of the city that was taken, and the manner wherein he was taken. Moreover, there followed those pageants a great number of ships; and for the other spoils they were carried in great plenty. But for those* that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all; that is, the golden table of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, though its construction were now changed from that which we made use of: for its middle shaft was fixed upon a basis, and the small branches were produced out of it to a great length, having the likeness of a trident in their position, and had every one a socket made

* See the representations of these Jewish vessels, as they still stand on Titus's triumphal arch at Rome, in Reland's very curious book, *de Spoliis Templi* throughout. But what things are chiefly to be noted are these.—(1.) That Josephus says, the candlestick here carried in this triumph was not thoroughly like that which was used in the temple, which appears in the number of the little knops and flowers in that on the triumphal arch not well agreeing with Moses' description, Exod. xxv. 31—36, (2.) The smallness of the branches in Josephus, compared with the thickness of those on that arch. (3.) That the Law or Pentateuch does not appear on that arch at all, though Josephus, an eyewitness, assures us it was carried in this procession. All which things deserve the consideration of the inquisitive reader.

of brass for a lamp at the tops of them. These lamps were in number seven and represented the dignity of the number *seven* among the Jews; and the last of all the spoils was carried the laws of the Jews. After these spoils passed by a great many men carrying the images of victory, whose structure was entirely ei ther of ivory or of gold. After which Vespasian marched in the first place, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode along with them, and made a glorious appearance, and rode on a horse that was worthy of admiration.

6. Now the last part of this pompous show was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whither when they were come they stood still; for it was the Romans' ancient custom to stay till somebody brought the news that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had then been led in this triumph among the captives; a rope had also been put upon his head, and he had been drawn into a proper place in the forum, and had withal been tormented by those that drew him along; and the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to die should be slain there. Accordingly, when it was related that there was an end of him, and all the people had set up a shout for joy, they then began to offer those sacrifices which they had consecrated, in the prayers used in such solemnities, which, when they had finished, they went away to the palace. And as for some of the spectators, the emperors entertained them at their own feast; and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home; for this was a festival day to the city of Rome, as celebrated for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies for the end that was now put to their civil miseries, and for the commencement of their hopes of future prosperity and happiness.

7. After these triumphs were over, and after the affairs of the Romans were settled on the surest foundations, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which was finished in so short a time and so glorious a manner as was beyond all human expectation and opinion: for he having now by Providence a vast quantity of wealth, besides what he had formerly gained in his other exploits, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues; for in this temple was collected and reposited all such rarities as men aforetime used to wander all over the habitable world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another: he also laid up therein those golden vessels and instruments that were taken out of the Jewish temple as ensigns of his glory. But still he gave order that they should lay up their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning Macherus, and how Lucilius Bassus took that Citadel and other Places*

§ 1. Now Lucilius Bassus was sent as legate into Judea, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and took that citadel which was in Herodium, together with the garrison that was in it: after which he got together all the soldiery that was there (which was a large body but dispersed into several parties,) with the tenth legion, and resolved to make war upon Macherus; for it was highly necessary that this citadel should be demolished, lest it might be a means of drawing away many into a rebellion, by reason of its strength: for the nature of the place was very capable of affording the surest hopes of safety to those that possessed it; as well as delay and fear to those that should attack it; for what was walled in was itself a very rocky hill, elevated to a very great height, which circumstance alone made it very hard to be subdued. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; for it is, as it were, ditched about with such valleys on all sides, and to such a depth, that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, and such as are not easily to be passed over, and even such as it is im-

possible to fill up with earth. For that valley which cuts it on the west extends to threescore furlongs, and did not end till it came to the lake Asphaltitis; on the same side it was also that Macherus had the tallest top of its hill elevated above the rest. But then, for the valleys that lay on the north and south sides, although they be not so large as that already described, yet is it, in like manner, an impracticable thing to think of getting over them; and for the valley that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be not less than a hundred cubits. It extends as far as a mountain that lies over against Macherus, with which it is bounded.

2. Now when Alexander [Janneus,] the king of the Jews, observed the nature of this place, he was the first who built a citadel here, which afterwards was demolished by Gabinius when he made war against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being built upon in the firmest manner, and this especially because it lay so near to Arabia; for it is seated in a convenient place on that account, and hath a prospect toward that country: he, therefore, surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, out of which city there was a way that led up to the very citadel itself on the top of the mountain: nay, more than this, he built a wall round that top of the hill, and erected towers at the corners of a hundred and sixty cubits high; in the middle of which place he built a palace, after a magnificent manner, wherein were large and beautiful edifices. He also made a great many reservoirs for reception of water, that there might be plenty of it ready for all uses, and those in the properest places that were afforded him there. Thus did he, as it were, contend with the nature of the place, that he might exceed its natural strength and security, which yet itself rendered it hard to be taken by those fortifications which were made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts, and other machines of war, into it, and contrived to get every thing thither that might any way contribute to its inhabitants' security under the longest siege possible.

3. Now within this place there grew a sort of rue,* that deserves our wonder on account of its largeness; for it is no way inferior to any fig-tree whatsoever, either in height or in thickness; and the report is, that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and would probably have lasted much longer, had it not been cut down by those Jews who took possession of the place afterward. But still in that valley which encompasses the city on the north side, there is a certain place called *Baaras*, which produces a root† of the same name with itself: its colour is like to that of flame, and towards the evening it sends out a certain ray like lightning; it is not easily taken by such as would do it, but recedes from their hands, nor will yield itself to be taken quietly, until either the urine of a woman or her menstrual blood be poured upon it: nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless any one take and hang the root itself down from his hand, and so carry it away. It may also be taken another way without danger, which is this.—They dig a trench quite round about it, till the hidden part of the root be very small, they then tie a dog to it; and when the dog tries hard to follow him that tied him, this root is easily plucked up; but the dog dies immediately, as if it were instead of the man that would take the plant away; nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into their hands. Yet after all this pains in getting, it is only valuable on account of one virtue it hath, that if it be only brought to the sick persons, it quickly drives away those called *demons*, which are no other than the spirits of the wicked that enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. Here are also fountains

* Spanheim observes here, that in Græcia Major and Sicily they had rue prodigiously great and durable, like this rue at Macherus.

† This strange account of the place and root Baaras seems to have been taken from the magicians, and the root to have been made use of in the days of Josephus in that superstitious way of casting out demons, supposed by him to have been derived from King Solomon, of which we have already seen he had a great opinion; Antiq. B. viii. ch. ii. sect. 5. We also may hence learn the true notion Josephus had of demons and demoniacs, exactly like that of the Jews and Christians in the New Testament, and the first four centuries. See Antiq. B. vi. ch. viii. sect. 2; B. xi. ch. ii. sect. 3.

of not water that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste one from the other; for some of them are bitter and others of them are plainly sweet. Here also are many eruptions of cold waters, and this not only in the places that lie lower, and have their fountains near one another; but, what is still more wonderful, here is to be seen a certain cave hard by, whose cavity is not deep, but it is covered over by a rock that is prominent: above this rock there stand up two [hills or] breasts, as it were, but a little distant one from another; the one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; which waters, when they are mingled together, compose a most pleasant bath: they are medicinal, indeed, for other maladies, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place has in it also mines of sulphur and allum.

4. Now when Bassus had taken a full view of this place, he resolved to besiege it, by filling up the valley that lay on the east side: so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise his banks as soon as possible, and by that means to render the siege easy. As for the Jews that were caught in that place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and they forced those strangers, as an otherwise useless multitude, to stay in the lower part of the city, and undergo the principal dangers, while they themselves seized on the upper citadel, and held it, and this both on account of its strength and to provide for their own safety. They also supposed they might obtain their pardon, in case they should [at last] surrender the citadel. However, they were willing to make trial in the first place whether the hopes they had of avoiding a siege would come to any thing; with which intention they made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them, in which conflicts they were many of them slain, as they therein slew many of the Romans. But still it was the opportunities that presented themselves which chiefly gained both sides their victories; these were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard; but by the Romans, when upon the other's sallies against their banks they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard when they received them. But the conclusion of this siege did not depend upon these bickerings; but a certain surprising accident, relating to what was done in this siege, forced the Jews to surrender the citadel. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very active of his hand; his name was *Eleazar*: he greatly signalized himself in those sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a vast deal of mischief when they came to fighting. He so managed matters, that those who sallied out made their attacks easily, and returned back without danger, and this by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened, that on a certain time, when the fight was over, and both sides were parted and retired home, he in way of contempt of the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, staid without the gates, and talked with those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon what they said. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was *Rufus*, by birth an Egyptian, ran upon him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and carried him off, with his armour itself; while, in the meantime, those that saw it from the wall were under such an amazement, that Rufus prevented their assistance, and carried Eleazar to the Roman camp. So the general of the Romans ordered that he should be taken up naked, set before the city to be seen, and sorely whipped before their eyes. Upon this sad accident that befell the young man, the Jews were terribly confounded, and the city, with one voice, sorely lamented him, and the mourning proved greater than could well be supposed upon the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and was desirous to aggravate their grief, in order to prevail with them to surrender the city for the preservation of that man. Nor did he fail of his hope; for he commanded them to set up a cross as if he were just going to hang Eleazar upon it immediately: the sight of this

occasioned a sore grief among those that were in the citadel, and they groaned vehemently, and cried out, that they could not bear to see him thus destroyed. Whereupon Eleazar besought them not to disregard him, now he was going to suffer a most miserable death, and exhorted them to save themselves, by yielding to the Roman power and good fortune, since all other people were now conquered by them. These men were greatly moved with what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him, because he was of an eminent and very numerous family; so they now yielded to their passion of commiseration contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly, they sent out immediately certain messengers, and treated with the Romans, in order to a surrender of the citadel to them, and desired that they might be permitted to go away, and take Eleazar along with them. Then did the Romans and their general accept of these terms while that multitude of strangers that were in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, was resolved to fly away privately in the night-time; but as soon as they had opened their gates, those that had come to terms with Bassus told him of it; whether it were that they envied the others' deliverance, or whether it were done out of fear lest an occasion should be taken against them upon their escape, is uncertain. The most courageous, therefore, of those men that went out prevented the enemy, and got away, and fled for it; but for those men that were caught within, they were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, as were the women and the children made slaves. But as Bassus thought he must perform the covenant he had made with those that had surrendered the citadel, he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

5. When Bassus had settled these affairs he marched hastily to the forest of Jarden, as it is called; for he had heard that a great many of those that had fled from Jerusalem and Macherus formerly were there gotten together. When he was, therefore, come to the place, and understood that the former news was no mistake, he in the first place surrounded the whole place with his horsemen, that such of the Jews as had boldness enough to try to break through might have no way possible for escaping, by reason of the situation of these horsemen; and for the footmen, he ordered them to cut down the trees that were in the wood whither they were fled. So the Jews were under a necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in a battle, since they might, perhaps thereby escape. So they made a general attack, and with a great shout fell upon those that surrounded them, who received them with great courage, and so, while the one side fought desperately and the others would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account. But the event of the battle did not answer the expectations of the assailants; for so it happened, that no more than twelve fell on the Roman side, with a few that were wounded; but not one of the Jews escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being in the whole not fewer in number than three thousand, together with Judas, the son of Jairus, their general, concerning whom we have before spoken, that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into a certain vault under ground had privately made his escape.

6. About the same time it was that Cæsar sent a letter to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus, who was the procurator [of Judea,] and gave order that all Judea should be exposed to sale:* for he did not found any city here, but reserved the country for himself. However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he had dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation: it is called *Emmaus*,† and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs. He also

* It is very remarkable that Titus did not people this now desolate country of Judea, but ordered it to be all sold; nor, indeed, is it properly peopled at this day, but lies ready for its old inhabitants, the Jews, at their future restoration. See Literal Accomplishment of Prophecies, p. 77.

† That the city of Emmaus or Ammaus in Josephus and others, which was the place of the government of Julius Africanus, in the beginning of the third century, and which he then procured to be rebuilt and after which rebuilding it was called *Nicopolis*, is entirely different from that Emmaus which is men-

aid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of hem to bring two drachmæ every year into the capitol, as they used to pay the ame to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs this time.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning the Calamity that befell Antiochus King of Commagene; as also concerning the Alans, and what great Mischiefs they did to the Medes and Armenians.*

§ 1. And now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, hat Antiochus, the king of Commagene, with all his family, fell into very great alamities. The occasion was this.—Cecennius Petus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether it were done out of regard to truth, or whether out f hatred to Antiochus (for which was the real motive was never thoroughly liscovered,) sent an epistle to Cæsar, and therein told him, that, "Antiochus, vith his son Epiphanes, had resolved to rebel against the Romans, and had made league with the king of Parthia to that purpose: that it was, therefore, fit to revent them, lest they prevent us, and begin such a war as may cause a general isturbance in the Roman empire." Now Cæsar was disposed to take some care bout the matter, since this discovery was made; for the neighbourhood of the ingdoms made this affair worthy of a greater regard: for Samosata, the capital f Commagene, lies upon Euphrates, and upon any such design could afford an asy passage over it to the Parthians, and could also afford them a secure eception. Petus was, accordingly, believed, and had authority given him of oing what he should think proper in the case; so he set about it without delay, nd fell upon Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least exectation of his coming: he had with him the tenth legion, as also some cohorts nd troops of horsemen. These kings also came to his assistance, Aristobulus, ing of the country called *Chalcidene*, and Sohemus, who was called *king of Emesa*. Nor was there any opposition made to his forces when they entered he kingdom; for no one of that country would so much as lift up his hand gainst them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think n the least of making war with the Romans, but determined to leave his whole ingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately, with his wife nd children, as thinking thereby to demonstrate himself to the Romans to be nnocent as to the accusation laid against him. So he went away from that city s far as a hundred and twenty furlongs, into a plain, and there pitched his tents.

2. Petus then sent some of his men to seize upon Samosata, and by their eans took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus vith the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the istress he was in to do any thing in the way of war against the Romans, but emoaned his own hard fate, and endured with patience what he was not able to revent. But his sons, who were young and unexperienced in war, but of strong odies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity without fighting. Epiphanes, nerefore, and Callinicus, betook themselves to military force: and as the battle vas a sore one, and lasted all the day long, they showed their own valour in a emarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put a period thereto

oned by St. Luke, xxiv. 17; see Reland's Palæstina, lib. ii. page 429, and under the same name Amaus also. But he justly thinks that in St. Luke may well be the same with this Ammaus before us, esecially since the Greek copies here usually make it 60 furlongs distant from Jerusalem, as does St. Luke, ough the Latin copies say only 30 The place also allotted for these 800 soldiers, as for a Roman gar son, in this place, would most naturally be not so remote from Jerusalem as was the other Emmaus or icopolis.

and that without any diminution of their forces: yet would not Antiochus, upon this conclusion of the fight, continue there by any means, but took his wife and his daughters, and fled away with them to Cilicia, and by so doing, quite discouraged the minds of his own soldiers. Accordingly, they revolted, and went over to the Romans, out of the despair they were in of his keeping the kingdom; and his case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was, therefore, necessary that Epiphanes and his soldiers should get clear of their enemies, before they became entirely destitute of any confederates: nor were there any more than ten horsemen with him, who passed with him over Euphrates, whence they went undisturbed to Vologeses, the king of Parthia, where they were not disregarded as fugitives, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

3. Now when Antiochus was come to Tarsus, in Cilicia, Petus ordered a centurion to go to him, and send him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have a king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have a regard to the ancient friendship that had been between them, than to preserve an inexorable anger upon the pretence of this war. Accordingly, he gave orders that they should take off his bonds, while he was still upon the road, and that he should not come to Rome but should now go and live at Lacedemon: he also gave him large revenues, that he might live not only in plenty but like a king also. When Epiphanes, who before was in great fear for his father, was informed of this, their minds were freed from that great and almost incurable concern they had been under. He also hoped that Cæsar would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologeses; for although he lived in plenty, he knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. So Cæsar gave him leave after an obliging manner, and he came to Rome; and as his father came quickly to him from Lacedemon, he had all sorts of respects paid him there, and there he remained.

4. Now there was a nation of the Alans, which we have formerly mentioned* somewhere as being Scythians, and inhabiting at the lake Meotis. This nation, about this time, laid a design of falling upon Media, and the parts beyond it, in order to plunder them; with which intention they treated with the king of Hyrcania for he was master of that passage which King Alexander [the Great] shut up with iron gates. This king gave them leave to come through them: so they came in great multitudes, and fell upon the Medes unexpectedly, and plundered their country, which they found full of people, and replenished with abundance of cattle; while nobody durst make any resistance against them; for Pacorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear into places where they could not easily come at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only saved his wife and his concubines from them, and that with difficulty also, after they had been made captives, by giving them an hundred talents for their ransom. These Alans, therefore, plundered the country without opposition, and with great ease, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, who met them, and fought them, but had like to have been taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from a great distance, and had soon drawn him to him, unless he had immediately cut the cord with his sword, and ran away, and prevented it. So the Alans, being still more provoked by this fight, laid waste the country, and drove a great multitude of the men, and a great quantity of the other prey they had gotten out of both kingdoms, along with them, and then retreated back to their own country.

* This is now wanting.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning Masada, and those Sicarii who kept it; and how Silva betook himself to form the Siege of that Citadel. Eleazar's Speeches to the besieged*

1. When Bassus was dead in Judea, Flavius Silva succeeded him as procurator there; who when he saw that all the rest of the country was subdued in this war, and that there was but one only strong hold that was still in rebellion, he got all his army together, that lay in different places, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called *Masada*. It was one Eleazar, a potent man, and the commander of these Sicarii, that had seized upon it. He was a descendant from that Judas who had persuaded abundance of the Jews, as we have formerly related, not to submit to the taxation when Cyrenius was sent into Judea to make one; for then it was that the Sicarii got together against those that were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, both by plundering them of what they had, by driving away their cattle, and by setting fire to their houses; for they said that they differed not at all from foreigners, by betraying in so cowardly a manner that freedom which Jews thought worthy to be contended for to the utmost, and by owning that they preferred slavery under the Romans before such a contention. Now this was in reality no better than a pretence and a cloak for the barbarity which was made use of by them, and to colour over their own avarice, which they afterwards made evident by their own actions; for those that were partners with them in their rebellion joined also with them in the war against the Romans, and went farther lengths with them in their impudent undertakings against them; and when they were again convicted of dissembling in such their pretences, they still more abused those that justly reproached them for their wickedness. And, indeed, that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds were then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected, and strove with one another in their single capacity, and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours, the men of power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly labouring to destroy the men of power. The one part were desirous of tyrannizing over others, and the rest of offering violence to others, and of plundering such as were richer than themselves. They were the Sicarii who first began these transgressions, and first became barbarous towards those allied to them, and left no words of reproach unsaid, and no works of perdition untried, in order to destroy those whom their contrivances affected. Yet did John demonstrate by his actions that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself; for he not only slew all such as gave him good counsel to do what was right, but treated them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens; nay, he filled his entire country with ten thousand instances of wickedness, such as a man, who was already hardened sufficiently in his impiety towards God, would naturally do; for the food was unlawful that was set upon his table, and he rejected those purifications that the law of his country had ordained: so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any rules of gentleness and common affection towards men. Again, therefore, what mischief was there which Simon, the son of Gioras did not do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from, as to those very free men who had set him up for a tyrant? What friendship or kindred were there that did not make him more bold in his daily murders? for they looked upon the doing of mischief to strangers only as a work beneath their courage, but thought that their barbarity towards their nearest relations would be a glorious demonstration thereof. The

Idumeans also strove with these men which should be guilty of the greatest mad ness; for they [all,] vile wretches as they were, cut the throats of the high priest that so no part of a religious regard to God might be preserved: they thence pro ceeded to destroy utterly the least remains of a political government, and intro duced the most complete scene of iniquity in all instances that were practicable under which scene, that sort of people that were called *zealots* grew up, and who indeed, corresponded to the name; for they imitated every wicked work; nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealousry to pursue the same; and although they gave themselves the name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish dis position, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good. Accord ingly, they all met with such ends as God deservedly brought upon them in way of punishment; for all such miseries have been sent upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost period of their lives, and till death came upon them in various ways of torment; yet might one say justly that they suf fered less than they had done, because it was impossible they could be punished according to their deserving. But to make a lamentation according to the desert of those who fell under these men's barbarity, this is not a proper place for it: I therefore, now return again to the remaining part of the present narration.

2. For now it was that the Roman general came and led his army against Eleazar, and those Sicarii who held the fortress Masada together with him; and for the whole country adjoining, he presently gained it, and put garrisons into the most proper places of it: he also built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged might easily escape: he also set his men to guard the se veral parts of it: he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest approach to the neighbouring mountain, which yet was a place of difficulty for getting plenty of provisions: for it was not only food that was to be brought from a great distance [to the army,] and this with a great deal of pain to those Jews who were appointed for that purpose, but water was also to be brought to the camp, because the place afforded no fountain that was near it. When, therefore, Silva had ordered these affairs beforehand, he fell to besieging the place; which siege was likely to stand in need of a great deal of skill and pains by reason of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high. It was en compassed with valleys of such vast depth downward, that the eye could not reach their bottoms: they were abrupt, and such as no animal could walk upon excepting at two places of the rock, where it subsides, in order to afford a pas sage for ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of the ways that lead to it one is that from the lake Asphaltitis, towards the sunrising, and another on the west, where the ascent is easier: the one of these ways is called *the Serpent*, as resembling that animal in its narrowness and its perpetual windings: for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthening again by little and little, hath much ado to proceed for ward; and he that would walk along it, must first go on one leg and then on the other; there is also nothing but destruction in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice, sufficient to quell the courage of every body by the terror it infuses into the mind. When, therefore, a man hath gone along this way for thirty furlongs, the rest is the top of the hill, not end ing at a small point, but is no other than a plain upon the highest part of the moun tain. Upon this top of the hill Jonathan the high priest first of all built a for tress, and called it *Masada;* after which the rebuilding of this place employ ed the care of King Herod to a great degree: he also built a wall round about the entire top of the hill, seven furlongs long: it was composed of white stone; its height was twelve and its breadth eight cubits, there were also

ected upon that wall thirty-eight towers, each of them fifty cubits high
t of which you might pass into lesser edifices, which were built on the
side round the entire wall; for the king reserved the top of the hill, which
as of a fat soil and better mould than any valley, for agriculture, that such as
mmitted themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there
quite destitute of food, in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad.
oreover, he built a palace therein at the western ascent: it was within and be-
ath the walls of the citidel, but inclined to its north side. Now the wall of
is palace was very high and strong, and had at its four corners towers sixty
bits high. The furniture also of the edifices, and of the cloisters, and of the
ths, was of great variety and very costly; and these buildings were supported
pillars of single stones on every side: the walls also and the floors of the
ifices were paved with stones of several colours. He also had cut many
d great pits, as reservoirs for water, out of the rocks, at every one of the
aces that were inhabited, both above and round about the palace and before
e wall; and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have water for several
es, as if there had been fountains there. Here was also a road digged from
e palace, and leading to the very top of the mountain, which yet could not
seen by such as were without [the walls;] nor, indeed, could enemies
sily make use of the plain roads; for the road on the east side, as we have
ready taken notice, could not be walked upon by reason of its nature; and for
e western road, he built a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a dis-
nce from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not pos-
ly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken; nor, indeed, could those that
alked along it, without any fear, such was its contrivance, easily get to the end
it: and after such a manner was this citadel fortified both by nature and by
e hands of men, in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies.

4. As for the furniture that was within this fortress, it was still more wonderful
account of its splendour and long continuance; for here was laid up corn in
rge quantities, and such as would subsist men for a long time: here was also
ne and oil in abundance, with all kinds of pulse and dates heaped up together: all
ich Eleazar found there when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress
treachery. These fruits were also fresh and full ripe, and no way inferior to
ch fruits newly laid in, although they were little short of a hundred years* from
e laying in these provisions [by Herod] till the place was taken by the Romans;
y, indeed, when the Romans got possession of those fruits that were left, they
nd them not corrupted all that while; nor should we be mistaken if we sup-
sed that the air was here the cause of their enduring so long, this fortress being
high, and so free from the mixture of all terrene and muddy particles of matter.
ere was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which
d been treasured up by that king, and were sufficient for ten thousand men:
ere was cast iron, and brass, and tin, which show that he had taken much pains
have all things here ready for the greatest occasions: for the report goes how
rod thus prepared this fortress on his own account, as a refuge against two
ds of danger; the one, for fear of the multitude of the Jews, lest they should
pose him, and restore their former kings to the government: the other danger
s greater and more terrible, which arose from Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who
l not conceal her intentions, but spake often to Antony, and desired him to cut
Herod, and entreated him to bestow the kingdom of Judea upon her. And
rtainly it is a great wonder that Antony did never comply with her commands
this point, as he was so miserably enslaved to his passion for her; nor should
y one have been surprised if she had been gratified in such her request. So
e fear of these dangers made Herod rebuild Masada, and thereby leave it for
e finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

* Pliny and others confirm this strange paradox, that provisions laid up against sieges will continue
d a hundred years, as Spanheim notes upon this place.

5. Since, therefore, the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall on t outside round about this whole place, as we have said already, and had there made a most accurate provision to prevent any one of the besieged running awa he undertook the siege itself, though he found but one single place that would a mit of the banks he was to raise: for behind that tower which secured the ro that led to the palace and to the top of the hill, from the west, there was a certa eminency of the rock, very broad and very prominent, but three hundred cub beneath the highest part of Masada; it was called *the white promontory*. A cordingly, he got upon that part of the rock, and ordered the army to bring earth and when they fell to that work with alacrity, and abundance of them togethe the bank was raised, and became solid, for two hundred cubits in height. Y was not this bank thought sufficiently high for the use of the engines that were be set upon it; but still another elevated work of great stones compacted togeth was raised upon that bank: this was fifty cubits both in breadth and height. T other machines that were now got ready were like to those that had been fi devised by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus, for sieges. There was also tower made of the height of sixty cubits, and all over plated with iron, out which the Romans threw darts and stones from the engines, and soon made tho that fought from the walls of the place to retire, and would not let them lift their heads above the works. At the same time Silva ordered that great batterin ram which he had made to be brought thither, and to be set against the wall, a to make frequent batteries against it, which, with some difficulty, broke down part of the wall, and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii made haste, a presently built another wall within that, which should not be liable to the san misfortune from the machines with the other: it was made soft and yielding, a so was capable of avoiding the terrible blows that affected the other. It w framed after the following manner:—They laid together great beams of wo lengthways, one close to the end of another, and the same way in which th were cut: there were two of these rows parallel to one another, and laid at su a distance from each other as the breadth of the wall required, and earth w put into the space between those rows. Now, that the earth might not fall aw upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they farther laid other bea over across them, and thereby bound those beams together that lay lengthway This work of theirs was like a real edifice; and when the machines were applie the blows were weakened by its yielding, and as the materials, by such concu sion, were shaken closer together, the pile by that means became firmer th before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavour the taking of th wall by setting fire to it; so he gave order that the soldiers should throw a gre number of burning torches upon it: accordingly, as it was chiefly made of woo it soon took fire; and, when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made that fi spread to a mighty flame. Now, at the very beginning of this fire a north wi that then blew proved terrible to the Romans; for, by bringing the flame dow ward, it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair of success, as fea ing their machines would be burnt: but after this, on a sudden, the wind change into the south, as if it were done by divine providence, and blew strongly the co trary way, and carried the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was no on fire through its entire thickness. So the Romans, having now assistance fro God, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemy the ve next day, on which occasion they set their watch more carefully that night, le any of the Jews should run away from them without being discovered.

6. However, neither did Eleazar once think of flying away, nor would he pe mit any one else to do so: but when he saw their wall burnt down by the fi and could devise no other way of escaping, or room for their farther courage, a setting before their eyes what the Romans would do to them, their children, a their wives, if they got them in their power, he consulted about having them slain. Now, as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their prese

rcumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together, and ıcouraged them to take that course by a speech* which he made to them in the anner following:—"Since we long ago, my generous friends, resolved never be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself, who alone the true and just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to ake that resolution true in practice: and let us not at this time bring a reproach ıon ourselves for self-contradiction, while we formerly would not undergo sla ry, though it were then without danger, but must now, together with slavery, ıoose such punishments also as are intolerable: I mean this upon the supposi- on that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive. We ere the very first that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against ıem; and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted us, that it is ill in our power to die bravely and in a state of freedom, which hath not been ıe case of others who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we ıall be taken within a day's time; but it is still an eligible thing to die after a lorious manner, together with our dearest friends. This is what our enemies ıemselves cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take s alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them and beat them had been proper, indeed, for us to have conjectured at the purpose of God ıuch sooner, and at the very first, when we were so very desirous of defending ır liberty, and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and orse treatment from our enemies, and to have been sensible that the same God ho had of old taken the Jewish nation into his favour had now condemned them destruction; for had he either continued favourable, or been but in a lesser egree displeased with us, he had not overlooked the destruction of so many men, r delivered his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. To e sure we weakly hoped to have preserved ourselves, and ourselves alone, still a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, or been partners with those of others; we also taught other men to preserve ıeir liberty. Wherefore, consider how God hath convinced us that our hopes ere in vain, by bringing such distress upon us in the desperate state we are now ı, and which is beyond all our expectations; for the nature of this fortress hich was in itself unconquerable, hath not proved a means of our deliverance. nd even while we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of rms, and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God imself of all hope of deliverance; for that fire which was driven upon our ene- ıies did not of its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built: this as the effect of God's anger against us for our manifold sins which we have been uilty of in a most insolent and extravagant manner with regard to our own coun- rymen; the punishments of which let us not receive from the Romans, but from od himself, as executed by our own hands; for these will be more moderate than ıe other. Let our wives die before they are abused, and our children before ıey have tasted of slavery; and after we have slain them, let us bestow that lorious benefit upon one another mutually, and preserve ourselves in freedom s an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money and ıe fortress by fire; for I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the omans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail of our ealth also: and let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will be a tes-

* The speeches in this and the next section, as introduced under the person of this Eleazar, are ex- eeding remarkable, and on the noblest subjects, the contempt of death, and the dignity and immortality f the soul; and that not only among the Jews, but among the Indians themselves also, and are highly orthy the perusal of all the curious. It seems as if that philosophic lady who survived, ch. ix. sect. 1 remembered the substance of these discourses, as spoken by Eleazar, and so Josephus clothed them his own words; at the lowest, they contain the Jewish notions on these heads as understood then our Josephus, and cannot but deserve a suitable regard from us.

timonial when we are dead, that we were not subdued for want of necessarie but that, according to our original resolution, we have preferred death befo slavery.

7. This was Eleazar's speech to them. Yet did not the opinions of all th auditors acquiesce therein; but although some of them were very zealous to p his advice in practice, and were in a manner filled with pleasure at it, and thoug death to be a good thing, yet had those that were most effeminate a commiser tion for their wives and families; and when these men were especially moved b the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, an by the tears that were in their eyes declared their dissent from his opinion. Whe Eleazar saw these people in such fear, and that their souls were dejected at s prodigious a proposal, he was afraid lest, perhaps, these effeminate persons shou by their lamentations and tears enfeeble those that heard what he had said cou rageously; so he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself; and re collecting proper arguments for raising their courage, he undertook to speak mor briskly and fully to them, and that concerning the immortality of the soul. So h made a lamentable groan, and fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, h spake thus:—"Truly I was greatly mistaken when I thought to be assisting t brave men who struggled hard for their liberty, and to such as were resolve either to live with honour or else to die: but I find that you are such people a are no better than others, either in virtue or in courage, and are afraid of dying though you be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought t make no delay in this matter, nor to await any one to give you good advice; fo the laws of our country, and of God himself, have, from ancient times, and a soon as ever we could use our reason, continually taught us, and our forefather have corroborated the same doctrine by their actions and by their bravery o mind, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death; for this last afford our souls their liberty, and sends them by a removal into their own place of pu rity, where they are to be insensible of all sorts of misery; for while souls ar tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries; and really, to spea the truth, they are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine to what i mortal is disagreeable. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it i imprisoned in a mortal body; for by moving it after a way that is invisible, i makes the body a sensible instrument, and causes it to advance farther in its ac tions than moral nature could otherwise do. However, when it is freed from tha weight which draws it down to the earth, and is connected with it, it obtains it own proper place, and does then become a partaker of that blessed power an those abilities which are then every way incapable of being hindered in thei operations. It continues invisible, indeed, to the eyes of men, as does God him self; for certainly it is not itself seen while it is in the body; for it is there afte an invisible manner, and, when it is freed from it, it is still not seen. It i this soul which hath one nature, and that an incorrrptible one also; but yet is i the cause of the change that is made in the body; for whatsoever it be whicl the soul touches, that lives and flourishes, and from whatsoever it is removed that withers away and dies; such a degree is there in it of immortality. Let me pro duce the state of sleep as a most evident demonstration of the truth of what I say wherein souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest de pending on themselves, and conversing with God, by their alliance to him; they then go everywhere, and foretell many futurities beforehand. And why are we afraid of death, while we are pleased with the rest we have in sleep? and how absurd a thing is it to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to envy it to ourselves where it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have been brought up in a discipline of our own, ought to become an example to others of our readi ness to die. Yet, if we do stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter

t us regard those Indians who profess the exercise of philosophy; for these ood men do but unwillingly undergo the time of life, and look upon it as a ne- essary servitude, and make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies: nay, hen no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, these have such desire of a life of immortality that they tell other men beforehand that they are bout to depart; and nobody hinders them, but every one thinks them happy men, nd gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends [that are dead;] so rmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another [in the ther world.] So when these men have heard all such commands that were to be iven them, they deliver their body to the fire; and in order to their getting their oul a separation from the body in the greatest purity, they die in the midst of ymns of commendations made to them; for their dearest friends conduct them o their death more readily than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fel ow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, who at the same time weep n their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to e made partakers of the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, shamed to have lower notions than the Indians? and by our own cowardice to ay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much desired and nitated by all mankind? But put the case that we had been brought up under nother persuasion, and thought that life is the greatest good which men are ca- able of, and that death is a calamity; however, the circumstances we are now ought to be an inducement to us to bear such calamity courageously, since it by the will of God and by necessity that we are to die; for it now appears that od hath made such a decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we are to be eprived of this life which [he knew] we would not make a due use of: for do ot you ascribe the occasion of your present condition to yourselves, nor think ie Romans are the true occasion that this war we have had with them is become o destructive to us all: these things have not come to pass by their power, but more powerful cause hath intervened, and made us afford them an occasion of ieir appearing to be conquerors over us. What Roman weapons, I pray you, ere those by which the Jews of Cæsarea were slain? On the contrary, when ey were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their seventh ay festival, and did not so much as lift up their hands against the citizens of Cæsa- a, yet did those citizens run upon them in great crowds, and cut their throats and ie throats of their wives and children, and this without any regard to the Romans iemselves, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them. But me may be ready to say, that truly the people of Cæsarea had always a quarrel gainst those that lived among them, and that, when an opportunity offered itself, ey satisfied the old rancour they had against them. What, then, shall we say to ose of Scythopolis, who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks? or did they do it by way of revenge upon the Romans, when they acted in concert ith our countrymen. Wherefore, you see how little our good will and fidelity them profited us, while they were slain, they and their whole families, after ie most inhuman manner, which was all the requital that was made them for the ssistance they had afforded the others: for that very same destruction which ey had prevented from falling upon the others did they suffer themselves from em, as if they had been ready to be the actors against them. It would be too ng for me to speak at this time of every destruction brought upon us: for you annot but know, that there was not any one Syrian city which did not slay their ewish inhabitants, and were not more bitter enemies to us than were the Romans iemselves: nay, even those of Damascus, when they were able to allege no lerable pretence against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughters our people, and cut the throats of eighteen thousand* Jews with their wives id children. And as to the multitude of those that were slain in Egypt, and

* See B. ii. ch. xx. sect. 2, where the number of the slain is but 10,000.

and that with torments also, we have been informed they were more than six thousand: those, indeed, being in a foreign country, and so naturally meeting with nothing to oppose against their enemies, were killed in the manner forementioned. As for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our own country, had we not sufficient reason to have sure hopes of victory for we had arms and walls, and fortresses so prepared as not to be easily taken and courage not to be moved by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But, then, these advantages sufficed us but for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be the origin of our miseries; for all we had hath been taken from us, and all hath fallen under our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render the victory over us the more glorious, and were not disposed for the preservation of those by whom these preparations were made. And as for those that are already dead in the war, it is reasonable we should esteem them blessed, for they are dead in defending and not in betraying their liberty; but as to the multitude of those that are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition? and who would not make haste to die, before he would suffer the same miseries with them? Some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and whipping, and so died. Some of them have been half-devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been reserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies; and such of those as are alive, still are to be looked on as the most miserable, who being so desirous of death could not come at it. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the Jewish nation which was fortified by so many walls round about, which had so many fortresses and large towers to defend it, which could hardly contain the instruments prepared for the war, and which had so many ten thousands of men to fight for it? Where is this city that was believed to have God himself inhabitant therein? is now demolished to the very foundations, and hath nothing but that monument of it preserved, I mean the camp of those that have destroyed it, which still dwells upon its ruins; some unfortunate old men also lie upon the ashes of the temple, and a few women are there preserved alive by the enemy for our bitter shame and reproach. Now, who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet is able to bear the sight of the sun, though he might live out of danger? Who is there so much his country's enemy, or so unmanly, and so desirous of living, as not to repent that he is still alive? and I cannot but wish that we had all died, before we had seen that holy city demolished by the hands of our enemies, or the foundations of our holy temple dug up after so profane a manner. But since we had a generous hope that deluded us, as if we might, perhaps, have been able to avenge ourselves on our enemies on that account, though it be now become vanity, and hath left us alone in this distress, let us make haste to die bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our own power to show pity to them; for we were born to die,* as well as those were whom we have begotten; nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid it. But for abuses and slavery, and the sight of our wives led away after an ignominious manner, with their children, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death before those miseries, when it is in their power so to do, must undergo even them on account of their own cowardice. We revolted from the Romans with great pretensions to courage; and when at the very last they invited us to preserve ourselves, we would not comply with them. Who will not, therefore, believe that they will certainly be in a rage at us, in case they can take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men who will be strong enough in their bodies to sustain many torments; miserable also will be those of elder years, who will not be able to bear those calamities which young men might sustain. One man will be obliged to hear the voice of his

* Reland here sets down a parallel aphorism one of the Jewish Rabbins,—"We are born that we may die, and die that we may live."

son imploring help of his father, when his hands are bound. But certainly our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them; let them, then, be subservient to us in our glorious design; let us die before we become slaves under our enemies and let us go out of the world, together with our children and our wives, in a state of freedom. This it is that our laws command us to do; this it is that our wives and children crave at our hands; nay, God himself hath brought this necessity upon us; while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are taken. Let us, therefore, make haste, and, instead of affording them so much pleasure as they hope for in getting us under their power, let us leave them an example which shall at once cause their astonishment at our death, and their admiration of our hardiness therein."

## CHAP. IX.

*How the People that were in the Fortress were prevailed on by the Words of Eleazar, two Women and five Children only excepted, and all submitted to be killed by one another.*

§ 1. Now, as Eleazar was proceeding on in this exhortation, they all cut him off short, and made haste to do the work, as full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and moved with a demoniacal fury. So they went their way as one still endeavouring to be before another, and as thinking that this eagerness would be a demonstration of their courage and good conduct if they could avoid appearing in the last class; so great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives, and children, and themselves also. Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done; but they then held fast the same resolution without wavering, which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, while yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. Yet at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid that prospect they had of the miseries they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act their part in this terrible execution, but every one of them dispatched his dearest relations. Miserable men, indeed, were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So they being not able to bear the grief they were under for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain to live even the shortest space of time after them, they presently laid all they had upon a heap, and set fire to it. They then chose ten men by lot out of them to slay all the rest; every one of which laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office: and when these ten had, without fear, slain them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and after all should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering: so, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner; and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some or other among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite dispatched; and when he perceived that

they were all slain, he set fire to the palace, and, with the great force of his hand, ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near to his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they would not leave so much as one soul among them alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was of kin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in prudence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus [Nisan.]

2. Now for the Romans, they expected that they should be fought in the morning, when, accordingly, they put on their armour, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from their banks, to make an assault upon the fortress, which they did: but saw nobody as an enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering-ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within; the women heard this noise, and came out of their underground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, as it was done; and the second of them clearly described all, both what was said and what was done, and the manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said: they also attempted to put the fire out; and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immoveable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown, when they went through with such an action as that was.

## CHAP. X.

*That many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria also, and what Dangers they were in there; on which Account that Temple which had formerly been built by Onias the High Priest was destroyed.*

§ 1. When Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress to keep it, and he himself went away to Cæsarea; for there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war. Yet did this war afford disturbances and dangerous disorders even in places very far remote from Judea; for still it came to pass that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt: for as many of the Sicarii as were able to fly thither, out of the seditious wars in Judea, were not content to have saved themselves, but must needs be undertaking to make new disturbances, and persuaded many of those that entertained them to assert their liberty, to esteem the Romans to be no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only lord and master. But when part of the Jews of reputation opposed them, they slew some of them, and with the others they were very pressing in their exhortations to revolt from the Romans; but when the principal men of the senate saw what madness they were come to, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook them. So they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and accused the madness of the Sicarii, and demonstrated that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also, that "these men, now they were ran away from Judea, having no sure hope of escaping, because as soon as ever they shall be known they will

be soon destroyed by the Romans, they come hither, and fill us full of those calamities which belong to them, while we have not been partakers with them in any of their sins." Accordingly, they exhorted the multitude to have a care lest they should be brought to destruction by their means, and to make their apology to the Romans for what had been done, by delivering these men up to them; who, being thus apprized of the greatness of the danger they were in, complied with what was proposed, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and seized upon them; and, indeed, six hundred of them were caught immediately; but as to all those that fled into Egypt,* and to the Egyptian Thebes, it was not long ere they were caught also, and brought back, whose courage, or whether we ought to call it madness or hardiness in their opinions, every body was amazed at. For when all sorts of torments and vexations of their bodies that could be devised were made use of to them, they could not get any one of them to comply so far as to confess, or seem to confess, that Cæsar was their lord; but they preserved their own opinion, in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received those torments and the fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that in manner rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the beholders, was the age of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome by these torments as to name Cæsar for their lord. So far does the strength of the courage [of the soul] prevail over the weakness of the body.

2. Now Lupus did then govern Alexandria; who presently sent Cæsar word of this commotion; who having in suspicion the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together again, and persuade some others to join with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish that Jewish temple† which was in the region called *Onion*, and was in Egypt, which was built, and had its denomination from the occasion following.—Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high priests, fled from Antiochus, the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews, and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him, that, if he would comply with his proposal, he would bring all the Jews to his assistance; and when the king agreed to do it so far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem; and that they would then come to him with greater good will; and that, by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him.

3. So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place‡ one hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. That Nomos was called the *Nomos of Heliopolis*, where Onias built a fortress and a temple not like to that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits: he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, excepting the make of

* Since Josephus here informs us, that some of these Sicarii or ruffians went from Alexandria (which was itself in Egypt, in a large sense) into Egypt and Thebes, there situated, Reland well observes from Vosius, that Egypt sometimes denotes Proper or Upper Egypt as distinct from Delta and the lower parts near Palestine. Accordingly, as he adds, those that say it never rains in Egypt, must mean the Proper or Upper Egypt, because it does sometimes rain in the other parts. See the notes on Antiq. B. ii. ch. vii. sect. 7; and B. iii. ch. i. sect. 6.

† Of this temple of Onias's building in Egypt, see the notes on Antiq. B. xiii. ch. iii. sect. 1. But whereas it is elsewhere, both Of the War, B. i. ch. i. sect. 1, and in the Antiquities as now quoted, said, that this temple was *like* to that at Jerusalem, and here that it was *not like it*, but like a tower, sect. 3, there is some reason to suspect the reading here, and that either the negative particle is here to be blotted out, or the word *entirely* added.

‡ We must observe, that Josephus here speaks of Antiochus, who profaned the temple, as now alive, when Onias had leave given him by Philometer to build his temple: whereas it seems not to have been actually built till about fifteen years afterwards. Yet because it is said in the Antiquities, that Onias went to Philometer, B. xii. ch. ix. sect. 7, during the lifetime of that Antiochus, it is probable he petitioned, and, perhaps obtained his leave then, though it were not actually built or finished till fifteen years afterward.

the candlestick; for he did not make a candlestick, but had a [single] lamp hammered out of a piece of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have great abundance of what things were necessary for his worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that, by building this temple, he should draw away a great number from them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet,] whose name was *Isaiah*, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt.* And this is the history of the building of that temple.

4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of Cæsar's letter, came to the temple, and carried out of it some of the donations dedicated thereto, and shut up the temple itself. And as Lupus died a little afterward Paulinus succeeded him. This man left none of those donations there, and threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out; nor did he permit any who were desirous of worshiping God there so much as to come near the whole sacred place. But when he had shut up the gates, he made it entirely inaccessible, insomuch that there remained no longer the least footsteps of any divine worship that had been in that place. Now the duration of the time from the building of this temple till it was shut up again was three hundred and forty-three years.

## CHAP. XI.

*Concerning Jonathan, one of the Sicarii, that stirred up a Sedition in Cyrene, and was a false Accuser [of the Innocent.]*

§ 1. And now did the madness of the Sicarii, like a disease, reach as far as the cities of Cyrene; for one Jonathan, a vile person, and by trade a weaver, came thither, and prevailed with no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him: he also led them into the desert, upon promising them that he would show them signs and apparitions. And as for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavery from them, and put tricks upon them; but those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the deserts, and of the preparations he had made for it. So he sent out after him both horsemen and footmen, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men; of these many were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive and brought to Catullus. As for Jonathan, the head of this plot, he fled away at that time; but upon a great and very diligent search which was made all the country over for him, he was at last taken. And when he was brought to Catullus, he devised a way whereby he both escaped punishment himself, and afforded an occasion to Catullus of doing much mischief; for he falsely accused the richest men among the Jews, and said that they had put him upon what he did.

2. Now Catullus easily admitted of these his calumnies, and aggravated matters greatly, and made tragical exclamanations, that he might also be supposed to have had a hand in the finishing of the Jewish war. But what was still harder, he did not only give a too easy belief to his stories, but he taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bid this Jonathan, therefore, to name one Alexander a

* Isa. xix. 18—23.

Jew (with whom he had formerly had a quarrel, and openly professed that he hated him;) he also got him to name his wife Bernice as concerned with him These two Catullus ordered to be slain in the first place; nay, after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, being no fewer in all than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to Cæsar's revenues.

3. Nay, indeed, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of this villany, he extended his false accusations farther, and persuaded Jonathan and certain others that were caught with him, to bring an accusation of attempts for innovation against the Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria and at Rome. One of these against whom this treacherous accusation was laid was Josephus, the writer of these books. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hopes; for though he came himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions along with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no farther inquisition made as to those lies that were forged under his government or by his means; yet did Vespasian suspect the matter, and make an inquiry how far it was true. And when he understood that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them, and this on account of Titus's concern about the matter, and brought a deserved punishment upon Jonathan; for he was first tormented and then burnt alive.

4. But as to Catullus, the emperors were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severer condemnation at this time: yet was it not long before he fell into a complicated and almost incurable distemper, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the distemper in his mind was more heavy upon him than the other: for he was terribly disturbed, and continually cried out — That he saw the ghosts of those men whom he had slain standing before him." Whereupon he was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torments and fire were brought to him. This his distemper grew still a great deal worse and worse continually; and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and in that condition he died. Thus he became as great an instance of divine providence as ever was, and demonstrated that God punishes wicked men.

5. And here we shall put an end to this our history; wherein we formerly promised to deliver the same, with all accuracy, to such as should be desirous of understanding after what manner this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Of which history how good the stile is must be left to the determination of the readers: but as for its agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth hath been what I have alone aimed at through its entire composition.

# ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS.

## FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS AGAINST APION.*

### BOOK I.

§ 1. I SUPPOSE that, by my books of the Antiquity of the Jews, most excellen Epaphroditus,† I have made it evident to those who peruse them, that our Jewis nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct subsistence of its own origi nally; as also, I have therein declared how we came to inhabit this country where in we now live. Those Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years and are taken out of our sacred books, but are translated by me into the Greel tongue. However, since I observe a considerable number of people giving ea to the reproaches that are laid against us by those who bear ill will to us, and will not believe what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, whil they take it for a plain sign that our nation is of a late date, because they are not so much as vouchsafed a bare mention by the most famous historiographers among the Grecians, I, therefore, have thought myself under an obligation to write somewhat briefly about these subjects, in order to convict those that reproach us of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and withal to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth of what great antiquity we really are. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the

* This first book has a wrong title. It is not written against Apion, as is the first part of the second book, but against those Greeks in general who would not believe Josephus's former accounts of the very ancient state of the Jewish nation, in his XX Books of Antiquities; and in particular against Agatharchides, Manetho, Cheremon, and Lysimachus. It is one of the most learned, excellent, and useful books of all antiquity; and upon Jerom's perusal of this and the following books, he declares, that "it seems to him a miraculous thing, how one that was a Hebrew, who had been from his infancy instructed in sacred learning, should be able to produce such a number of testimonies out of profane authors, as if he had read over all the Grecian libraries." Epist. 84, ad magnum: And the learned Jew, Manasseh-ben-Israel, esteemed these two books so excellent, as to translate them into Hebrew: this we learn from his own catalogue of his works which I have seen. As to the time and place when and where these two books were written, the learned have not hitherto been able to determine them, any farther than that they were written some time after his Antiquities, or some time after A. D. 93, which, indeed, is too obvious at their entrance to be overlooked even by a careless peruser; they being directly intended against those that would not believe what he had advanced in those books concerning the great antiquity of the Jewish nation. As to the place, they all imagine that these two books were written where the former were, I mean at Rome; and I confess, that I myself believed both those determinations till I came to finish my notes upon these books, when I met with plain indications that they were written not at Rome, but in Judea, and this after the third year of Trajan, or A. D. 100.

† Take Dr. Hudson's note here, which, as it justly contradicts the common opinion that Josephus either died under Domitian, or at least wrote nothing later than his days, so does it perfectly agree to my own determination, from Justus of Tiberias, that he wrote or finished his own life after the 3d of Trajan, or A. D. 100, to which Noldius also agrees, de Herod. No. 383. "[*Epaphroditus*] since Flavius Josephus," says Dr. Hudson, "wrote [or finished] his books of Antiquities on the 13th of Domitian, [A. D. 93,] and after that wrote the memoirs of his own life as an appendix to the books of Antiquities, and at last his two books against Apion, and yet dedicated all those writings to Epaphroditus, he can hardly be that Epaphroditus who was formerly secretary to Nero, and was slain on the 14th [or 15th] of Domitian, after he had been for a good while in banishment but another Epaphroditus a free man and procurator of Trajan, as says Grotius on Luke, i. 3."

proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed to be of the greatest reputation for truth, and the most skilful in the knowledge of all antiquity, by the Greeks themselves. I will also show, that those who have written so reproachfully and falsely about us are to be convicted by what they have written themselves to the contrary. I shall also endeavour to give an account of the reasons why it hath so happened, that there have not been a great number of Greeks who have made mention of our nation in their histories: I will, however, bring those Grecians to light, who have not omitted such our history, for the sake of those that either do not know them, or pretend not to know them already.

2. And now, in the first place, I cannot but greatly wonder at those men who suppose that we must attend to none but Grecians when we are inquiring about the most ancient facts, and must inform ourselves of their truth from them only, while we must not believe ourselves nor other men; for I am convinced that the very reverse is the truth of the case: I mean this, if we will not be led by vain opinions, but will make inquiry after truth from facts themselves; for they will find, that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago; nay, one may say, is of yesterday only. I speak of the building of their cities, the invention of their arts, and the description of their laws; and as for their care about the writing down of their histories, it is very near the last thing they set about. However, they acknowledge themselves so far, that they were the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phœnicians (for I will not now reckon ourselves among them) that have preserved the memorials of the most ancient and most lasting traditions of mankind; for almost all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the world about them; and these also have taken especial care to have nothing omitted of what was [remarkably] done among them; but their history was esteemed sacred, and put into public tables, as written by men of the greatest wisdom they had among them. But as for the place where the Grecians inhabit, ten thousand destructions have overtaken it, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that they were ever beginning a new way of living, and supposed that every one of them was the origin of their new state. It was also late and with difficulty that they came to know the letters they now use; for those who would advance their use of these letters to the greatest antiquity, pretend that they learned them from the Phœnicians and from Cadmus; yet is nobody able to demonstrate that they have any writing preserved from that time, neither in their temples nor in any other public monuments. This appears, because the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war, so many years afterward, is in great doubt, and great inquiry is made whether the Greeks used their letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that their present way of using those letters was unknown at that time. However, there is not any writing which the Greeks agree to be genuine among them ancienter than Homer's poems,* who must plainly be confessed later than the siege of Troy; nay the report goes, that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and they were put together afterward; and that this is the reason of such a number of variations as are found in them. As for those who set themselves about writing their histories, I mean such as Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others that may be mentioned as succeeding Acusilaus, they lived but a little while before the Persian expedition into Greece. But then for those that first introduced philosophy, and the consideration of things celestial and divine among them, such as Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree that they learned what they knew of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but

* This preservation of Homer's Poems by memory, and not by his own writing them down, and that sentence they were styled *rhapsodies*, as sung by him, like ballads, by parts, and not composed and connected together in complete works, are opinions well known from the ancient commentators; though such supposal seems to myself, as well as to Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. i. p. 269, and to others, highly improbable. Nor does Josephus say there were no ancienter writings among the Greeks than Homer's poems, but that they did not fully own any ancienter writings pretending to such antiquity, which is true.

little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all amor the Greeks; and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to tho men are genuine.

3. How can it, then, be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be proud, and to vaunt themselves to be the only people that are acquainted with a tiquity, and that have delivered the true accounts of those early times after a accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Gree writers themselves, that they knew but little on any good foundation when the set to write, but rather wrote their histories from their own conjectures? Accor ingly, they confute one another in their own books to purpose, and are n ashamed to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things: and should spend my time to little purpose, if I should pretend to teach the Greek that which they know better than I already, what a great disagreement there between Hellanicus and Acusilaus about their genealogies; in how many case Acusilaus corrects Hesiod; or after what manner Ephorus demonstrates Hella nicus to have told lies in the greatest part of his history: as does Timeus in lik manner as to Ephorus, and the succeeding writers do to Timeus, and all the late writers do to Herodotus;* nor could Timeus agree with Antiochus and Philistius or with Callias, about the Sicilian history, no more than do the several writers o the Athidæ follow one another about the Athenian affairs; nor do the historian the like, that wrote the Argolics, about the affairs of the Argives. And now wha need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, while in the mos approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions which wer therein performed, there are so great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself i accused of some as writing what is false, although he seems to have given us th exactest history of the affairs of his own time.

4. As for the occasions of so great disagreement of theirs, there may be as signed many that are very probable, if any have a mind to make an inquiry abou them; but I ascribe these contradictions chiefly to two causes, which I will no mention, and still think what I shall mention in the first place to be the principa of all: For, if we remember, that in the beginning the Greeks had taken no car to have public records of their several transactions preserved, this must for cer tain have afforded those that would afterward write about those ancient transac tions the opportunity of making mistakes, and the power of making lies also; fo this original recording of such ancient transactions hath not only been neglecte by the other states of Greece, but even among the Athenians themselves also, wh pretend to be *aborigines*, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are n such records extant; nay, they say themselves, that the laws of Draco concern ing murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their pub lic records; which Draco yet lived but a little before the tyrant Pisistratus.† Fo as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, what need I speak of them in particular, since it was still later before they got their letters, and learned them, and that with difficulty also?

5. There must, therefore, naturally arise great differences among writers

* It well deserves to be considered, that Josephus here says, how all the following Greek historian looked on Herodotus as a fabulous author, and presently, sect. 14, how Manetho, that most authentic writer of the Egyptian history, greatly complains of his mistakes in the Egyptian affairs; as also tha Strabo, B. xi. p. 507, the most accurate geographer and historian, esteemed him such, that Xenophon the much more accurate historian in the days of Cyrus, implies, that Herodotus's accounts of that grea man are almost entirely romantic. See the note on Antiq. B. xi. ch. ii. sect. 1, and Hutchinson's Pro legomena to his edition of Xenophon's Κύρου Παιδεία that we have already seen in the note on Antiq. B. viii. chap. x. sect. 3, how very little Herodotus knew about the Jewish affairs and country, and that he greatly affected what we call the *marvellous*, as Monsieur Rollin has lately and justly determined whence we are not always to depend on the authority of Herodotus, where it is unsupported by other evidence, but ought to compare the other evidence with his, and, if it preponderate, to prefer it before his. I do not mean by this that Herodotus wilfully related what he believed to be false (as Ctesias seems to have done,) but that he often wanted evidence, and sometimes preferred what was marvellous to what was best attested as really true.

† About the days of Cyrus and Daniel.

when they had no original records to lay for their foundation, which might at once inform those who had an inclination to learn, and contradict those that would tell lies. However, we are to suppose a second occasion, besides the former, of these contradictions; it is this.—That those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth,* although it was very easy for them always to make such a profession; but their business was to demonstrate that they could write well, and make an impression upon mankind hereby; and in what manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves. Some of them betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some of them endeavoured to please the cities or the kings, by writing in their commendation; others of them fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. And, indeed, these do what is of all things the most contrary to true history; for it is the great character of true history that all concerned therein both speak and write the same things; while these men, by writing differently about the same things, think they shall be believed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We, therefore, [who are Jews,] must yield to the Grecian writers as to language and eloquence of composition; but when we shall give them no such preference as to the verity of ancient history and least of all as to that part which concerns the affairs of our own several countries.

6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity among the Egyptians and Babylonians; that the priests were intrusted therewith, and employed a philosophical concern about it, that they were the Chaldean priests that did so among the Babylonians, and that the Phœnicians, who were mingled among the Greeks, did especially make use of their letters, both for the common affairs of life, and for the delivering down the history of common transactions, I think I may omit any proof, because all men allow it so to be. But now as to our forefathers, that they took no less care about writing such records (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of,) and that they committed that matter to their high priests and to their prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy; nay if it be not too bold for me to say it, our history will be so written hereafter; I shall endeavour briefly to inform you.

7. For our forefathers did not only appoint the best of these priests, and those that attended upon the divine worship, for that design from the beginning, but made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed and pure; for he who is partaker of the priesthood must propagate of a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money, or any other dignities; But he is to make a scrutiny, and to take his wife's genealogy from the ancient tables†, and procure many witnesses to it. And this is our practice not only in Judea, but wheresoever any body of men of our nation do live; and even there an exact catalogue of our priests' marriages is kept; I mean at Egypt and Babylon, or in any other place of the rest of the habitable earth, whithersoever our priests

* It is here well worth our observation, what the reasons are that such ancient authors as Herodotus, Josephus, and others have been read to so little purpose by many learned critics, *viz.* that their main aim has not been chronology or history, but philology, to know words and not things, they not much enterising oftentimes into the real contents of their authors, and judging which were the most accurate discoverers of truth, and most to be depended on in their several histories, but rather inquiring who wrote the finest style and had the greatest elegance in their expressions, which are things of small consequence in comparison of the other. Thus, you will sometimes find great debates among the learned, whether Herodotus or Thucydides were the finest historians in the Ionic and Attic ways of writing, which signify little as to the real value of each of their histories, while it would be of much more moment to let the reader know that, as the consequence of Herodotus's history, which begins so much earlier, and reaches so much wider than that of Thucydides, is, therefore, vastly greater; so is the most part of Thucydides, which belongs to his own times, and fell under his own observation, much the most certain.

† Of this accuracy of the Jews before and in our Saviour's time, in carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus's Life, sect. 1. This accuracy seems to have ended at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, or, however, at that by Adrian.

are scattered; for they send to Jerusalem the ancient names of their parents i writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and signify who are the wit nesses also. But if any war falls out, such as have fallen out a great many o them already, when Antiochus Epiphanes made an invasion upon our country as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also, and principall in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive then compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine the circum stances of the women that remain; for still they do not admit of those that have been captives, as suspecting that they had conversation with some foreigners But what is the strongest argument of our exact management in this matter, i what I am now going to say, that we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records, for the interval of two thousand years and if any of these have been trangsressors of these rules, they are prohibited t present themselves at the altar, or to be partakers of any other of our purifica tions: and this is justly or rather necessarily done, because every one is no permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement i what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God himself by inspiration: and others have written what hath happened in their own times, and that in a very distinct manner also.

8. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another [as the Greeks have,] but only twenty-two books,* which contain the records of all the past times, which are justly believed to be divine. And of them five belong to Moses, which contain his laws, and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years. But as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses, wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true our history hath been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time: and how firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one hath been so bold as either to add any thing to them, to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain di vine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them. For it is no new thing for our captives, many of them in number, and frequently in time, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds upon the theatres, that they may not be obliged to say one word against our laws, or the records that contain them: whereas there are none at all among the Greeks who would undergo the least harm on that account, no, nor in case all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed; for they take them to be such discourses as are framed agreeably to the inclinations of those that write them; and they have justly the same opinion of the ancient writers, since they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about such affairs wherein they were not present, nor had concern enough to inform themselves about them from those that knew them; examples of which may be had in this late war of ours, where some persons have written histories, and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done; but

* Which were these twenty-two sacred books of the Old Testament, see the Supplement to the Essay on the Old Testament, p. 25—29, viz. those we call *canonical*, all excepting the Canticles; but still with this farther exception, that the first book of *apocryphal* Esdras be taken into that number, instead of our *canonical* Ezra, which seems to be no more than a later epitome of the other; which two books of Canticles and Ezra it no way appears that our Josephus ever saw

ese men put a few things together by hearsay, and insolently abuse the world, nd call these writings by the name of *Histories*.

9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of that whole war, and of all e particulars that occurred therein, as having been concerned in all its trans-ctions; for I acted as general of those among us that are named *Galileans*, as ng as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then seized on by e Romans, and became a captive; Vespasian also and Titus had me kept under guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into onds, but was set at liberty afterward, and sent to accompany Titus, when he ame from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was othing done which escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman amp I saw and wrote down carefully; and what information the deserters rought [out of the city,] I was the only man that understood them. Afterward got leisure at Rome; and when all my materials were prepared for that work, made use of some persons to assist me in learning the Greek tongue, and by ese means I composed the history of those transactions. And I was so well ssured of the truth of what I related, that I first of all appealed to those that had e supreme command in that war, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me; for them I presented those books first of all, and after them to many of the Ro-ans who had been in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who un-erstood the Greek philosophy; among whom were Julius Archelaus; Herod ing of Chalcis,] a person of great gravity, and King Agrippa himself, a person at deserved the greatest admiration. Now all these men bore their testimony me, that I had the strictest regard to truth; who yet would not have dissem-ed the matter, nor been silent, if I, out of ignorance, or out of favour to any de, either had given false colours to actions or omitted any of them.

10. There have been, indeed, some bad men who have attempted to calumni-e my history, and took it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the exer-se of young men. A strange sort of accusation and calumny this! since every ne that undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them ccurately himself in the first place, as either having been concerned in them him-lf, or been informed of them by such as knew them. Now, both these methods knowledge I may very properly pretend to in the composition of both my orks; for, as I said, I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books, hich I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that ilosophy which is contained in those writings; and for the History of the War, wrote it as having been an actor myself in many of its transactions, an eyewit-ess in the greatest part of the rest, and was not unacquainted with any thing hatsoever that was either said or done in it. How impudent, then, must those eserve to be esteemed, that undertake to contradict me about the true state of ose affairs? who, although they pretend to have made use of both the emperor's vn memoirs, yet could not they be acquainted with our affairs who fought against em.

11. This digression I have been obliged to make out of necessity, as being de-rous to expose the vanity of those that profess to write histories; and I suppose have sufficiently declared, that this custom of transmitting down the histories ancient times hath been better preserved by those nations which are called *rbarians*, than by the Greeks themselves. I am now willing in the next place, say a few things to those that endeavour to prove that our constitution is but late time, for this reason, as they pretend, that the Greek writers have said othing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out the writings of foreigners; I shall also demonstrate, that such as cast re-oaches upon our nation do it very unjustly.

12. As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea; and having a fruitful

country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. Our princip care of all is this, to educate our children well; and we think it to be the mo necessary business of our whole life to observe the laws that have been given u and to keep those rules of piety that have been delivered down to us. Sin therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a p culiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancie ages, for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among t Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several good as they also mixed with the Phœnicians, who lived by the seaside, by means their love of lucre in trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betal themselves, as did some others, to robbery; nor did they in order to gain mo wealth, fall into foreign wars, although our country contained many ten thousan of men of courage sufficient for that purpose. For this reason it was, that t Phœnicians themselves came soon, by trading and navigation, to be known the Grecians, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Grecia also, as did all those people whence the Phœnicians in long voyages over t seas carried wares to the Grecians. The Medes also, and the Persians, wh they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especial true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent [Europe The Thracians were also known to them by the nearness of their countries, a the Scythians by the means of those that sailed to Pontus; for it was so in gen ral, that all maritime nations, and those that inhabited near the eastern or we ern seas, became most known to those that were desirous to be writers; but su as had their habitations farther from the sea were for the most part unknown them: which things appear to have happened as to Europe also, where the ci of Rome, that hath this long time been possessed of so much power, and ha performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, n by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries; and it was very lat and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. Na those that were reckoned the most exact historians, and Ephorus for one, was very ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards w inhabit so great a part of the western regions of the earth, to be no more th one city. Those historians also have ventured to describe such customs as we made use of by them, which they never had either done or said; and the reas why these writers did not know the truth of their affairs was this, that they h not any commerce together; but the reason why they wrote such falsities w this, that they had a mind to appear to know things which others had not know How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was no more known to many the Greeks, nor had given them any occasion to mention them in their writing while they were so remote from the sea, and had a conduct of life so peculiar themselves?

13. Let us now put the case, therefore, that we made use of this argume concerning the Grecians, in order to prove that their nation was not ancient, b cause nothing is said of them in our records; would not they laugh at us all, a probably give the same reasons for our silence that I have now alleged, and wou produce their neighbour nations as witnesses to their own antiquity? Now, t very same thing will I endeavour to do; for I will bring the Egyptians and th Phœnicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their te timony as false, on account that they are known to have borne the greatest ill wi towards us: I mean this as to the Egyptians in general all of them, while of th Phœnicians it is known the Tyrians have been most of all in the same ill dispos tion towards us: yet do I confess, that I cannot say the same of the Chaldean since our first leaders and ancestors were derived from them, and they do mak mention of us Jews in their records, on account of the kindred there is betwee us. Now, when I shall have made my assertions good, so far as concerns th others, I will demonstrate that some of the Greek writers have made mention o

is Jews also, that those who envy us may not have even this pretence for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not, indeed, of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho was a man who was by birth an Egyptian; yet had he made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, by translating it, as he saith himself, out of their sacred records: he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false relation of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court for a witness—"There was a king of ours whose name was *Timaus*. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was *Salatis*; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the Saite Nomos [Seth-roite,] a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called *Avaris*: this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men which he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to gather his corn and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned thirteen years, after him reigned another, whose name was *Beon*, for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called *Apachnas*, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janias fifty years and one month; after all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hycsos, that is, *shepherd-kings*; for the first syllable Hyc, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a *king*, as is sos a *shepherd*; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hycsos: but some say that these people were Arabians." Now, in another copy it is said, that this word does not denote *kings*, but on the contrary denotes *captive shepherds*, and this on account of the particle Hyc; for that Hyc, with the aspiration, in the Egyptian tongue, again denotes *shepherds*, and that expressly also: and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [But Manetho goes on]—"These people, whom we have before named *kings*, and called *shepherds* also, and their descendants," as he says, "kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years. After these," he says,—"That the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt, made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made between them." He says farther,—"That under a king, whose name was *Alisphragmuthosis*, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were, indeed, driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres: This place was named *Avaris*." Manetho says,—"That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey

within a place of strength, but that Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with four hundred and eighty thousand men to lie round about them; but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would and that after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called *Judea*, and that large enough to contain this great "number of men, and called it *Jerusalem*."* Now Manetho, in another book of his, says,—"That this nation, thus called *shepherds*, were also called *captives* in their sacred books." And this account of his is the truth; for feeding of sheep was the employment† of our forefathers in the most ancient ages; and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called *shepherds*. Nor was it without reason that they were called *captives* by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive,‡ and afterward sent for his brethren into Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters I shall make a more exact inquiry about them elsewhere.§

15. But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall, therefore, here bring in Manetho again, and what he writes as to the order of the times in this case: and thus he speaks.—"When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis the king of Egypt who drove them out reigned afterward twenty-five years and four months, and then died; after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years, after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; after her came Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after her was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten moths; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acencheres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then was Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miammoun, for sixty years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis and Ramesses, who had an army of horse, and a naval force. This king appointed his brother Armais to be his deputy over Egypt. [In another copy it stood thus.—After him came Sethosis and Ramesses, two brethren, the former of which had a naval force, and in a hostile manner destroyed those that met him upon the sea; but as he slew Ramesses in no long time afterward, so he appointed another of his brethren to be his deputy over Egypt.] He also gave him all the other authority of a king, but with these only injunctions, that he should not wear the diadem, nor be injurious to the queen, the mother of his children; and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king, while he made an expedition against Cyprus and Phœnicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He then subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and, being

* Here we have an account of the first building of the city of Jerusalem, according to Manetho, when the Phœnician shepherds were expelled out of Egypt, about thirty-seven years before Abraham came out of Haran.

† Gen. xlvi. 32, 34; xlvii, 3, 4.

‡ In our copies of the book of Genesis and of Josephus, this Joseph never calls himself a *captive*, when he was with the king of Egypt, though he does call himself *a servant*, *a slave*, or *a captive*, many times in the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, under Joseph, sect. 1, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.

§ This is now wanting.

puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went still on the more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the eastern parts. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things, by way of opposition, which his brother had forbid him to do, without fear; for he used violence to the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them: nay, at the persuasion of his friends, he put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother. But then he who was set over the priests of Egypt wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up to oppose him: he, therefore, returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called from his name *Egypt;* for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called *Egyptus*, as was his brother Armais called *Danaus*."*

16. This is Manetho's account. And evident it is, from the number of years by him set down belonging to this interval, if they be summed up together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of Egypt, and came thence, and inhabited this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon him† as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt, and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years;† but then, as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain original, I will disprove them hereafter particularly, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

17. I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phœnicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce attestations to what I have said out of them. There are, then, records among the Tyrians, that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded, that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage; and in their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon's, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talents of gold. He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called *Libanus*, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also that was called *Chabulon*.‡ But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was betwixt them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the epistles that passed between them are still

* Of this Egyptian chronology of Manetho, as mistaken by Josephus, and of these Phœnician shepherds, as falsely supposed by him, and others after him, to have been the Israelites in Egypt, see Essay on the Old Testament, Appendix, page 182—188. And note here, that when Josephus tells us that the Greeks or Argives looked on this Danaus as ἀρχαιότατος, *a most ancient*, or *the most ancient* king of Argos, he need not be supposed to mean, in the strictest sense, that they had no one king so ancient as he; for it is certain they owned nine kings before him, and Inachus at the head of them; see Authentic Records; Part ii. p. 983; as Josephus could not but know very well; but that he was esteemed as very ancient by them, and that they knew they had been first of all denominated *Danai*, from this very ancient king Danaus. Nor does this superlative degree always imply the *most ancient* of all without exception, but is sometimes to be rendered *very ancient* only, as is the case in the like superlative degrees of other words also.

† See the preceding note. ‡ 1 Kings, ix. 13.

preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word I will produce for a witness Dius, one that is believed to have written the Phœnician history after an accurate manner. This Dius, therefore, writes thus in his histories of the Phœnicians.—"Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hiron took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the temple of Jupiter Olympus, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say farther, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve; and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom." These things are attested to by Dius, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before.

18. And now I shall add Menander, the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus:—"Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the *Broad Place*, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter's temple: he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called *Libanus*, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples and built new ones: besides this, he consecrated the temples of Hercules and of Astarte. He first built Hercules's temple in the month Peritus, and that of Astarte, when he made his expedition against the Tityans, who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had subdued them to himself he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Soloman, king of Jerusalem, had recommended to be solved." Now, the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated.—"Upon the death of Hirom, Beleazarus, his son, took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now, four sons of his nurse plotted against him, and slew him, the eldest of which reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus, the son of Deleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Aserymus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine years; he was slain by his brother Pheles, who took the kingdom, and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years; he was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six years: he was succeeded by Matgenus his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine years: Pygmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now, in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city of Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hirom till the building of Carthage amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months. Since, then, the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple until the building of Carthage one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Wherefore, what occasion is there for alleging any more testimonies out of the Phœnician histories [on the behalf of our nation,] since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? And to be sure our ances-

tors came into this country long before the building of the temple ; for it was not till we had gotten possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

19. I will now relate what hath been written concerning us in the Chaldean histories, which records have a great agreement with our books in other things also. Berosus shall be witness to what I say ; he was by birth a Chaldean, well known by the learned on account of his publication of the Chaldean books of astronomy and philosophy among the Greeks. This Berosus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, gives us a history of the deluge of waters that then happened, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, and agrees with Moses's narration thereof. He also gives us an account of that ark wherin Noah the origin of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains : after which he gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabolassar, who was king of Babylon and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of this king, he describes to us,—" How he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him ; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire ; nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon ; when it so happened, that our city was desolate during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia." He then says, that " this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phœnicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldea." A little after which Berosus subjoins what follows in his history of ancient times : I will set down Berosus's own accounts, which are these.—" When Nabolassar, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and over the parts of Celesyria and Phœnicia had revolted from him, he was not able to bear it any longer, but committing certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, he sent him against the rebel : Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country under his dominion again. Now it so fell out, that his father Nabolassar fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But as he understood, in a little time, that his father Nabolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phœnicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armour, with the rest of his baggage to Babylonia ; while he went in haste, having but a few with him, over the desert to Babylon ; whither when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came and ordered the captives to be placed as colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia : but for himself he adorned the emple of Belus, and the other temples, after an elegant manner, out of the spoils he had taken in the war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and so far restored Babylon, that none who should besiege it afterwards might have it in their power to divert the river, so as to facilitate an entrance into it ; and this he did by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had thus fortified the city with walls, after an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in, and this close by it also, and that more eminent in its height and in its great splendour ; it would, perhaps, require

too long a narration, if any one were to describe it; however, as prodigious large and as magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars; and by planting what was called a *pensile paradise*, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect of an exact resemblance of a mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."*

20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldean history: wherein he complains of the Grecian writers for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis* queen of Assyria, and for her false pretence to those wonderful edifices thereto relating, as if they were her own workmanship; as, indeed, in these affairs the Chaldean history cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says, in the archives of the Phœnicians, concerning this king Nabuchodonosor, that he conquered all Syria and Phœnicia; in which case Philostratus agrees with the others in that history which he composed, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also, in the fourth book of his Indian history, wherein he pretends to prove, that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya, and conquered Iberia also. Now, as to what I have said before about the temple of Jerusalem, that it was fought against by the Babylonians, and burnt by them, but was opened again when Cyrus had taken the kingdom of Asia, shall be now demonstrated from what Berosus adds farther upon that head; for thus he says in his third book. —"Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years; whereupon his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He governed public affairs after an illegal and impure manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned but two years. After he was slain, Neriglissor, the person who plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom; though he were but a child, and kept it nine months; but by reason of the very ill temper and ill practices he exhibited to the world, a plot was laid against him also by his friends, and he was tormented to death. After his death, the conspirators got together, and, by common consent, put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a man of Babylon, and one who belonged to that insurrection. In his reign it was that the walls of the city of Babylon were curiously built with burnt brick and bitumen; but, when he was come to the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army; and, having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he came hastily to Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joining battle with him, was beaten and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city Borsippus. Hereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave order that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and cost him a great deal of pains to take it. He then marched away to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not sustain the siege, but delivered himself into his hands, he was at first kindly used by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania as a place for him to inhabit in, but sent him out of Babylonia. Accordingly, Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died."

21. These accounts agree with the true history in our books: for in them it is

* The great improvements that Nebuchadnezzar made in the buildings at Babylon, do no way contradict those ancient and authentic testimonies which ascribe its first building to Nimrod, and its first rebuilding to Semiramis, as Berosus seems here to suppose.

written, that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth* year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for fifty years; but that, in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, its foundations were laid, and it was finished again in the second† year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phœnicians; for it will not be superfluous to give the reader demonstrations more than enow on this occasion. In them we have this enumeration of the times of their several kings. —"Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years in the days of Ithobal, their king; after him reigned Baal, ten years; after him were judges appointed, who judged the people. Ecnibalus, the son of Baslacus, two months: Chelbes, the son of Abdeus, ten months; Abbar, the high priest, three months; Mitgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years; after whom Balatorus reigned one year; after his death, they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years: after his death they sent for his brother Hirom, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole interval is fifty-four years besides three months; for on the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom on the fourteenth year of Hirom. So that the records of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple; and the testimonies here produced are an indisputable and undeniable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said may be sufficient to such as are not very contentious.

22. But now it is proper to satisfy the inquiry of those that disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks to be worthy of credit, and to produce many of these very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to set before them such as upon occasion have made mention of us in their own writings. Pythagoras, therefore, of Samos, lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed a person superior to all philosophers in wisdom and piety towards God. Now it is plain, that he did not only know our doctrines, but was in a very great measure a follower and admirer of them. There is not, indeed, extant‡ any writing that is owned for his; but many there are who have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very inquisitive into all sort of history. Now this Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks thus:—That "Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his associates, whose name was *Calliphon*, a Crotoniate by birth, affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down; as also, not to drink of such waters as caused thirst again, and to abstain from all sorts of reproaches." After which he adds this:—"This he did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he took a great many of the laws of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of old to several of the Grecian cities, and, indeed, was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is declared by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws; for he says, "that the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths." Among which he enumerates some others, and particularly that called *Corban*, which oath can only be found among the Jews, and declares what a man may call

* This number in Josephus, that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the temple in the 18th year of his reign, is a mistake in the nicety of chronology; for it was in the 19th.

† The true number here for the year of Darius, on which the second temple was finished, whether the 2d with our present copies, or the 6th with that of Syncellus, or the tenth with that of Eusebius, is very uncertain; so we had best follow Josephus's own account elsewhere, Antiq. B. xi. ch. iii. sect. 4, which shows us, that, according to his copy of the Old Testament, after the second of Cyrus, that work was interrupted till the 2d of Darius, when in seven years it was finished, on the 9th of Darius.

‡ This is a thing well known by the learned, that we are not secure that we have any genuine writings of Pythagoras; those Golden Verses, which are his best remains, being generally supposed to have been written not by himself, but by some of his scholars only, in agreement with what Josephus here affirms of him.

*a thing devoted to God.* Nor, indeed, was Herodotus of Halicarnassus unacquainted with our nation, but mentions it after a way of his own, when he saith thus, in the second book concerning the Colchians. His words are these:—"The only people who were circumcised in their privy members originally, were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians; but the Phœnicians, and those Syrians that are in Palestine, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. And for those Syrians who live about the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, they say they have lately learned it from the Colchians; for these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have done the very same thing with the Egyptians. But as for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them received it from the other." This, therefore, is what Herodotus says, that "the Syrians that are in Palestine are circumcised." But there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised excepting the Jews; and, therefore, it must be his knowledge of them that enabled him to speak so much concerning them. Cherilus* also, a still ancienter writer, and a poet, makes mention of our nation, and informs us that it came to the assistance of King Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. For, in his enumeration of all those nations, he last of all, inserts ours among the rest, when he says,—"At the last there passed over a people wonderful to be beheld; for they spake the Phœnician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt in the Solymean mountains near a broad lake: their heads were sooty; they had round rasures on them; their heads and faces were like nasty horse heads also, that had been hardened in the smoke."

I think, therefore, that it is evident to every body, that Cherilus means us, because the Solymean mountains are in our country, wherein we inhabit, as is also the lake called *Asphaltitis;* for this is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and thus does Cherilus make mention of us. But now, that not only the lowest sort of the Grecians, but those that are had in the greatest admiration for their philosophic improvements among them, did not only know the Jews, but when they lighted upon any of them admired them also, it is easy for any one to know. For Clearchus, who was the scholar of Aristotle, and inferior to no one of the Peripatetics whomsoever, in his first book concerning sleep says,—"That Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew," and sets down Aristotle's own discourse with him. The account is this, as written down by him:—"Now for a great part of what this Jew said, it would be too long to recite it; but what includes in it both wonder and philosophy, it may not be amiss to discourse of. Now, that I may be plain with thee, Hyperochides, I shall herein seem to thee to relate wonders, and what will resemble dreams themselves. Hereupon Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, for that very reason it is

* Whether these verses of Cherilus, the heathen poet, in the days of Xerxes, belong to the Solymi in Pisidia, that were near a small lake, or to the Jews that dwelt on the Solymean or Jerusalem mountains, near the great and broad lake Asphaltitis, that were a strange people, and spake the Phœnician tongue, is not agreed on by the learned. It is yet certain that Josephus here, and Eusebius, Præp. ix. 9, p. 412, took them to be Jews, and I confess I cannot but very much incline to the same opinion. The other Solymi were not a strange people, but heathen idolators, like the other part of Xerxes's army; and that these spake the Phœnician tongue is next to impossible, as the Jews certainly did; nor is there the least evidence for it elsewhere. Nor was the lake adjoining to the mountains of the Solymi at all large or broad in comparison of the Jewish lake Asphaltitis: nor, indeed, were these so considerable a people as the Jews, nor so likely to be desired by Xerxes for his army as the Jews, to whom he was always very favourable. As for the rest of Cherilus's description, that *their heads were sooty; that they had round rasures on their heads: that their heads and faces were like nasty horse heads, which had been hardened in the smoke;* these awkward characters probably fitted the Solymi of Pisidia no better than they did the Jews in Judea. And, indeed, this reproachful language here given these people, is to me a strong indication that they were the poor despicable Jews, and not the Pisidian Solymi celebrated in Homer whom Cherilus here describes; nor are we to expect that either Cherilus or Hecateus, or any other Pagan writers cited by Josephus and Eusebius, made no mistakes in the Jewish history. If, by comparing their testimonies with the more authentic record of that nation, we find them, for the main, to confirm the same, as we always do, we ought to be satisfied, and not expect that they ever had an exact knowledge of all the circumstances of the Jewish affairs, which, indeed, it was almost always impossible for them to have. See sect. 23.

that all of us are very desirous of hearing what thou art going to say. Then, replied Aristotle, for this cause it will be the best way to imitate that rule of the rhetoricians, which requires us first to give an account of the man, and of what nation he was, that so we may not contradict our master's directions. Then said Hyperochides, go on, if it so pleases thee. This man, then, [answered Aristotle,] was by birth a Jew, and came from Celesyria; these Jews are derived from the Indian philosophers; they are named by the Indians *Calami*, and by the Syrians *Judæi*, and took their name from the country they inhabit, which is called *Judea* but for the name of their city, it is a very awkward one, for they call it *Jerusalem*. Now this man, when he was hospitably treated by a great many, came down from the upper country to the places near the sea, and became a Grecian not only in his language. but in his soul also: insomuch that when we ourselves happened to be in Asia about the same places whither he came, he conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and made a trial of our skill in philosophy; and as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus; which Aristotle discoursed also particularly of the great and wonderful fortitude of this Jew in his diet and continent way of living, as those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus's book itself; for I avoid setting down any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But for Hecateus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher and one very useful in an active life, he was contemporary with King Alexander in his youth, and afterwards was with Ptolemy the son of Lagus: he did not write about the Jewish affairs by the by only, but composed an entire book concerning the Jews themselves, out of which book I am willing to run over a few things, of which I have been treating, by way of epitome. And, in the first place, I will demonstrate the time when this Hecateus lived; for he mentions the fight that was between Ptolemy and Demetrius about Gaza, which was fought on the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and on the hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had set down this Olympiad, he says farther,—"That on this Olympiad, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was named *Poliorcetes*, at Gaza." Now it is agreed by all, that Alexander died on the hundred and fourteenth Olympaid; it is, therefore, evident, that our nation flourished in his time and in the time of Alexander. Again, Hecateus says, to the same purpose, as follows.—"Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after that battle at Gaza; and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, went along with him to Egypt, and were willing to assist him in his affairs: one of which," Hecateus says, "was Hezekiah,* the high priest of the Jews; a man of about sixty-six years of age, and in great dignity among his own people. He was a very sensible man, and could speak very movingly, and was very skilful in the management of affairs, if any other man ever were so; although, as he says, all the priests of the Jews took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, and were in number not above fifteen hundred at the most." Hecateus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, that "as he was possessed of so great a dignity, and was become familiar with us, so did he take certain of those that were with him, and explained to them all the circumstances of their people; for he had all their habitations and polity down in writing." Moreover, Hecateus declares again, "what regard we have for our laws, and that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, because we think it right for us to do so." Whereupon he adds, that "although they are in

* This Hezekiah, who is here called a high priest, is not named in Josephus's catalogue; the real high priest at that time being rather Onias, as Archbishop Usher supposes. However, Josephus often uses the word high priest in the plural number, as living many at the same time. See the note on Antiq. B. xx. ch. viii. sect. 8.

a bad reputation among their neighbours, and among all those that come to them, and have been often treated injuriously by the kings and governors of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting but what they think best; but that when they are stripped on this account, and have torments inflicted upon them, and they are brought to the most terrible kinds of death, they meet them after an extraordinary manner, beyond all other people, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Hecateus also produces demonstrations not a few of this their resolute tenaciousness of their laws, when he speaks thus:—"Alexander was once at Babylon, and had an intention to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and, in order thereto, he commanded all his soldiers in general to bring earth thither; but the Jews, and they only, would not comply with that command; nay, they underwent stripes and great losses of what they had on this account, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds farther, that "when the Macedonians came to them into that country, and demolished the [old] temples and the altars, they assisted them in demolishing them all,* but [for not assisting them in rebuilding them] they either underwent losses, or sometimes obtained forgiveness." He adds farther, that "these men deserve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the mighty populousness of our nation, and says, that "the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon, as also, that not a few ten thousands were removed, after Alexander's death, into Egypt and Phœnicia, by reason of the sedition that was arisen in Syria." The same person takes notice in his history, how large the country is which we inhabit, as well as of its excellent character, and says, that "the land in which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arouræ,† and is generally of a most excellent and most fruitful soil; nor is Judea itself of lesser dimensions." The same man describes our city Jerusalem also itself as of a most excellent structure, and very large, and inhabited from the most ancient times. He also discourses of the multitude of men in it, and of the construction of our temple, after the following manner.—"There are many strong places and villages," says he, "in the country of Judea, but one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by a hundred and twenty thousand men, or thereabout:† they call it *Jerusalem*. There is about the middle of the city a wall of stone, whose length is five hundred feet, and breadth a hundred cubits, with double cloisters; wherein there is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but composed of white stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and its altitude ten cubits. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein there is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, and in weight two talents; upon these there is a light that is never extinguished either by night or by day. There is no image, nor any thing, nor any donations therein; nothing at all is there planted, neither grove, nor any thing

* So I read the text with Havercamp, though the place be difficult.

† This manner of arouræ or Egyptian acres, 3,000,000, each aroura containing a square of 100 Egyptian cubits, (being about three quarters of an English acre, and just twice the area of the court of the Jewish tabernacle,) as contained in the country of Judea, will be about one third of the entire number of arouræ in the whole land of Judea, supposing it 160 measured miles long, and 70 such miles broad; which estimation for the fruitful parts of it, as, perhaps, here in Hecateus, is not, therefore, very wide from the truth. The 50 furlongs in compass for the city Jerusalem presently, are not very wide from the truth also, as Josephus himself describes it, who, Of the War, B. v. ch. iv. sect. 3, makes its wall 33 furlongs, besides the suburbs and gardens; nay, he says, B. v. ch. xii. sect. 2, that Titus's wall about it at some small distance after the gardens and suburbs were destroyed, was not less than 39 furlongs. Nor, perhaps, were its constant inhabitants in the days of Hecateus many more than these 120,000, because room was always to be left for vastly greater numbers which came up at the three great festivals; to say nothing of the probable increase in their number between the days of Hecateus and Josephus, which was at least 300 years. But see a more authentic account of some of these measures in my description of the Jewish temples. However, we are not to expect that such heathens as Cherilus, or Hecateus, or the rest that are cited by Josephus and Eusebius, could avoid making many mistakes in the Jewish history, while yet they strongly confirm the same history in the general, and are most valuable attestations to those more authentic accounts we have in the Scriptures and Josephus concerning them.

of that sort. The priests abide therein both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover, he attests that we Jews went as auxiliaries along with king Alexander, and after him with his successors. I will add farther, what he says he learned, when he was himself with the same army, concerning the actions of a man that was a Jew. His words are these :—"As I was myself going to the Red Sea, there followed us a man whose name was *Mosollam:* he was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us: he was a person of great courage, of a strong body, and by all allowed to be the most skilful archer that was either among the Greeks or Barbarians. Now this man, as people were in great numbers passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing an augury by a bird, and requiring them all to stand still, inquired what they staid for? Hereupon the augur showed him the bird from whence he took his augury, and told him, that if the bird staid where he was, they ought all to stand still, but that if he got up and fled onward, they must go forward; but that if he flew backward, they must retire again. Mosollam made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit him, and killed him; and as the augur and some others were very angry, and wished imprecations upon him, he answered them thus :—"Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march who could not foresee how to save himself? for had he been able to foreknow what was future, he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam the Jew should shoot at him and kill him." But of Hecateus's testimonies we have said enough; for as to such as desire to know more of them, they may easily obtain them from his book itself. However, I shall not think it too much for me to name Agatharchides, as having made mention of us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be; for when he was discoursing of the affairs of Stratonice, "how she came out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, while yet Seleucus would not marry her as she expected, but, during the time of his raising an army at Babylon, stirred up a sedition about Antioch; and how, after that, the king came back, and upon his taking of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia, and had it in her power to sail away immediately, yet did she comply with a dream which forbade her so to do, and so was caught and put to death." When Agatharchides had premised this story, and had jested upon Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a like example of what was reported concerning us, and writes thus :—"There are a people called *Jews*, and dwell in a city the strongest of all other cities, which the inhabitants call *Jerusalem*, and are accustomed to rest on every seventh day;* on which times they make no use of their arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor take care of any affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their holy places, and pray till the evening. Now it came to pass that when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, that these men, in observing this mad custom of theirs, instead of guarding the city, suffered their country to submit itself to a better lord; and their law† was openly proved to have commanded a foolish practice. This accident taught all other men but the Jews to disregard such dreams as these were, and not to follow the like idle suggestions delivered as a law, when, in such uncertainty of human reasonings, they are at a loss what they should do." Now this our procedure seems a ridiculous thing to Agatharchides, but will appear to such as consider it without prejudice a great thing, and what deserved a great many encomiums; I mean, when certain men constantly prefer the observation of their laws and their religion towards God before the preservation of themselves and their country.

* A glorious testimony this of the observation of the Sabbath by the Jews. See Antiq. B. xvi. ch. ii. sect. 4; ch. vi. sect. 2; the Life, sect. 54, and War, B. iv. ch. ix. sect. 12.

† Not their law, but the superstitious interpretation of their leaders, which neither the Maccabees nor our blessed Saviour did ever approve of.

23. Now that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not becau they know nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjust fiable reasons, I think I can demonstrate by particular instances: for Hieron mus, who wrote the history of [Alexander's] successors, lived at the same tin with Hecateus, and was a friend of King Antigonus, and president of Syri Now it is plain, that Hecateus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieron mus never mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near to th places where we live: thus different from one another are the inclinations men; while the one thought we deserved to be carefully remembered, as som ill disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could n discern the truth. And now certainly the foregoing records of the Egyptian and Chaldeans, and Phœnicians, together with so many of the Greek writer will be sufficient for the demonstration of our antiquity. Moreover, beside those forementioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophane and Hermogenes, Euhemerus also, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and, perhap many others (for I have not lighted upon all the Greek books,) have made dis tinct mention of us. It is true, many of the men before mentioned have mad great mistakes about the true accounts of our nation in the earliest times, be cause they had not perused our sacred books; yet have they all of them afford ed their testimony to our antiquity, concerning which I am now treating. How ever, Demetrius Phalereus and the elder Philo, with Eupolemus, have not greatl missed the truth about our affairs; whose lesser mistakes ought, therefore, to b forgiven them; for it was not in their power to understand our writings with th utmost accuracy.

24. One particular there is still remaining behind, of what I at first propose to speak to, and that is to demonstrate, that those calumnies and reproache which some have thrown upon our nation are lies, and to make use of thos writers' own testimonies against themselves; and that, in general, this self-con tradiction hath happened to many other authors, by reason of their ill will t some people, I conclude is not unknown to such as have read histories with suf ficient care; for some of them have endeavoured to disgrace the nobility of cer tain nations, and of some of the most glorious cities, and have cast reproache upon certain forms of government. Thus hath Theopompus abused the city o Athens, Polycrates that of Lacedæmon, as hath he that hath wrote the Tripoli ticus (for he is not Theopompus as is supposed by some) done by the city of Thebes. Timeus also hath greatly abused the foregoing people and others also and this ill treatment they use chiefly when they have a contest with men of the greatest reputation: some out of envy and malice, and others, as supposing that, by this foolish talking of theirs, they may be thought worthy of being remem bered themselves; and, indeed, they do by no means fail of their hopes with re gard to the foolish part of mankind, but men of sober judgment still condemn them of great malignity.

25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; in order to please which nation some others undertook to pervert the truth, while they would neither own that our forefathers came into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor give a true account of our departure thence. And, indeed, the Egyptians took many occasions to hate us and envy us: in the first place, be cause our ancestors* had had the dominion over their country; and when they were delivered from them, and gone to their own country again, they lived there in prosperity: in the next place, the difference of our religion from theirs hath occasioned great enmity between us, while our way of divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as does the nature of God exceed that of brute beasts; for so far they all agree through the whole country, to esteem such animals as gods, although they differ one from another in the peculiar wor

* The Phœnician shepherds, whom Josephus mistook for the Israelites. See the note on sect. 16

ip they sev rally pay to them. And certainly men they are entirely of vain d foolish minds, who have thus accustomed themselves from the beginning to ve such bad notions concerning their gods, and could not think of imitating at decent form of divine worship which we made use of, though, when they w our institutions approved of by many others, they could not but envy us on at account; for some of them have proceeded to that degree of folly and mean- ss in their conduct, as not to scruple to contradict their own ancient records, y to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by eir passions as not to discern it.

26. And now I will turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom have a little before made use of as a witness to our antiquity; I mean Manetho.* e promised to interpret the Egyptian history out of their sacred writings, and emised this,—that "our people had come into Egypt many ten thousands in mber, and subdued its inhabitants;" and when he had farther confessed, that we went out of that country afterward, and settled in that country which is now lled *Judea*, and there built Jerusalem and its temple." Now thus far he fol- wed his ancient records; but after this he permits himself, in order to appear have written what rumours and reports passed abroad about the Jews, and in- oduces incredible narrations, as if he would have the Egyptian multitude that id the leprosy and other distempers to have been mixed with us, as he says they ere; and that they were condemned to fly out of Egypt together; for he men- ons Amenophis, a fictitious king's name, though on that account he durst not t down the number of years of his reign, which yet he had accurately done as the other kings he mentions: he then ascribes certain fabulous stories to this ng, as having in a manner forgotten how he had already related that the de- arture of the shepherds for Jerusalem had been five hundred and eighteen years efore; for Tethmosis was king when they went away. Now, from his days the igns of the intermediate kings, according to Manetho, amounted to three hun- red and ninety-three years, as he says himself, till the two brothers Sethos and Hermeus; the one of which, Sethos, was called by that other name of *Egyptus*, nd the other, Hermeus, by that of *Danaus*. He also says, that Sethos cast the ther out of Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, as did his eldest son Rhampses eign after him sixty-six years. When Manetho, therefore, had acknowledged hat our forefathers were gone out of Egypt so many years ago, he introduces is fictitious king Amenophis, and says thus:—"This king was desirous to be- ome a spectator of the gods, as had Orus, one of his predecessors in that king- om, desired the same before him; he also communicated that his desire to his amesake Amenophis, who was the son of Papis, and one that seemed to partake f a divine nature, both as to wisdom and the knowledge of futurities." Manetho dds, "how this namesake of his told him, that he might see the gods if he ould clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people: that he king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any de- ects in their bodies out of Egypt, and that their number was eighty thousand; hom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile, that they ight work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians." He says farther, that "there were some of the learned priests that were pol- uted with the leprosy; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the pro- het, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if there hould appear to have been violence offered them; who also added this farther

* In reading this, and the remaining sections of this book, and some parts of the next, one may easily erceive that our usually cool and candid author Josephus was too highly offended with the impudent alumnies of Manetho, and the other bitter enemies of the Jews, with whom he had now to deal, and was hereby betrayed into a greater heat and passion than ordinary, and that by consequence he does not ere reason with his usual fairness and impartiality: he seems to depart sometimes from the brevity and ncerity of a faithful historian, which is his grand character, and indulges the prolixity and colours of a leader and a disputant: accordingly, I confess I always read these sections with less pleasure than I do he rest of his writings, though I fully believe the reproaches cast on the Jews, which he here endeavours confute and expose, were wholly groundless and unreasonable

[out of his sagacity about futurities,] that certain people would come to t assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep in their possession thirteen years: that, however, he durst not tell the king these things; but that he left a writing behind him about all those matte and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate." After which writes thus *verbatim*:—"After those that were sent to work in the quarr had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired th he would set apart the city of Avaris, which was then left desolate of the she herds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. No this city, according to the ancient theology, was Typho's city. But when the men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed thei selves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was *Osarsiph*, and th took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in t first place, made this law for them, that they should neither worship the Egypti gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they ha in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all: that they should join thei selves to nobody but to those that were of this confederacy. When he had ma such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the custo of the Egyptians,* he gave order that they should use the multitude of the han they had in building walls about their city, and make themselves ready for a w with king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his friendship the oth priests, and those that were polluted with them, and send ambassadors to tho shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city call *Jerusalem*; whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state of tho others that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired th they would come with one consent to his assistance in this war against Egyp He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancie city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitud that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, a would easily reduce the country under their dominion. These shepherds we all very glad of this message, and came away with alacrity altogether, being number two hundred thousand men; and in a little time they came to Avar And now Amenophis, the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their inv sion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Pap had foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egy tians, and took counsel with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals him, especially for those that were principally worshiped in their temples, a gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should hide the imag of their gods with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos, who was al named *Ramesses*, from his father Rhampses, being but five years old, to a frie of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hundr thousand of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Y did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against th gods, he returned back, and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the oth sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently marched into Ethi pia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king Ethiopia was under an obligation to him; on which account he received him, a took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villag for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determin thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a gua to King Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of thin in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together wi

* This is a very valuable testimony of Manetho, that the laws of Osarsiph or Moses were not made compliance with, but in opposition to the customs of the Egyptians. See the note on Antiq. B. iii. ch. vi sect. 9

e polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that ose who saw how they subdued the forementioned country, and the horrid wickdness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only t the cities and villages on fire, but were not satisfied till they had been guilty sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting of ose sacred animals that used to be worshiped, and forced the priests and prohets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected em naked out of the country. It was also reported, that the priest who ordained eir polity and their laws was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name *Osarsiph*, from syris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that, when he was gone over to these eople, his name was changed, and he was called *Moses*."

27. This is what the Egyptians relate about the Jews, with much more, which omit for the sake of brevity.—But still Manetho goes on, that "after this Amephis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Rhampses ith another army also; and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds nd the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and purued them to the bounds of Syria." These and the like accounts are written by Manetho. But I will demonstrate that he trifles, and tells arrant lies, after I have ade a distinction which will relate to what I am going to say about him: for is Manetho had granted and confessed that this nation was not originally Egypan, but that they had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then ent away again out of it. But that those Egyptians who were thus diseased in eir bodies were not mingled with us afterward, and that Moses who brought the eople out was not one of that company, but lived many generations earlier, I hall endeavour to demonstrate from Manetho's own accounts themselves.

28. Now for the first occasion of this fiction, Manetho supposes what is no better than a ridiculous thing; for he says, that "King Amenophis desired to see e gods." What gods, I pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom eir laws ordained to be worshiped, the ox, the goat, the crocodile, and the baoon, he saw them already; but for the heavenly gods, how could he see them, nd what should occasion this his desire? To be sure,* it was because another king efore him had already seen them. He had then been informed what sort of gods ere, and after what manner they had been seen, insomuch that he did not stand need of any new artifice for obtaining this sight. However, the prophet by hose means the king thought to compass his design was a wise man. If so, how ame he not to know that such his desire was impossible to be accomplished? for he event did not succeed. And what pretence could there be to suppose, that he gods would not be seen by reason of the people's maims in their bodies, or eprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked ractices: and as to eighty thousand lepers, and those in an ill state also, how is it ossible to have them gathered together in one day? nay, how came the king not o comply with the prophet? for his injunction was, that those who were maimed hould be expelled out of Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the uarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers than intended to purge his ountry. He says farther, that "this prophet slew himself, as foreseeing the nger of the gods, and those events which were to come upon Egypt afterward; nd that he left this prediction for the king in writing." Besides, how came it o pass that this prophet did not foreknow his own death at the first? nay, how ame he not to contradict the king in his desire to see the gods immediately? how ame that unreasonable dread upon him of judgments that were not to happen in is lifetime? or what worse thing could he suffer, out of the fear of which he made aste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all.—The king, although he had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what vas to come, yet did not he even then eject these maimed people out of his coun ry, when it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but as

* *Gr.* By Jupiter.

Manetho says,—"He then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhal which had formerly belonged to the shepherds, and was called *Avaris;* whith when they were gone in crowds," he says, "they chose one that had former been priest of Heliopolis; and that this priest first ordained, that they should n ther worship the gods nor abstain from those animals that were worshiped by t Egyptians, but should kill and eat them all, and should associate with nobody b those that had conspired with them; and that he bound the multitude by oaths be sure to continue in those laws; and that when he had built a wall about Av ris, he made war against the king." Manetho adds also, that "this priest se to Jerusalem to invite that people to come to his assistance, and promised to gi them Avaris; for that it had belonged to the forefathers of those that were comi from Jerusalem; and that when they were come, they made a war immediate against the king, and got possession of all Egypt." He says also, that "t Egyptians came with an army of two hundred thousand men; and that Amen phis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, r away presently into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and certain other of their sacr animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of preserving them." H says farther, that "the people of Jerusalem came accordingly upon the Egyptian and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, a in short abstained from no sort of wickedness nor barbarity: and for that priest wh settled their polity and their laws," he says, "he was by birth of Heliopolis, an his name was *Osarsiph*, from Osyris the god of Heliopolis; but that he change his name, and called himself *Moses*." He then says, that "on the thirteenth ye afterward, Amenophis, according to the fatal time of the duration of his misfortune came upon them out of Ethiopia with a great army, and joining battle with th shepherds and with the polluted people, overcame them in battle, and slew great many of them, and "pursued them as far as the bounds of Syria."

29. Now Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his lie: for th leprous people, and the multitude that was with them, although they might fo merly have been angry at the king, and at those that had treated them so coarsely and this according to the prediction of the prophet; yet certainly, when the were come out of the mines, and had received of the king a city and a country they would have grown milder towards him. However, had they ever so muc hated him in particular, they might have laid a private plot against himself, b would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians; I mean this on the ac count of the great kindred they, who were so numerous, must have had amon them. Nay, still, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would no have had impudence enough to fight with their gods; nor would they have ordaine laws quite contrary to those of their own country, and to those in which they ha been bred up themselves. Yet are we beholden to Manetho, that he does not la the principal charge of this horrid transgression upon those that came from Jeru salem, but says that the Egyptians themselves were the most guilty, and that the were their priests that contrived these things, and made the multitude take thei oaths for doing so. But still, how absurd is it to suppose, that none of these peo ple's own relations or friends should be prevailed with to revolt, nor to underg the hazards of war with them? while these polluted people were forced to send t Jerusalem, and bring their auxiliaries from thence. What friendship, I pray, o what relation was there formerly between them that required this assistance On the contrary, these people were enemies, and greatly differed from them i their customs. He says, indeed, that they complied immediately, upon their pro mising them that they should conquer Egypt; as if they did not themselves ver well know that country out of which they had been driven by force. Now, ha these men been in want, or lived miserably, perhaps they might have undertake so hazardous an enterprise; but as they dwelt in a happy city, and had a larg country, and one better than Egypt itself, how came it about that for the sake o those that had of old been their enemies, of those that were maimed in the

odies, and of those whom none of their own relations would endure, they should n such hazards in assisting them? For they could not foresee that the king ould run away from them; on the contrary he saith himself, that "Amenophis's n had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium." Now, be sure, those that came could not be ignorant of this; but for the king's re-ntance and flight, how could they possibly guess at it? He then says, that those who came from Jerusalem, and made this invasion, got the granaries of gypt into their possession, and perpetrated many of the most horrid actions ere." And thence he reproaches them, as though he had not himself introduced em as enemies, or as though he might accuse such as were invited from another ace for so doing, when the natural Egyptians themselves had done the same ings before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do. However, "Amenophis metime afterward came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his nemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily ken by people that come from any place whatsoever; and as if those that had nquered it by war, when they were informed that Amenophis was alive, did either fortify the avenues out of Ethiopia into it, although they had great advan-ges for doing it, nor did get their other forces ready for their defence; but that he followed them over the sandy desert, and slew them as far as Syria;" while et it is not an easy thing for an army to pass over that country, even without ghting.

30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, or were any of the Egyptians mingled with us. For it is to be supposed that any of the leprous and distempered people were dead in the mines, since they ad been there a long time, and in so ill a condition; many others must be dead the battles that happened afterward, and more still in the last battle and flight ter it.

31. It now remains that I debate with Manetho about Moses. Now the Egyp-ans acknowledge him to have been a wonderful and a divine person; nay, they ould willingly lay claim to him themselves, though after a most abusive and in-redible manner, and pretend that he was of Heliopolis, and one of the priests of that lace, and was ejected out of it among the rest, on account of his leprosy; al-ough it had been demonstrated out of their records, that he lived five hun-red and eighteen years earlier, and then brought our forefathers out of Egypt nto the country that is now inhabited by us. But now that he was not subject in is body to any such calamity, is evident from what he himself tells us: for he orbade those that had the leprosy either to continue in a city, or to inhabit in a illage, but commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes ent; and declares that such as either touch them, or live under the same roof ith them, should be esteemed unclean; nay more, if any one of their disease e healed, and he recover his natural constitution again, he appointed them cer-ain purifications, and washings with spring water, and the shaving off all their air; and enjoins that they shall offer many sacrifices, and those of several kinds, nd then at length to be admitted into the holy city; although it were to be ex-ected that, on the contrary, if he had been under the same calamity, he should ave taken care of such persons beforehand, and have had them treated after a inder manner, as affected with a concern for those that were to be under the like isfortunes with himself. Nor was it only those leprous people for whose sake e made these laws, but also for such as should be maimed in the smallest part of heir body, who yet are not permitted by him to officiate as priests: nay, although ny priest already initiated, should have such a calamity fall upon him afterward, e ordered him to be deprived of his honour of officiating. How can it, then, be upposed that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach nd damage who so ordained them? Nor, indeed, is that other notion of Mane-ho's at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says, that he was formerly called *Osarsiph*;" and this a name no way agreeable to the

other, while his true name was *Moüses*, and signifies a person who is preserve out of the water; for the Egyptians call water *Moü*. I think, therefore, I hav made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient record did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse t fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, with out any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so out of their i will to us.

32. And now I have done with Manetho, I will inquire into what Cheremo says: for he also, when he pretended to write the Egyptian history, sets dow the same name for this king that Manetho did, Amenophis, as also of his so Ramesses, and then goes on thus:—"The goddess Isis appeared to Amenoph in his sleep, and blamed him that her temple had been demolished in the wa But that Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, said to him, that in case he would purg Egypt of the men that had pollutions upon them, he should be no longer trouble with such frightful apparitions: that Amenophis, accordingly, chose out two hun dred and fifty thousand of those that were thus diseased, and cast them out o the country: that Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe that their names were Egyptian originally; that of Moses had been *Tisithen*, an that of Joseph *Peteseph:* that these two came to Pelusium, and lighted upon thre hundred and eighty thousand that had been left there by Amenophis, he not be ing willing to carry them into Egypt: that these scribes made a league of friend ship with them, and made with them an expedition against Egypt; that Amen phis could not sustain their attacks, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife wit child behind him, who lay concealed in certain caverns, and there brought fort a son, whose name was *Messene*, and who, when he was grown up to man estate, pursued the Jews into Syria, being about two hundred thousand men, an then received his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia."

33. This is the account Cheremon gives us. Now I take it for granted, tha what I have said already hath plainly proved the falsity of both these narrations for had there been any real truth at the bottom, it was impossible that they shoul so greatly disagree about the particulars. But for those that invent lies, wha they write will easily give us very different accounts, while they forge what the please out of their own heads. Now Manetho says, that the king's desire o seeing the gods was the origin of the ejection of the polluted people; but Cheremo feigns that it was a dream of his own, sent upon him by Isis, that was the occasio of it. Manetho says, that the person who foreshowed this purgation of Egypt t the king was Amenophis: but this man says it was Phritiphantes. As to the num bers of the multitude that were expelled, they agree exceedingly well,* the for mer reckoning them eighty thousand and the latter about two hundred and fift thousand. Now, for Manetho, he describes these polluted persons as sent firs to work in the quarries, and says that after that the city Avaris was given ther for their habitation. As also he relates, that it was not till after they had mad war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem t come to their assistance; while Cheremon says only, that they were gone out o Egypt, and lighted upon three hundred and eighty thousand men about Pelusium who had been left there by Amenophis, and so they invaded Egypt with ther again; that thereupon Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But, then, this Cheremo commits a most ridiculous blunder in not informing us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came; whether they were native Egyptians or whether they came from a foreign country. Nor, indeed, has this man, wh forged a dream from Isis, about the leprous people, assigned the reason why th king would not bring them into Egypt. Moreover, Cheremon sets down Joseph as driven away at the same time with Moses, who yet died four† generations be

* By way of irony, I suppose.

† Here we see that Josephus esteemed a generation between Joseph and Moses to be about 42 or 4 years; which, if taken between the earlier children, well agrees with the duration of human life in thos ages. See Authent. Rec. Part II. p. 966, 1019 1020.

re Moses, which four generations make almost one hundred and seventy years. esides all this, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, by Manetho's account was a oung man, and assisted his father in this war, and left the country at the same me with him, and fled into Ethiopia. But Cheremon makes him to have been rn in a certain cave, after his father was dead, and that he then overcame the ews in battle, and drove them into Syria, being in number about two hundred ousand. O the levity of the man! For he had neither told us who these three ndred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand erished; whether they fell in war or went over to Ramesses. And what is the rangest of all, it is not possible to learn out of him who they were whom he alls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that denomination: nether to the hundred and fifty thousand leprous people, or to the three hunred and eighty thousand that were about Pelusium. But, perhaps, it will be ooked upon as a silly thing in me to make any larger confutation of such riters as sufficiently confute themselves; for had they been only confuted by ther men, it had been more tolerable.

34. I shall now add to these accounts about Manetho and Cheremon, somehat about Lysimachus, who had taken the same topic of falsehood with those rementioned, but hath gone far beyond them in the incredible nature of his foreries, which plainly demonstrates that he contrived them out of his virulent hared of our nation. His words are these:—"The people of the Jews being lerous, and scabby, and subject to certain other kinds of distempers, in the days f Bocchoris, king of Egypt, they fled to the temples, and got their food there y begging; and as the numbers were very great that were fallen under these iseases, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Hereupon Bocchoris, the king of Egypt, ent some to consult the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon about this scarcity. The od's answer was this, that he must purge his temples of impure and impious nen, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the cabby and leprous people he must drown them, and purge his temples, the sun aving an indignation at these men's being suffered to live; and by this means he land will bring forth its fruits. Upon Bocchoris's having received these orales, he called for their priests and the attendants upon their altars, and ordered hem to make a collection of the impure people, and to deliver them to the soliers, to carry them away into the desert, but to take the leprous people and wrap hem in sheets of lead, and let them down into the sea. Hereupon the scabby nd leprous people were drowned, and the rest were gotten together and sent nto desert places, in order to be exposed to destruction. In this case they asembled themselves together, and took counsel what they should do, and determined that, as the night was coming on, they should kindle fires and lamps, and keep watch: that they also should fast the next night, and propitiate the gods, n order to obtain deliverance from them: that on the next day there was one Moses, who advised them that they should venture upon a journey, and go along one road, till they should come to places fit for habitation: that he charged them o have no kind regards for any man, nor give good counsel to any, but always o advise them for the worst, and to overturn all those temples and altars of the gods they should meet with: that the rest commended what he had said with one consent, and did what they had resolved on, and so travelled over the desert: But that the difficulties of the journey being over, they came to a country inhabited, and that there they abused the men, and plundered and burnt their temples, and then came into that land which is called *Judea*, and there they built a city, and dwelt therein; and that their city was named *Hierosyla*, from this their robbing of the temples; but that still, upon the success they had afterwards, they, n time changed its denomination, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city *Hierosolyma*, and themselves *Hierosolymites*."

35. Now this man did not discover and mention the same king with the others,

but feigned a newer name, and, passing by the dream and the Egyptian prophet he brings him to [Jupiter] Hammon, in order to gain oracles about scabby and leprous people; for he says, that the multitude of Jews were gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes this name to these lepers, or to those that were subject to such diseases among the Jews only; for he describes them as a people of the Jews. What people does he mean? foreigners or those of that country? Why, then, dost thou call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? But if they were foreigners, why dost thou not tell us whence they came? And how could it be, that after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there should be still so great a multitude remaining? Or after what manner did they pass over the desert, and get the land which we now dwell in, and build our city, and that temple which hath been so famous among all mankind? And, besides, he ought to have spoken more about our legislator than by giving us his bare name; and to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he was derived from; and to have assigned the reasons why he undertook to make such laws concerning the gods, and concerning matters of injustice with regard to men during that journey: For, in case the people were by birth Egyptians, they would not on a sudden have so easily changed the customs of their country: and in case they had been foreigners, they had for certain some laws or other, which had been kept by them from long custom. It is true, that with regard to those who had ejected them, they might have sworn never to bear good will to them, and might have had a plausible reason for so doing: but if these men resolved to wage an implacable war against all men, in case they had acted as wickedly as he relates of them, and this while they wanted the assistance of all men, this demonstrates a kind of mad conduct indeed; but not of the men themselves, but very greatly so of him that tells such lies about them. He hath also impudence enough to say, that a name implying *robbers* of the temples* was given to their city, and that this name was afterward changed. The reason of which is plain, that the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in the times of their posterity, while it seems those that built the city thought they did honour to the city by giving it such a name. So we see that this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not understand that robbery of temples is not expressed by the same word and name among the Jews as it is among the Greeks. But why should a man say any more to a person that tells such impudent lies? However, since this book is arisen to a competent length, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to perfect my design in the following book.

## BOOK II.

§ 1. In the former book, most honoured Epaphroditus, I have demonstrated our antiquity, and confirmed the truth of what I have said from the writings of the Phœnicians, and Chaldeans, and Egyptians. I have, moreover produced many of the Grecian writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Cheremon, and of certain others of our enemies. I shall now,† therefore, begin a confutation of the remaining authors who have written any

* That is the meaning of *Hierosyla* in Greek, not in Hebrew.

† The former part of this second book is written against the calumnies of Apion, and then, more briefly, against the like calumnies of Apollonius Molo. But after that, Josephus leaves off any more particular reply to those adversaries of the Jews, and gives us a large and excellent description and vindication of that theocracy which was settled for the Jewish nation by Moses, their great legislator

ing against us; although I confess I have had a doubt upon me about Apion* the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not; for some of his writings contain much the same accusations which the others have laid against us; some things that he hath added are very frigid and contemptible; and for the greatest part of what he says, it is very scurrilous, and to speak no more than the plain truth, it shows him to be a very unlearned person; and what he lays together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one no better in his whole life than a mountebank. Yet because there are a great many men so very foolish, that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in reproaching other men, and cannot abide to hear them commended, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an accusation against us, as if he would bring us to make an answer in open court: for I also have observed, that many men are very much delighted, when they see a man who first began to reproach another, to be himself exposed to contempt on account of the vices he hath himself been guilty of. However, it is not a very easy thing to go over this man's discourse, nor to know plainly what he means; yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to produce, in the first place, such things as resemble what we have examined already, and relate to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt: and, in the second place, he accuses those Jews that are inhabitants of Alexandria; as, in the third place, he mixes with those things such accusations as concern the sacred purifications with the other legal rites used in the temple.

2. Now, although I cannot but think that I have already demonstrated, and that abundantly more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, nor were thence expelled, neither on account of bodily diseases or any other calamities of that sort; yet will I briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject: for in his third book, which relates to the affairs of Egypt he speaks thus:—"I have heard of the ancient men of Egypt, that Moses was of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air towards the city walls; but that he reduced them all to be directed towards sunrising, which was agreeable to the situation of Heliopolis: that he also set up pillars instead of gnomons,† under which was represented a cavity like that of a boat, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon that cavity, that it might go round about the like course as the sun itself goes round in the other." This is that wonderful relation which we have given us by this great grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of few words to prove it, but is manifest from the works of Moses; for when he erected the first tabernacle to God, he did himself neither give order for any such kind of a representation to be made at it, nor ordain that those that came after him should make such a one. Moreover, when, in a future age, Solomon built his temple in Jerusalem, he avoided all such needless decorations as Apion hath here devised. He says farther,—"How he had heard of the ancient men, that Moses was of Heliopolis." To be sure that was because being a younger man himself, he believed those that by their elder age were acquainted and conversed with him! Now this grammarian as he was could not certainly tell which was the poet Homer's country, no more than he could which was the country of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively but a little while ago; yet does he thus easily determine the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, as depending on his ancient men's relation, which shows how notorious a liar he was. But then as to this chronological determination of the time when he says he brought the leprous people, the blind and

* Called by Tiberius, *Cymbalum Mundi*, the drum of the world.

† This seems to have been the first dial that had been made in Egypt, and was a little before the time that Ahaz made his [first] dial in Judea, and about anno 755, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad as we shall see presently. See 2 Kings, xx. 11; Isaiah, xxxviii. 8.

tne lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate grammarian of ou agrees with those that have written before him. Manetho says, that the Jew departed out of Egypt in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred and ninety-thre years before Danaus fled to Argos; Lysimachus says it was under king Bo choris, that is, one thousand seven hundred years ago; Molo and some othe determined it as every one pleased; but this Apion of ours, as deserving to b believed before them, hath determined it exactly to have been in the sevent Olympiad, and the first year of that Olympiad; the very same year in which h says that Carthage was built by the Phœnicians. The reason why he added thi building of Carthage was, to be sure, in order, as he thought, to strengthen hi assertion by so evident a character of chronology. But he was not aware th this character confutes his assertion; for if we may give credit to the Phœnicia records as the time of the first coming of their colony to Carthage, they relat that Hirom their king was above a hundred and fifty years earlier than the build ing of Carthage, concerning whom I have formerly produced testimonials out those Phœnician records; as also that this Hirom was a friend of Solomon whe he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and gave him great assistance in hi building that temple; while still Solomon himself built that temple six hundre and twelve years after the Jews came out of Egypt. As for the number of thos that were expelled out of Egypt, he hath contrived to have the very same num ber with Lysimachus, and says they were a hundred and ten thousand. He the assigns a certain wonderful and plausible occasion for the name of *Sabbath;* fo he says, that "when the Jews had travelled a six days journey, they had buboe in their groins; and that on this account it was that they rested on the sevent day, as having gotten safely to that country which is now called *Judea;* that the they preserved the language of the Egyptians, and called that day the *Sabbath;* fo that malady of buboes in their groin was named *Sabbatosis* by the Egyptians. And would not a man now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impu dence in writing thus? We must, it seems, take it for granted that all these hun dred and ten thousand men must have these buboes. But, for certain, if thos men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of distempers upon them, a Apion says they had, they could not have gone one single day's journey: but i they had all been able to travel over a large desert, and besides that to fight an conquer those that oppose them, they had not all of them had buboes on thei groins after the sixth day was over; for no such distemper comes naturally an of necessity upon those that travel; but still, when there are many ten thousand in a camp together, they constantly marched a settled space [in a day]. Nor i it at all probable that such a thing should happen by chance; this would be pro digiously absurd to be supposed. However, our admirable author Apion had be fore told us, that "they came to Judea in six days time;" and again, that "Mose went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was calle *Sinai*, and was concealed there forty days, and that when he came down fro thence he gave laws to the Jews." But, then, how was it possible for them t tarry forty days in a desert place, where there was no water, and at the sam time to pass all over the country between that and Judea in the six days? An as for this grammatical translation of the word *Sabbath*, it either contains an in stance of his great impudence or gross ignorance; for the words *Sabbo* an *Sabbath* are widely different from one another; for the word *Sabbath* in th Jewish language denotes *rest* from all sorts of work; but the word *Sabbo*, as h affirms, denotes among the Egyptians the malady of a *bubo* in the groin.

3. This is that novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concernin the Jews' departure out of Egypt, and is no better than a contrivance of his own But why should we wonder at the lies he tells us about our forefathers, when h affirms them to be of Egyptian original, when he lies also about himself? for al though he was born at Oasis in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, th top man of all the Egyptians, yet does he forswear his real country and progeni

ors, and, by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, cannot deny the pravity f his family; for you see how justly he calls those *Egyptians* whom he hates nd endeavours to reproach; for had he not deemed Egyptians to be a name of reat reproach, he would not have avoided the name of an Egyptian himself, s we know that those who brag of their own countries value themselves upon he denomination they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim hereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they do it on one of he following accounts:—I mean either as they value themselves upon it, and retend to bear that relation to us; or else as they would draw us in to be partakers of their own infamy. But this fine fellow Apion seems to broach this reproachful appellation against us, [that we were originally Egyptians,] in order to estow it on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege they had given him f being a fellow citizen with them: he also is apprized of the ill will the Alexndrians bear to those Jews who are their fellow citizens, and so proposes to imself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egypians also; while in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

4. But let us now see what those heavy and wicked crimes are which Apion harges upon the Alexandrian Jews. "They came," says he, "out of Syria, nd inhabited near the tempestuous sea, and were in the neighbourhood of the lashing of the waves." Now, if the place of habitation includes any thing that s reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real country [Egypt,] but what e pretends to be his own country, Alexandria; for all are agreed in this, that he part of that city which is near the sea is the best part of all for habitation. Now, if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto vithout impeachment, this is a mark of their valour: but in reality it was Alexnder himself that gave them that place for their habitation, when they obtained equal privileges there with the Macedonians. Nor can I devise what Apion would have said, had their habitation been at Necropolis,* and not been fixed nard by the royal palace, [as it is;] nor had their nation had the denomination f Macedonians given them till this very day, [as they have.] Had this man now read the epistles of King Alexander, or those of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, r met with the writings of the succeeding kings, or that pillar which is still stand ng at Alexandria, and contains the privileges which the great [Julius] Cæsar estowed upon the Jews; had this man, I say, known these records, and yet nath the impudence to write in contradiction to them, he hath shown himself to e a wicked man: but if he knew nothing of these records, he hath shown himself to be a man very ignorant: nay, when he appears to wonder how Jews could be called *Alexandrians*, this is another like instance of his ignorance: for ll such as are called out to be colonies, although they be ever so far remote rom one another in their original, receive their names from those that bring them o their new habitations. And what occasion is there to speak of others, when hose of us Jews that dwelt at Antioch are named *Antiochians*, because Seleucus he founder of that city gave them the privileges belonging thereto? After the like manner, do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus and the other cities of Ionia enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there, by the grant of the succeeding princes: nay, the kindness and humanity of the Romans hath been so great, that it hath granted leave to almost all others to take the same name of *Romans* upon them; I mean not particular men only, but entire and large nations themselves also; for those anciently named *Iberi, and Tyrrheni*, and *Sabini*, are now called *Romani*. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of a citizen of Alexandria, let him abstain from calling himself an *Alexandrian* hereafter; for otherwise how can he who was born in the very heart of Egypt be an Alexandrian, if this way of accepting such a privilege, of which he would have us deprived, be once abrogated? although, indeed, these Romans, who

* The burial-place for dead bodies, as I suppose.

are now the lords of the habitable earth, have forbidden the Egyptians to hav the privileges of any city whatsoever; while this fine fellow, who is willing partake of such a privilege himself as he is forbidden to make use of, ende vours by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it: for Ale ander did not, therefore, get some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wante inhabitants for this his city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a carefu trial, found them all to have been men of virtue and fidelity to him; for, as He cateus says concerning us, "Alexander honoured our nation to such a degre that, for the equity and the fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he per mitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute. Of the same min also was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, as to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria:" for he intrusted the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, as believing they woul keep them faithfully and valiantly for him; and when he was desirous to secur the government of Cyrene and the other cities of Libya to himself, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. And for his successor Ptolemy, who was calle *Philadelphus*, he did not only set all those of our nation free who were captive under him, but did frequently* give money [for their ransom;] and, what was hi greatest work of all, he had a great desire of knowing our laws and of obtaining the books of our sacred scriptures: accordingly, he desired that such men migh be sent him as might interpret our law to him; and in order to have them wel compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that De metrius Phalereus, and Andreas, and Aristeas; the first, Demetrius, the most learned person of his age, and the others such as were intrusted with the guard of his body, should take the care of this matter: nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our law and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised the men that made use of it, or had he not, indeed, had them in grea admiration.

5. Now, this Apion was unacquainted with almost all the kings of those Mace donians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors; who were yet very well affected towards us: for the third of those Ptolemies, who was called *Euergetes*, when he had gotten possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-of ferings to the Egyptian gods for his victory, but came to Jerusalem, and, accord ing to our own laws, offered many sacrifices to God, and dedicated to him such gifts as were suitable to such a victory: and as for Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to Jews, when Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, whose names are laughed at by Apion, were the generals of their whole army. But certainly, instead of reproaching them, he ought to ad mire their actions, and return them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to be: for when these Alexandrians were making war with Cleopatra the queen, and were in danger of being utterly ruined, these Jews brought them to terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of a civil war. "But then," says Apion, "Onias brought a small army afterward upon the city, at the time when Thermus the Roman ambassador was there present." Yes, do I ven ture to say, and that he did rightly and very justly in so doing; for that Ptolemy who was called *Physco*, upon the death of his brother Philometor, came from Cy rene, and would have ejected Cleopatra as well as her sons out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly.† For this cause, then, it was, that Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's account; nor would he desert that trust the royal family had reposed in him in their distress. Accordingly, God gave a remarkable attestation to his righteous procedure; for when Ptolemy

* For πολλακις, or *frequently*, I would here read πολλα, *a great deal of money;* for we, indeed, read both in Aristeas and Josephus, that this Ptolemy Philadelphus once gave a very great sum of money to redeem above 100,000 Jewish captives, but not of any sums of money, which he disbursed on their account at other times, that I know of.

† Here begins a great defect in the Greek copy; but the old Latin version fully supplies that defect.

Physco* had the presumption to fight against Onias's army, and had caught all the Jews that were in the city [Alexandria,] with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and in bonds to his elephants, that they might be trodden upon and destroyed; and when he had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his preparations; for these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physco's friends, and slew a great number of them: nay, after this, Ptolemy saw a terrible ghost, which prohibited his hurting those men: his very concubine whom he loved so well, some call her *Ithaca* and others *Irene*, making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness. So he complied with her request, and repented of what he either had already done or was about to do; whence it is well known that the Alexandrian Jews do with good reason celebrate this day, on the account that they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However, Apion, the common calumniator of men, hath the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physco, when he ought to have commended them for the same. This man also makes mention of Cleopatra the last queen of Alexandria, and abuses us, because she was ungrateful to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, who indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations and husbands who had loved her, and, indeed, in general, with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; who also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm: moreover, she had her brother slain by private treachery, and she destroyed the gods of her country and the sepulchres of her progenitors; and while she had received her kingdom from the first Cæsar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son† and successor: nay, she corrupted Antony with her love-tricks, and rendered him an enemy to his country and made him treacherous to his friends, and [by his means] despoiled some of their royal authority, and forced others in her madness to act wickedly. But what need I enlarge upon this head any farther, when she left Antony in his fight at sea, though he were her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign up his government, with the army, and to follow her [into Egypt:] nay, when last of all Cæsar had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hopes of preserving her affairs still, in case she could kill the Jews, though it were with her own hand; to such a degree of barbarity and perfidiousness had she arrived. And doth any one think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not at a time of famine distribute wheat among us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the great Cæsar what assistance we brought him, and what fidelity we showed to him against the Egyptians; as also, to the senate and its decrees, and the epistles of Augustus Cæsar, whereby our merits [to the Romans] are justified. Apion ought to have looked upon those epistles, and, in particular, to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, but tends nothing to the accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Alexandrian Jews is well known; for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. But they still were desirous to preserve what the kings had formerly intrusted to their care, I mean the custody of the river; nor

* What error is here generally believed to have been committed by our Josephus in ascribing a deliverance of the Jews to the reign of Ptolemy Physco, the seventh of those Ptolemies, which has been universally supposed to have happened under Ptolemy Philopator, the fourth of them, is no better than a gross error of the moderns, and not of Josephus, as I have fully proved in the Authent. Rec. part i. p. 200—204, whither I refer the inquisitive reader.

† Sister's son, and adopted son.

did those kings think them unworthy of having the entire custody thereof upon all occasions.

6. But, besides this, Apion objects to us thus.—"If the Jews," says he, "be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?" To which I give this answer:—Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you fight it out one against another, and have implacable wars about your religion? At this rate, we must not call you all *Egyptians*, nor, indeed, in general *men*, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, although the nature of all men seems to be one and the same. Now, if there be such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own before, should persevere in the observance of those laws? But still he charges us with being the authors of sedition: which accusation, if it be a just one, why is it not laid against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind? Moreover, those that search into such matters will soon discover, that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is; for while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were in possession of this city, there was no sedition raised against us, and we were permitted to observe our ancient solemnities; but when the number of the Egyptians therein came to be considerable, the times grew confused, and then these seditions brake out still more and more, while our people continued uncorrupted. These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, who not having the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Grecians, indulged all of them the evil manners of Egyptians, and continued their ancient hatred against us; for what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the differences that are amongst themselves; while many of them have not obtained the privileges of citizens in proper times, but style those who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all no other than foreigners; for it does not appear that any of the kings have ever formerly bestowed those privileges of citizens upon Egyptians, no more than have the emperors done it more lately; while it was Alexander who introduced us into this city at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would lay a blot upon us, because we do not erect images for our emperors; as if those emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and modesty of the Romans, whereby they do not compel those that are subject to them to transgress the laws of their countries, but are willing to receive the honours due to them after such a manner as those who are to pay them esteem consistent with piety and with their own laws; for they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Accordingly, since the Grecians and some other nations think it a right thing to make images; nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents, and wives, and children, they exult for joy; and some there are who take pictures for themselves of such persons as were no way related to them; nay, some take the pictures of such servants as they were fond of. What wonder is it, then, if such as these appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But, then, our legislator hath forbidden us to make images, not by way of denunciation beforehand, that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as despising a thing that was neither necessary nor useful for either God or man; and he forbade them, as we shall prove hereafter, to make these images for any part of the animal creation, and much less for God himself, who is no part of such animal creation. Yet hath our legislator nowhere forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God: with which honours we willingly testify our respect to our emperors and to the people of Rome: we also offer perpetual sacrifices for them; nor do we only offer them every day at the common expenses of all the Jews, but although we offer no other

uch sacrifices out of our common expenses, no not for our own children, yet do ve this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the ame to no other person whomsoever. And let this suffice for an answer in ge- eral to Apion, as to what he says with relation to the Alexandrian Jews.

7. However, I cannot but admire those other authors who furnished this man with uch his materials; I mean Possidonius and Apollonius [the son of] Molo,* who, vhile they accuse us for not worshiping the same gods whom others worship, hey think themselves not guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and frame bsurd and reproachful stories about our temple; whereas it is a most shameful hing for free men to forge lies on any occasion, and much more so to forge them bout our temple, which was so famous over all the world, and was preserved so acred by us; for Apion hath the impudence to pretend,—"That the Jews placed n ass's head in their holy place;" and he affirms,—"That this was discovered vhen Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found that ass's head there nade of gold, and worth a great deal of money." To this my first answer shall be his:—That had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no neans to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible ani- nal than***† and goats, and other such creatures, which among them are gods. But, besides this answer, I say farther, how comes it about that Apion does not nderstand this to be no other than a palpable lie, and to be confuted by the thing tself as utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, n which we constantly persevere; and although many misfortunes have befallen ur city, as the like have befallen others, and although Theos [Epiphanes,] and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and, last of all, Titus Cæsar, have con- uered us in war, and gotten possession of our temple: yet have they none of hem found any such thing there, nor, indeed, any thing but what was agreeable o the strictest piety; although what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to ther nations. But for Antiochus [Epiphanes,] he had no just cause for that ra- age in our temple that he made; he only came to it when he wanted money, vithout declaring himself our enemy, and attacked us while we were his asso- iates and his friends: nor did he find any thing there that was ridiculous. This s attested by many worthy writers; Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo of Cappado- ia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the chronologer, and Apollodo- us,‡ who all say, that it was out of Antiochus's want of money that he broke his eague with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and sil- er. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had ither an ass's heart or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they wor- hip; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us ews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles nd asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former or bitten by he latter to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are the same vith us which they are with other wise men, *viz.* creatures that bear the burdens hat we lay upon them; but if they come to our thrashing-floors, and eat our orn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great nany stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskilful in the composition of such allacious discourses, or, however, when he began [somewhat better,] he was not ible to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success n those reproaches he casts upon us.

8. He adds another Grecian fable, in order to reproach us. In reply to which t would be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about divine worship,

* Called more properly *Molo* or *Apollonius Molo*, as hereafter; for Apollonius, the son of Molo, was nother person, as Strabo informs us, lib. xiv.

† *Furones* in the Latin, which what animal it denotes does not now appear.

‡ It is a great pity that these six pagan authors, here mentioned to have described the famous profana- ion of the Jewish temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, should be all lost; I mean so far of their writings as ontained that description, though it is plain Josephus perused them all, as extant in his time.

ought not to be ignorant of this plain truth, that it is a degree of less impurity pass through temples than to forge wicked calumnies of its priests. Now suc men as he are more zealous to justify a sacrilegious king than to write what just and what is true about us, and about our temple: for when they are desirou of gratifying Antiochus, and of concealing that perfidiousness and sacrilege whic he was guilty of with regard to our nation when he wanted money, they endea vour to disgrace us, and tell lies even relating to futurities. Apion become other men's prophet upon this occasion, and says,—that "Antiochus found in ou temple a bed, and a man lying upon it, with a small table before him, full of dain ties from the [fishes of the] sea, and the fowls of the dry land: that this ma was amazed at these dainties thus set before him: that he immediately adore the king, upon his coming in, as hoping that he would afford him all possible a sistance: that he fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his righ hand, and begged to be released; and that when the king bid him sit down, an tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of thos various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable com plaint, and with sighs and tears in his eyes, gave him this account of the distres he was in, and said, that he was a Greek; and that, as he went over this pro vince in order to get his living, he was seized upon by foreigners, on a sudden and brought to this temple and shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but wa fattened by these curious provisions thus set before him: and that truly at the firs such unexpected advantages seemed to him matter of great joy: that, after a while they brought a suspicion upon him, and at length astonishment, what their mean ing should be: that at last he inquired of the servants that came to him, and wa by them informed, that it was in order to the fulfilling a law of the Jews, whic they must not tell him, that he was thus fed; and that they did the sam at a set time every year: that they used to catch a Greek foreigner, and fat hi thus up every year, and then lead him to a certain wood, and kill him, and sa crifice with their accustomed solemnities, and taste of his entrails, and take a oath upon this sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with th Greeks: and that then they threw the remaining parts of the miserable wretch int a certain pit." Apion adds farther,—"That the man said there were but a fe days to come ere he was to be slain, and implored Antiochus that, out of th reverence he bore to the Grecian gods, he would disappoint the snares the Jew laid for his blood, and would deliver him from the miseries with which he wa encompassed." Now this is such a most tragical fable, as is full of nothing bu cruelty and impudence; yet does it not excuse Antiochus of his sacrilegious at tempts, as those who write it in his vindication are willing to suppose: for h could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing i coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was, there fore, still an impious person, that was given to unlawful pleasures, and had n regard to God in his actions. But [as for Apion] he hath done whatever his ex travagant love of lying hath dictated to him, as it is most easy to discover by consideration of his writings; for the difference of our laws is known not to re gard the Grecians only, but they are principally opposite to the Egyptians, and to some other nations also: for while it so falls out, that men of all countries come sometimes and sojourn among us, how comes it about that we take an oath and conspire only against the Grecians? and that by the effusion of their blood also? Or how is it possible that all the Jews should get together to these sa crifices, and the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion pretends? Or why did not the king carry this man, who soever he was, and whatsoever was his name (which is not set down in Apion' book,) with great pomp back into his own country? when he might thereby hav been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against that hatred the Jews bore to him. But I leave this matter for the proper way of

onfuting fools is not to use bare words, but to appeal to the things themselves hat make against them. Now then, all such as ever saw the construction of our mple, of what nature it was, knew well enough how the purity of it was never be profaned; for it had four several courts,* encompassed with cloisters round bout, every one of which had, by our law, a peculiar degree of separation from he rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, and one but women, during their courses, were prohibited to pass through it; all the ews went into the second court, as well as their wives, when they were free om all uncleanness; into the third court went in the Jewish men, when they ere clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacer otal garments; but for the most sacred place, none went in but the high priests, lothed in their peculiar garments. Now there is so great caution used about hese offices of religion, that the priests are appointed to go into the temple but t certain hours; for in the morning, at the opening of the inner temple, those hat are to officiate receive the sacrifices, as they do again at noon, till the doors re shut. Lastly, it is not so much as lawful to carry any vessel into the holy ouse; nor is there any thing therein but the altar [of incense,] the table [of hew-bread,] the censer, and the candlestick, which are all written in the law: or there is nothing farther there, nor are there any mysteries performed that ay not be spoken of; nor is there any feasting within the place. For what I ave now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of the whole eople, and their operations are very manifest; for although there be four courses f the priests, and every one of them have above five thousand men in them, yet o they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other riests succeed in the performance of their sacrifices, and assemble together at nidday, and receive the keys of the temple, and the vessels by tale, without any hing relating to food or drink being carried into the temple; nay, we are not llowed to offer such things at the altar, excepting what is prepared for the sa rifices.

9. What then, can we say of Apion, but that he examined nothing that con erned these things, while still he uttered incredible words about them? but it is great shame for a grammarian not to be able to write true history. Now, if he new the purity of our temple, he hath entirely omitted to take notice of it; but he forges a story about the siezing of a Grecian, about ineffable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place whereinto the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, in order to the delusion of those who will not examine into the truth of matters: whereas such unspeakable mischiefs as are above related, have been occasioned by such calumnies that are raised upon us.

10. Nay, this miracle of piety derides us farther and adds the following pre ended facts to his former fable; for he says, that this man related how, "while the Jews were once in a long war with the Idumeans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumeans, who there had worshiped Apollo. This man, whose name is said to have been *Zabidus*, came to the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them: that Zabidus made him a certain wooden instrument, and put it round about him, and set three rows of lamps therein, and walked after such a manner that he appeared to those that stood a great way off him to be a kind of star walking upon the earth: that the Jews were terribly frightened at so surprising an appearance, and stood very quiet at a distance

* It is remarkable that Josephus here, and, I think, nowhere else, reckons up four distinct courts of the temple; that of the Gentiles, that of the women of Israel, that of the men of Israel, and that of the priests; as also, that the court of the women admitted of the men (I suppose only of the husbands of those wives that were therein,) while the court of the men did not admit any women into it at all.

and that Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house and carried off that golden head of an ass (for so facetiously does he write,) and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste." And say you so, sir as I may reply: then does Apion load the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies: for he writes of places that have no being, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation; for Idumea borders upon our country, and is near to Gaza, in which there is no such city as Dora; although there be, it is true, a city named *Dora* in Phœnicia, near mount Carmel, but it is four days journey from Idumea.* Now, then, why does this man accuse us, because we have not gods in common with other nations? If our forefathers were so easily prevailed upon to have Apollo come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him; for certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must yet, at this rate, have never seen a candlestick! but still it seems that while Zabidus took his journey over the country, where were so many ten thousands of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in a time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards: I omit the rest. Now, the doors of the holy house were seventy† cubits high and twenty cubits broad; they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold itself, and there were no fewer than twenty‡ men required to shut them every day; nor was it lawful ever to leave them open, though it seems, this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he had the ass's head in his hand. Whether, therefore, he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and brought it into the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and afford a handle for a second fable of Apion's, is uncertain.

11. Apion also tells a false story, when he mentions an oath of ours, as if we "swore by God, the maker of the heaven, and earth, and sea, to bear no good will to any foreigner, and particularly to none of the Greeks." Now this liar ought to have said directly, that "we would bear no good will to any foreigner and particularly to none of the Egyptians." For then his story about the oath would have squared with the rest of his original forgeries, in case our forefathers had been driven away by their kinsmen, the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness they had been guilty of, but on account of the calamities they were under; for as to the Grecians, we were rather remote from them in place than different from them in our institutions; insomuch that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it hath so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observation, although others of them had not courage enough to persevere, and so departed from them again; nor did any body ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard it, for he, indeed, was the first composer of it.

12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great prudence, as to what I am going to say, which is this, that "there is a plain mark among us, that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not governors, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation and sometimes to another; and that our city hath been liable to several calamities, while their city [Alexandria] hath been of old time an imperial city, and not used to be in subjection to the Romans." But now this man had better leave off his bragging; for every body but himself would think that Apion said what he hath said against himself; for there are very few nations that have had the good fortune to continue many generations in the principality, but still the mutations in human affairs have put them into subjection under others; and most nations have been often subdued and brought into subjection by others. Now

* Judea in the Greek, by a gross mistake of the transcribers.

† Seven, in the Greek, by a like gross mistake of the transcribers. See of the War, B. v. ch. v. sect. 4.

‡ Two hundred, in the Greek, contrary to the twenty in the War, B. vii ch. v. sect. 3.

or the Egyptians, perhaps, they are the only nation that have had this extraordinary privilege, to have never served any of those monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, and this on account, as they pretend, that the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by being changed into the shapes of wild beasts! Whereas these Egyptians* are the very people that appear to have never, in all the past ages, had one day of freedom, no not so much as from their own lords. For I will not reproach them with relating the manner how the Persians used them, and this not once only, but many times, when they laid their cities waste, demolished their temples, and cut the throats of those animals whom they esteemed to be gods; for it is not reasonable to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who hath no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians or of the Lacedemonians, the latter of which were styled by all men the most courageous, and the former the most religious of the Grecians. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, particularly of one of them whose name was *Cresus*, nor what calamities he met with in his life; I say nothing of the citadel of Athens, of the temple at Ephesus, of that at Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, while nobody cast reproaches on those that were the sufferers, but on those that were the actors therein. But now we have met with Apion, an accuser of our nation, though one that still forgets the miseries of his own people, the Egyptians; but it is that Sesostris, who was once so celebrated a king of Egypt, that hath blinded him: now we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations; accordingly, we will let them alone. However, Apion is ignorant of what every body knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterward to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we have enjoyed liberty formerly; nay, more than that, have had the dominion of the cities that lie round about us, and this nearly for a hundred and twenty years together, until Pompeius Magnus. And when all the kings every where were conquered by the Romans, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their confederates and friends, on account of their fidelity to them.

13. But, says Apion, "we Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, nor any inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and after all, he adds himself to them, which is the most wonderful thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it hath such a citizen as he is in it; for he was the fittest man to be a witness to his own deserts, although he hath appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, of a corrupt life and ill discourses; on which account one may justly pity Alexandria, if it should value itself upon such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, we have had those who have been as deserving of commendation as any other whosoever; and such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant of them.

14. As to the other things which he sets down as blameworthy, it may, perhaps, be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be allowed to be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. However he accuses us for sacrificing animals, and for abstaining from swine's flesh, and laughs at us for the circumcision of our privy members. Now, as for our slaugh-

* This notorious disgrace belonging peculiarly to the people of Egypt, ever since the times of the old prophets of the Jews, noted both section 4 already, and here, may be confirmed by the testimony of Isidorus, an Egyptian of Pelusium, Epist. lib. i. Ep. 489. And this is a remarkable completion of the ancient prediction of God, by Ezek. xxix. 14, 15,—"That the Egyptians should be a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms;" and that it "should not exalt itself any more above the nations." The truth of which still farther appears by the present observation of Josephus, that these Egyptians had never, in all the past ages since Sesostris, had one day of liberty, no not so much as to have been free from despotic power under any of the monarchs to that day. And all this has been found equally true in the latter ages, under the Romans, Saracens, Mammalukes, and Turks, from the days of Josephus to the present age also

ter of tame animals for sacrifices, it is common to us and to all other men; bu this Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to b an Egyptian; for had he been either a Grecian or a Macedonian [as he pretenc to be] he had not showed any uneasiness at it; for those people glory in sacr ficing whole hecatombs to the gods, and make use of those sacrifices for feas ing; and yet is not the world thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion wa afraid would come to pass. Yet, if all men had followed the manners of th Egyptians, the world had certainly been made desolate as to mankind, but ha been filled full of the wildest sort of brute beasts, which, because they sup pose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. However, if any one should as Apion, which of the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise and most pious o them all, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so; for the historie say, that two things were originally committed to their care by their king's in junctions, the worship of the gods and the support of wisdom and philosophy Accordingly, these priests are all circumcised, and abstain from swine's flesh nor does any one of the other Egyptians assist them in slaying those sacrifice they offer to the gods. Apion was, therefore, quite blinded in his mind, whe for the sake of the Egyptians, he contrived to reproach us, and to accuse suc others as not only make use of that conduct of life which he so much abuses, bu have also taught other men to be circumcised, as says Herodotus, which make me think that Apion is hereby justly punished for his casting such reproaches o the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, o account of an ulcer in his privy member; and when he received no benefit b such circumcision, but his member became putrid, he died in great torment Now men of good tempers ought to observe their own laws concerning religio accurately, and to persevere therein, but not presently to abuse the laws of othe nations, while this Apion deserted his own laws, and told lies about ours. An this was the end of Apion's life, and this shall be the conclusion of our dis course about him.

15. But now, since Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others write treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are neithe just nor true, and this partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill will to us, while they calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that ou laws teach us wickedness, but nothing is virtuous, I have a mind to discourse briefly according to my ability, about our whole constitution of government and about the particular branches of it. For I suppose it will thence becom evident, that the laws we have given us are disposed after the best manner fo the advancement of piety, for mutual communion with one another, for a gene ral love of mankind, as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude and for a contempt of death. And I beg of those that shall peruse this writing of mine to read it without partiality; for it is not my purpose to write an enco mium upon ourselves, but I shall esteem this as a most just apology for us, and taken from those our laws, according to which we lead our lives, against the many and the lying objections that have been made against us. Moreover, since this Apollonius does not do like Apion, and lay a continued accusation against us, but does it only by starts, and up and down his discourse, while he sometimes reproaches us as atheists and man-haters, and sometimes hits us in the teeth with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, ac cuses us of too great boldness and madness in our conduct; nay, he says that we are the weakest of all the barbarians; and that this is the reason why we are the only people which have made no improvements in human life. Now I think I shall have then sufficiently disproved all these his allegations, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws ourselves. And if I be compelled to make men tion of the laws of other nations that are contrary to ours, those ought deserv edly to thank themselves for it, who have pretended to depreciate our laws in

omparison of their own; nor will there, I think, be any room after that for iem to pretend either that we have no such laws ourselves, an epitome of hich I will present to to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue i the observation of them.

16. To begin, then, a good way backward, I would advance this in the first lace, that those who have been admirers of good order, and of living under com- ion laws, and who began to introduce them, may well have this testimony, that ey are better than other men, both for moderation and such virtue as is agree- ble to nature. Indeed, their endeavour was to have every thing they ordained elieved to be very ancient, that they might not be thought to imitate others, but ight appear to have delivered a regular way of living to others after them. Since, ien, this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in providing for the eople's living after the best manner, and in prevailing with those that are to use ie laws he ordains for them to have a good opinion of them, and in obliging the ultitude to persevere in them, and to make no changes in them, neither in pros- erity nor adversity. Now, I venture to say, that our legislator is the most ancient f all the legislators whom we have any where heard of; for as for the Lycur- uses, and Solons, and Zaleucus Locrensis, and all those legislators which are so dmired by the Greeks, they seem to be of yesterday, if compared with our le- islator, insomuch as the very name of a law was not so much known as in old mes among the Grecians. Homer is a witness to the truth of this observation, ho never uses that term in all his poems; for, indeed, there was then no such ing among them, but the multitude was governed by wise maxims, and by the injunctions of their king. It was also a long time* that they continued in the use f these unwritten customs, although they were always changing them upon seve- al occasions. But for our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than he rest (as even those that speak against us upon all occasions do always con- ess,) he exhibited himself to the people as their best governor and counsellor, and ncluded in his legislation the entire conduct of their lives, and prevailed with them to receive it, and brought it so to pass, that those that were made acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

17. But let us consider his first and greatest work: for when it was resolved n by our forefathers to leave Egypt, and return to their own country, this Moses ook the many ten thousands that were of the people, and saved them out of many lesperate distresses, and brought them home in safety. And certainly it was here ecessary to travel over a country without water, and full of sand, to overcome heir enemies, and, during these battles, to preserve their children, and their vives, and their prey; on all which occasions he became an excellent general f an army, and a most prudent counsellor, and one that took the truest care of hem all: he also so brought it about that the whole multitude depended upon im. And while he had them always obedient to what he enjoined, he made no nanner of use of his authority for his own private advantage, which is the usual ime when governors gain great powers to themselves, and pave the way for ty- anny, and accustom the multitude to live very dissolutely: whereas, when our egislator was in so great authority, he, on the contrary, thought he ought to have egard to piety, and to show his great good will to the people; and by this means ie thought he might show the great degree of virtue that was in him, and might procure the most lasting security to those who had made him their governor. When he had, therefore, come to such a good resolution, and had performed such wonderful exploits, we had just reason to look upon ourselves as having him for a divine governor and counsellor. And when he had first persuaded himself† that

* *Viz.* After the greatest part of the world had left off their obedience to God, their original legislator. See Scripture Politics, page 6, 7.

† This language, that Moses πάσας ἑαυτον, *persuaded himself* that what he did was according to God's will, can mean no more by Josephus's own constant notions elsewhere, than that he was *firmly persuaded*, that he had *fully satisfied himself*, that so it was, *viz.* by the many revelations he had received from God, and the numerous miracles God had enabled him to work, as he both in these very two books against

his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty imprint above all things that notion upon the multitude; for those who have onc believed that God is the inspector of their lives, will not permit themselves in an sin. And this is the character of our legislator; he was no impostor, no deceive as his revilers say, though unjustly, but such a one as they brag Minos* to hav been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him; for some of them sup pose that they had their laws from Jupiter, while Minos said, that the revelatio of his laws was to be referred to Apollo and his oracle at Delphi, whether the really thought they were so derived, or supposed, however, that they could pe suade the people easily that so it was. But which of these it was who made th best laws, and which had the greatest reason to believe that God was their autho it will be easy upon comparing those laws themselves together to determine; f it is time that we come to that point. †[] Now there are innumerable differenc in the particular customs and laws that are among all mankind, which a man ma briefly reduce under the following heads:—Some legislators have permitted the governments to be under monarchies, others put them under oligarchies, an others under a republican form; but our legislator had no regard to any of thes forms: but he ordained our government to be, what, by a strained expression, ma be termed a *Theocracy*,‡ by ascribing the authority and the power to God, and b persuading all the people to have a regard to him as the author of all the goo things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each one in part cular, and of all that they themselves obtained, by praying to him in their greate difficulties. He informed them, that it was impossible to escape God's observa tion, even in any of our outward actions, or in any of our inward thought Moreover, he represented God§ as unbegotten and immutable, through all ete nity, superior to all mortal conceptions in pulchritude; and though known us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now ex plain how these notions of God are the sentiments of the wisest among th Grecians, and how they were taught them upon the principles that he afforde

Apion and in his Antiquities most clearly and frequently assures us. This is farther evident from sever passages lower, where he affirms that Moses was no impostor nor deceiver, and where he assures us th Moses's constitution of government was no other than a Theocracy; and where he says, they are to ho for deliverance out of their distresses by prayer to God, and that withal it was owing in part to this pr phetic spirit of Moses, that the Jews expected a resurrection from the dead. See almost as strange a u of the like words πείσθειν τον Θεόν, *to persuade God*, Antiq. B. vi. ch. v. sect. 6.

* That is, Moses really was, what the heathen legislators pretended to be, under a divine directio nor does it yet appear that these pretensions to a supernatural conduct, either in these legislators or or cles, were mere delusions of men, without any demoniacal impressions, nor that Josephus took them to be, as the ancientest and contemporary authors did still believe them to be supernatural.

† This whole very large passage from [ ] to ***, is corrected by Dr. Hudson, from Eusebius's citatio of it, Præp. Evangel. viii. 8, which is here not a little different from the present MSS. of Josephus.

‡ This expression itself, Θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε το πολίτευμα, That *Moses ordained the Jewish gover ment to be a Theocracy*, may be illustrated by that parallel expression in the Antiquities, B. iii. ch. vi sect. 9, that "Moses left it to God to be present at his sacrifices when he pleased, and when he pleas to be absent. Both ways of speaking sound harsh in the ears of Jews and Christians, as do several oth which Josephus uses to the heathens; but still they were not very improper in him, when he all alo thought fit to accommodate himself, both in his Antiquities and in these his books against Apion, all wri ten for the use of the Greeks and Romans, to their notions and language, and this as far as ever tru would give him leave. Though it be very observable withal, that he never uses such expressions in h books Of the War, written originally for the Jews beyond Euphrates, and in their language, in all the cases. However, Josephus directly supposes the Jewish settlement under Moses to be a divine settlemen and, indeed, no other than a real Theocracy.

§ These excellent accounts of the divine attributes, and that God is not to be at all known in his essenc as also some other clear expressions about the resurrection of the dead, and the state of departed soul &c. in this late work of Josephus's, look more like the exalted notions of the Essens, or, rather, Ebioni Christians, than of a mere Jew or Pharisee. The following large accounts also of the laws of Moses see to me to show a regard to the higher interpretations and improvements of Moses's laws, derived from Jes Christ, than to the bare letter of them in the Old Testament, whence alone Josephus took them when h wrote his Antiquities: nor, as I think, can some of these laws, though generally excellent in their kind, b properly now found either in the copies of the Jewish Pentateuch, or in Philo, or in Josephus himself, b fore he became a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, nor even all of them among the laws of Catholic Chri tianity themselves. I desire, therefore, the learned reader to consider, whether some of these improv ments or interpretations might not be peculiar to the Essens among the Jews, or, rather, to the Nazaren or Ebionites among the Christians; though we have, indeed, but imperfect accounts of those Nazarene Ebionite Christians transmitted down to us at this day.

hem. However, they testify, with great assurance, that these notions are ust, and agreeable to the nature of God, and to his majesty: for Pythagoras, nd Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the stoic philosophers that succeeded them, and lmost all the rest, are of the same sentiments, and had the same notions of the na- ure of God; yet durst not these men disclose those true notions to more than a few, ecause the body of the people were prejudiced with other opinions beforehand. But our legislator, who made his actions agree to his laws, did not only prevail vith those that were his contemporaries to agree with these his notions, but so irmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it never could be emoved. The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better irected to the utility of all, than other legislations were, is this, that Moses lid not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues o be parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and temperance, and a uni- ersal agreement of the members of the community with one another: for all our ctions and studies, and all our words [in Moses's settlement,] have a reference o piety towards God; for he hath left none of these in suspense or undetermined. For there are two ways of coming at any sort of learning, and a moral conduct f life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by practical exercises. Now, other lawgivers have separated these two ways in their opinions, and hoosing one of those ways of instruction, or that which best pleased every ne of them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedemonians and the Cre- ians teach by practical exercises, but not by words; while the Athenians and lmost all the other Grecians made laws about what was to be done, or left un- one, but had no regard to the exercising them thereto in practice.

18. But for our legislator, he very carefully joined these two methods of in- truction together; for he neither left these practical exercises to go on without erbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without he exercises for practice; but beginning immediately from the earliest infancy, nd the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest con- equence to be done at the pleasure and disposal of the person himself: accord- ngly, he made a fixed rule of law, what sorts of food they should abstain from, nd what sorts they should make use of, as also what communion they should ave with others; what great diligence they should use in their occupations, and vhat times of rest should be interposed; that, by living under that law as under father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin, neither voluntary nor out f ignorance; for he did not suffer the guilt of ignorance to go on without unishment, but demonstrated the law to be the best and the most necessary nstruction of all others, permitting the people to leave off their other employ- ments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law, and learning it ex- ctly, and this not once or twice, or oftener, but every week; which thing all he other legislators seem to have neglected.

19. And, indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from living accord- ng to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned, hey learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Those also who are n the highest and principal posts of the government confess they are not ac quainted with those laws, and are obliged to take such persons for their assessor n public administrations as profess to have skill in those laws: but for our peo- le, if any body do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more rea- dily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of any hing, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls. Our trans- gressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape unishment.

20. And this very thing it is that principally creates such a wonderful agree ment of minds amongst us all; for this entire agreement of ours in all our notions concerning God, and our having no difference in our course of life and manners,

procures among us the most excellent concord of these our manners that is anywhere among mankind: for no other people but the Jews have avoided all discourses about God that any way contradict one another, which yet are frequent among other nations; and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is affected, but some of the philosophers have been insolent enough to indulge such contradictions, while some of them have undertaken to use such words as entirely take away the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind. Nor can any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but all our works are common to us all. We have one sort of discourse concerning God, which is conformable to our law, and affirms that he sees all things; as also we have but one way of speaking concerning the conduct of our lives, that all other things ought to have piety for their end; and this any body may hear from our women and servants themselves.

21. And, indeed, hence hath arisen that accusation which some make against us, that we have not produced men that have been the inventors of new operations, or of new ways of speaking; for others think it a fine thing to persevere in nothing that has been delivered down from their forefathers, and these testify it to be an instance of the sharpest wisdom when these men venture to transgress those traditions: whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue to admit no actions nor supposals that are contrary to our original laws; which procedure of ours is a just and sure sign that our law is admirably constituted; for such laws as are not thus well made are convicted upon trial to want amendment.

22. But while we are ourselves persuaded, that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same; for what is there in it that any body would change? and what can be invented that is better? or what can we take out of other people's laws that will exceed it? Perhaps some would have the entire settlement of our government altered. And where shall we find a better or more righteous constitution than ours? while this makes us esteem God to be the governor of the universe, and permits the priests in general to be the administrators of the principal affairs, and withal intrusts the government over the other priests to the chief high priest himself: which priests our legislator, at their first appointment, did not advance to that dignity for their riches, or any abundance of other possessions, or any plenty they had, as the gifts of fortune; but he intrusted the principal management of divine worship to those that exceeded others in an ability to persuade men, and in prudence of conduct. These men had the main care of the law, and of the other parts of the people's conduct committed to them; for they were the priests who were ordained to be inspectors of all, and the judges in doubtful cases, and the punishers of those that were condemned to suffer punishment.

23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? What more worthy kind of worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion; where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a certain religious solemnity? For, what things foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, are not able to observe for a few days' time, and call them *mysterious* and *sacred ceremonies*, we observe with great pleasure and an unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things, then, that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simple, and easily known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God contains all things, and is a being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings: the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to his form and magnitude he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image for him; and all arts are unartful to express the

notion we ought to have of him. We can neither see nor think of any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to form a resemblance of him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and the moon, the waters, the generations of animals, the productions of fruits: These things hath God made, not with hands, not with labour, not as wanting the assistance of any to cooperate with him; but as his will resolved they should be made, and be good also, they were made and became good immediately. All men ought to follow this being, and to worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy of all others.

24. There ought also to be but One Temple for One God: for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement. This temple ought to be common to all men, because he is the common God of all men. His priests are to be continually about his worship; over whom he that is the first by his birth is to be their ruler perpetually. His business must be to offer sacrifices to God, together with those priests that are joined with him; to see that the laws be observed; to determine controversies, and to punish those that are convicted of injustice: while he that does not submit to him shall be subject to the same punishment as if he had been guilty of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do it not in order to surfeit ourselves, or to be drunken; for such excesses are against the will of God, and would be an occasion of injuries and of luxury; but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate than others. And for our duty at the sacrifices themselves, we ought, in the first place, to pray* for the common welfare of all, and after that for our own; for we are made for fellowship one with another: and he who prefers the common good before what is peculiar to himself is above all acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God, not [so much] that he would give us what is good (for he hath already given that of his own accord, and hath proposed the same publicly to all,) as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it, may preserve it. Now the law has appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after what sometimes happens to us in bed, and after accompanying with our wives, and upon many other occasions which it would be too long now to set down. And this is our doctrine concerning God and his worship, and is the same that the law appoints for our practice.

25. But, then, what are our laws about marriage? That law owns no other mixtures of sexes but that which nature hath appointed, of a man with his wife, and that this be used only for the procreation of children. But it abhors the mixture of a male with a male: and if any one do that, death is its punishment. It commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to a portion, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her deceitfully and knavishly, but to demand her in marriage of him who hath power to dispose of her, and is fit to give her away by the nearness of his kindred; for, says the Scripture, *A woman is inferior to her husband in all things.*† Let her, therefore, be obedient to him: not so, that he should abuse her, but that she may acknowledge her duty to her husband: for God hath given the authority to the husband. A husband, therefore, is to lie only with his wife whom he hath married; but to have to do with another man's wife is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment: no more can he avoid the same who forces a virgin

* We may here observe how known a thing it was among the Jews and heathens, in this and many other instances, that *sacrifices* were still accompanied with *prayers;* whence most probably came those phrases of *the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving.* However, those ancient forms used at sacrifices are now generally lost, to the no small damage of true religion. It is here also exceeding remarkable, that although the temple of Jerusalem was built as the only place where the whole nation of the Jews were to offer their sacrifices, yet is there no mention of the *sacrifices* themselves, but of *prayers* only, in Solomon's long and famous form of devotion at its dedication; 1 Kings, viii; 2 Chron. vi. See also many passages cited in the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 37, and Of the War above, B. vii. ch. v. sect. 6.

† This text is nowhere in our present copies of the Old Testament.

betrothed to another man, or entices another man's wife. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy it afterward: and if any woman appears to have so done, she will be a murderer of her child, by destroying a living creature, and diminishing human kind; if any one, therefore, proceeds to such fornication or murder, he cannot be clean. Moreover, the law enjoins, that after the man and wife have lain together in a regular way, they shall bathe themselves; for there is defilement contracted thereby, both in soul and body, as if they had gone into another country; for, indeed, the soul by being united to the body, is subject to miseries, and is not freed therefrom again but by death: on which account the law requires this purification to be entirely performed.

26. Nay, indeed, the law does not permit us to make festivals at the births of our children, and thereby afford occasion of drinking to excess; but it ordains, that the very beginning of our education should be immediately directed to sobriety. It also commands us to bring those children up in learning, and to exercise them in the laws, and to make them acquainted with the acts of their predecessors, in order to their imitation of them, and that they might be nourished up in the laws from their infancy, and might neither transgress them, nor have any pretence for their ignorance of them.

27. Our law hath also taken care of the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expenses for the funerals, and without the erection of any illustrious monuments for them; but hath ordered that their nearest relation should perform their obsequies; and hath showed it to be regular, that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also ordains, that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to keep at a great distance from the thoughts of being pure, if he hath been once guilty of murder.

28. The law ordains also, that parents should be honoured immediately after God himself; and delivers that son, who does not requite them for the benefits he hath received from them, but is deficient on any such occasion, to be stoned. It also says, that the young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, because that is not true friendship which will not commit all things to their fidelity: it also forbids the revelation of secrets, even though an enmity arise between them. If any judge takes bribes, his punishment is death: he that overlooks one that offers him a petition, and this when he is able to relieve him, he is a guilty person. What is not by any one intrusted to another, ought not to be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not demand usury for its loan. These and many more of the like sort are the rules that unite us in the bands of society one with another.

29. It will be also worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers; for it will thence appear, that he made the best provision he possibly could, both that we should not dissolve our own constitution, nor show any envious mind towards those that would cultivate a friendship with us. Accordingly, our legislator admits all those that have a mind to observe our laws so to do, and this after a friendly manner, as esteeming that a true union which not only extends to our own stock, but to those that would live after the same manner with us: yet does he not allow those that come to us by accident only to be admitted into communion with us.

30. However, there are other things which our legislator ordained for us beforehand, which of necessity we ought to do in common to all men; as to afford fire, and water, and food to such as want it; to show them the roads, nor to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those that are esteemed our enemies with moderation; for he doth not allow us to set their country on fire, nor to permit us to cut down those trees that bear fruit; nay, farther, he forbids us to spoil those that have been slain in war. He hath also provided for such as

are taken captive, that they may not be injured, and especially that the women may not be abused. Indeed, he hath taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he hath not despised the care of brute beasts, by permitting no other than a regular use of them, and forbidding any other; and if any of them come to our houses, like supplicants, we are forbidden to slay them: nor may we kill the dams, together with their young ones; but we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those creatures that labour for mankind. Thus hath our lawgiver contrived to teach us an equitable conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein; while at the same time he hath ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished, without the allowance of any excuse whatsoever.

31. Now the greatest part of offences with us are capital; as if any one be guilty of adultery; if any one force a virgin; if any one be so impudent as to attempt sodomy with a male, or if, upon another's making an attempt upon him, he submits to be so used. There is also a law for slaves of the like nature that can never be avoided. Moreover, if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale in order to cheat another; if any one steals what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited, all these have punishments allotted them; not so much as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as for attempts of unjust behaviour toward parents, or for impiety against God, though they be not actually accomplished, the offenders are destroyed immediately. However, the reward for such as live exactly according to the laws is not silver nor gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallage, nor any such public sign of commendation; but every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself; and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God himself affords such a one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that they shall come into being again, and at a certain revolution of things shall receive a better life than they had enjoyed before. Nor would I venture to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all by our actions, that many of our people have many a time bravely resolved to endure any sufferings rather than speak one word against our law.

32. Nay, indeed, in case it had so fallen out, that our nation had not been so thoroughly known among all men as they are, and our voluntary submission to our laws had not been so open and manifest as it is; but that somebody had pretended to have written these laws himself, and had read them to the Greeks, or had pretended that he had met with men out of the limits of the known world, that had such reverent notions of God, and had continued a long time in the firm observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire them, on a reflection upon the frequent changes they had therein been themselves subject to; and this while those that have attempted to write somewhat of the same kind for politic government and for laws are accused as composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task upon them. And here I will say nothing of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this nature in their writings. But even Plato himself, who is so admired by the Greeks on account of that gravity in his manners, and force in his words, and that ability he had to persuade men beyond all other philosophers, is little better than laughed at, and exposed to ridicule on that account, by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs; although he that shall diligently peruse his writings will find his precepts to be somewhat gentle, and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. Nay, Plato himself confesseth, that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet do some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words set off with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus as the principal lawgiver; and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the firm observance of his laws for a very long time. So

far, then, we have gained that it is to be confessed a mark of virtue to submit to laws*. But then, let such as admire this in the Lacedemonians compare that duration of theirs with more than two thousand years which our political government hath continued; and let them farther consider, that though the Lacedemonians did seem to observe their laws exactly, while they enjoyed their liberty, yet that when they underwent a change in their fortune they forgot almost all those laws; while we having been under ten thousand changes in our fortune, by the changes that happened among the kings of Asia, we have never betrayed our laws under the most pressing distresses we have been in, nor have we neglected them either out of sloth or for a livelihood†. Nay, if any one will consider it, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been greater than what appears to have been borne by the Lacedemonian fortitude, while they neither ploughed their land nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all such pains-taking, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies; while they made use of other men as their servants for all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by the others: and these good and humane actions they do for no other purpose but this, that by their actions and their sufferings they may be able to conquer all those against whom they make war. I need not add this, that they have not been fully able to observe their laws; for not only a few single persons, but multitudes of them, have in heaps neglected those laws, and have delivered themselves together with their arms, into the hands of their enemies.

33. Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many, nay, not more than one or two, that have betrayed our laws; no, not out of fear of death itself: I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments, and seems to be the severest kind of death of all others. Now I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not out of their hatred to us when they had subdued us, but rather out of their desire to see a surprising sight, which is this, whether there be such men in the world who believe that no evil is to them so great as to be compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their own laws! Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are; for other men do not easily submit to the easier things in which we are instituted; I mean working with our hands and eating but little, and being contented to eat and drink not at random, or at every one's pleasure, or being under inviolable rules in lying with our wives, in magnificent furniture, and again in the observation of our times of rest; while those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to such laws about their way of living: whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these instances, renders us fit to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

34. Yet do the Lysimachi and the Molones, and some other writers (unskilful sophists as they are,) and the deceivers of young men, reproach us as the vilest of all mankind. Now I have no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations; for the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, but not to bring accusations against the laws of others. And, indeed, our legislator hath expressly forbidden us to laugh at and revile those that are esteemed gods by other people‡, on account of the very name of *God* ascribed to them. But since our antagonists think to run us down upon the comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence here, especially while what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but hath been already said by many, and these of the highest reputation also: for who is there among those that have been ad-

* It may not be amiss to set down here a very remarkable testimony of the great philosopher Cicero as to the preference of *laws* to *philosophy*. "I will," says he, "boldly declare my opinion, though the whole world be offended at it. I prefer this little book of the Twelve Tables alone to all the volumes of the philosophers. I find it to be not only of more weight, but also much more useful." *De Oratore.*

† Or, we have observed our times of rest and sorts of food allowed us [during those distresses.]

‡ See Antiq. B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 10, and its note.

mired among the Greeks for wisdom, who hath not greatly blamed both the most famous poets, and most celebrated legislators for spreading such notions originally among the body of the people concerning the gods? such as these, that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they have a mind to have them; that they are begotten one by another, and that after all the kinds of generation you can imagine. They also distinguish them in their places and ways of living, as they would distinguish several sorts of animals: as some to be under the earth; as some to be in the sea; and the ancientest of them all to be bound in hell: and for those to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in title is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and a lord; whence it came to pass that his wife, and brother, and daughter (which daughter he brought forth from his own head,) made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father before.

35. And justly have the wisest men thought these notions deserved severe rebukes; they also laugh at them for determining that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beardless and young, and others of them to be old, and to have beards accordingly: that some are set to trades: that one god is a smith, and another goddess is a weaver; that one god is a warrior, and fights with men: that some of them are harpers, or delight in archery, and, besides, that mutual seditions arise among them, and that they quarrel about men, and this so far that they not only lay hands upon one another, but that they are wounded by men, and lament, and take on for such their afflictions. But what is the grossest of all in point of lasciviousness, are those unbounded lusts ascribed to almost all of them and their amours, which how can it be other than a most absurd supposal, especially when it reaches to the male gods, and to the female goddesses also? Moreover, the chief of all their gods, and their first father himself, overlooks those goddesses whom he hath deluded and begotten with child, and suffers them to be kept in prison or drowned in the sea. He is also so bound up by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding of tears. These are fine things indeed! as are the rest that follow. Adulteries truly are so impudently looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them have confessed they envied those that were bound in the very act. And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them, who is their king also, hath not been able to restrain himself in the violence of his lust from lying with his wife so long as they might get into their bedchamber? Now some of the gods are servants to men, and will sometimes be builders for a reward and sometimes will be shepherds; while others of them, like malefactors, are bound up in a prison of brass. And what sober person is there who would not be provoked at such stories, and rebuke those that forged them, and condemn the great silliness of those that admit them for true? Nay, others there are that have advanced a certain timorousness and fear, as also madness and fraud, and any other of the vilest passions into the nature and form of gods, and have persuaded whole cities to offer sacrifice to the better sort of them; on which account they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others of them averters of evil. They also endeavour to move them, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, as looking for nothing else than to receive some great mischief from them unless they pay them such wages.

36. Wherefore it deserves our inquiry, what should be the occasion of this unjust management and of these scandals about the Deity? And truly I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge the heathen legislators had at first of the true nature of God: nor did they explain to the people even so far as they did comprehend of it; nor did they compose the other parts of their political settlements according to it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence; and gave leave both to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, and those subject to all sorts of passions, and to the orators to procure political decrees from the people for the admission of such foreign gods as they thought proper

The painters also and statuaries of Greece had herein great power, as each of them could contrive a shape [proper for a god;] the one to be formed out of cla and the other by making a bare picture of such a one. But those workmen tha were principally admired had the use of ivory and of gold as the constant ma terials for their new statutes: [whereby it comes to pass, that some temples ar quite deserted, while others are in great esteem, and adorned with all the rites of a kinds of purification.] Besides this, the first gods, who have long flourished in th honours done them, are now grown old, [while those that flourished after thei are come in their room as a second rank, that I may speak the most honourabl of them that I can;] nay, certain other gods there are who are newly introduced and newly worshiped, [as we by way of digression have said already, and ye have left their places of worship desolate;] and for their temples, some of thei are already left desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure o men: whereas they ought to have preserved their opinion about God, and tha worship which is due to him, always and immutably the same.

37. But now this Apollonius Molo was one of these foolish and proud men However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those that were real philoso phers among the Greeks; nor were they unacquainted with those frigid pre tences of allegories [which had been alleged for such things;] on which accoun they justly despised them, but have still agreed with us as to the true and be coming notions of God; whence it was that Plato would not have political settle ments admit of any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer himself with a garland on his head, and with ointment poured upon him, and this becaus he should not destroy the right notions of God with his fables. Nay, Plato prin cipally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to hav the main regard to this precept, that every one of them should learn their laws accurately. He also ordained, that they should not admit of foreigners intermix ing with their own people at random; and provided that the commonwealth shoul keep itself pure, and consist of such only as persevered in their own laws. Apol lonius Molo did no way consider this, when he made it one branch of his accusa tion against us, that we do not admit of such as have different notions about God nor will we have fellowship with those that choose to observe a way of living dif ferent from ourselves; yet is not this method peculiar to us, but common to all other men; not among the ordinary Grecians only, but among such of those Grecians as are of the greatest reputation among them. Moreover, the Lace demonians continued in their way of expelling foreigners, and would not, indeed, give leave to their own people to travel abroad, as suspecting that those two things would introduce a dissolution of their own laws: and, perhaps, there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedemonians; for they betowed the privilege of their city on no foreigners, nor, indeed, would give leave to them to stay among them: whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate other institutions, yet do we willingly admit of those that desire to partake of ours, which, I think, I may reckon to be a plain indication of our humanity, and at the same time of our magnanimity also.

38. But I shall say no more of the Lacedemonians. As for the Athenians, who glory in having made their city to be common to all men, what their behaviour was Apollonius did not know, while they punished those that did but speak one word contrary to their laws about the gods without any mercy: for on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death by them? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was on this account that he swore certain new oaths,* and that he affirmed either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a certain demon used to make signs to him [what he should not do.] For these

* See what these novel oaths were in Dr. Hudson's note, *viz.* To swear by an *oak*, by a *goat*, and by a *dog*, as also by a *gander*, as says Philostratus and others. This swearing strange oaths was also forbidden by the Tyrians, B. i. sect. 22, as Spanheim here notes.

easons he was condemned to drink poison, and kill himself. His accuser also omplained that he corrupted the young men, by inducing them to despise the olitical settlement and laws of their city; and thus was Socrates, the citizen of thens, punished. There was also Anaxagoras, who although he was of Cla- omenæ, was within a few suffrages of being condemned to die, because he said he sun, which the Athenians thought to be a god, was a ball of fire. They also ade this public proclamation, that they would give a talent to any one who ould kill Diagorus of Melos, because it was reported of him that he laughed t their mysteries. Protagorus also, who was thought to have written somewhat at was not owned for truth by the Athenians about the gods, had been seized pon and put to death, if he had not fled immediately away. Nor need we at ll wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, when they did not spare ven women also; for they very lately slew a certain priestess because she was ccused by somebody that she initiated people into the worship of strange gods, having been forbidden so to do by one of their laws: and a capital punishment ad been decreed to such as introduced a strange god; it being manifest, that ey who make use of such a law do not believe those of other nations to be really ods, otherwise they had not envied themselves the advantage of more gods than ey already had. And this was the happy administration of the affairs of the thenians! Now as to the Scythians, they take a pleasure in killing men, and iffer little from brute beasts; yet do they think it reasonable to have their insti- tions observed. They also slew Anacharsis, a person greatly admired for his isdom among the Greeks, when he returned to them, because he appeared to me fraught with Grecian customs: one may also find many to have been unished among the Persians on the very same account. And to be sure Apol- nius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and was an admirer of em, because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage, and had the ery same opinion about the gods which they had! This last was exemplified the temples which they burnt, and their courage in coming and almost entirely nslaving the Grecians. However Apollonius has imitated all the Persian insti- tions, and that by his offering violence to other men's wives, and castrating his wn sons. Now with us it is a capital crime if any one does thus abuse even a rute beast: and as for us, neither hath the fear of our governors, nor a desire f following what other nations have in so great esteem, been able to withdraw s from our own laws; nor have we exerted our courage in raising up wars to ncrease our wealth, but only for the observation of our laws: and when we with atience bear other losses, yet when any persons would compel us to break our ws, then it is that we choose to go war, though it be beyond our ability to pur- ue it, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And, in- eed, what reason can there be why we should desire to imitate the laws of other ations, while we see they are not observed by their own legislators? And why o not the Lacedemonians think of abolishing that form of their government which ffers them not to associate with any others, as well as their contempt of matri- ony? And why do not the Eleans and Thebans abolish that unnatural and im- udent lust, which makes them lie with males? For they will not show a suffi- ient sign of their repentance of what they of old thought to be very excellent, nd very advantageous in their practices, unless they entirely avoid all such actions r the time to come: nay, such things are inserted into the body of their laws, and ad once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these sodomitical ractices to the gods themselves as a part of their good character; and, indeed, was according to the same manner that the gods married their own sisters. his the Greeks contrived as an apology for their own absurd and unnatural leasures.

39. I omit to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of escaping em the greatest part of the legislators have afforded malefactors, by ordaining

that, for adulteries, fines in money should be allowed, and for corrupting [virgins they need only marry them :† as also what excuses they may have in denying th facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them ; for amongst most other natio it is a studied art how men may transgress their laws. But no such thing is pe mitted amongst us ; for though we be deprived of our wealth, of our cities, or the other advantages we have, our law continues immortal : nor can any Jew so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest lord, as not be more affrighted at the law than at him. If, therefore, this be the dispositio we are under with regard to the excellency of our laws, let our enemies mak us this concession, that our laws are most excellent ; and if still they imagin that though we so firmly adhere to them, yet are they bad laws notwithstandin what penalties then do they deserve to undergo who do not observe their ow laws, which they esteem so far superior to them? Whereas, therefore, length o time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a te timonial of the excellency of our laws, and of that belief thereby delivered t us concerning God : for as there hath been a very long time for this compar son, if any one will but compare its duration with the duration of the laws mad by other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the ancientest o them all.

40. We have already demonstrated that our laws have been such as have al ways inspired admiration and imitation into all other men ; nay, the earliest Gre cian philosophers, though in appearance they observed the laws of their ow countries, yet did they, in their actions and their philosophic doctrines, follo our legislator, and instructed men to live sparingly, and to have friendly com munication one with another. Nay, farther, the multitude of mankind itself hav had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances ; for ther is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the Barbarians, nor any nation what soever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day hath not come, and b which our fasts, and lighting up lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to ou food, are not observed : they also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord wit one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in ou trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are in, on account o our laws ; and what is here matter of the greatest admiration, our law hath n bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but it prevails by its own force ; and as Go himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also so that if any one will but reflect on his own country and his own family, he wil have reason to give credit to what I say. It is, therefore, but just, either to con demn all mankind of indulging a wicked disposition, when they have been so de sirous of imitating laws that are to them foreign and evil in themselves, rathe than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accu sers must leave off their spite against us. Nor are we guilty of any envious be haviour towards them when we honour our own legislator, and believe what he by his prophetic authority, hath taught us concerning God : for though we shoul not be able ourselves to understand the excellency of our own laws, yet would th great multitude of those that desire to imitate them justify us in greatly valuin ourselves upon them.

41. But as for the [distinct] political laws by which we are governed, I hav delivered them accurately in my books of Antiquities : and have only mentione them now so far as was necessary to my present purpose, without proposing t myself either to blame the laws of other nations or to make an encomium upo

* Why Josephus here should blame some heathen legislators when they allowed so easy a compos tion for simple fornication, as an obligation to marry the virgin that was corrupted, is hard to say, see ing he had himself truly informed us that it was a law of the Jews, Antiq. B. iv. chap. viii. sect. 23, a it is the law of Christianity also ; see Horeb Covenant, page 61. I am almost ready to suspect that fo γάμος, we should here read γαμων, and that corrupting wedlock, or other men's wives, is the crime fo which these heathens wickedly allowed this composition in money.

† Or for corrupting other men's wives the same allowance.

own ; but in order to convict those that have written about us unjustly, and
an impudent affectation of disguising the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently completed what I proposed in writing these books: for whereas our accusers have pretended that our nation are a people of a very late original, I have demonstrated that they are exceeding ancient; for I have produced as witnesses thereto many ancient writers who have made mention of us in their books, while they said that no such writer had so done. Moreover, they had said that we were sprung from the Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from other country into Egypt: while they had told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of diseases on our bodies, it has appeared, on the contrary, that we returned to our own country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. Those accusers reproached our legislator as a vile fellow; whereas God in old time bare witness to his virtuous conduct; and since that testimony of God, time itself hath been discovered to have borne witness to the same thing.

42. As to the laws themselves, more words are unnecessary, for they are visible in their own nature, and appear to teach not impiety, but the truest piety in the world. They do not make men hate one another, but encourage people to communicate what they have to one another freely: they are enemies to injustice: they take care of righteousness: they banish idleness and expensive living, and instruct men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings: they forbid men to make war from a desire of getting more, but make men courageous in defending the laws: they are inexorable in punishing malefactors: they admit no sophistry of words, but are always established by actions themselves, which actions we ever propose as surer demonstrations than that is contained in writing only; on which account I am so bold as to say, that we are become the teachers of other men in the greatest number of things, and those of the most excellent nature only: for what is more excellent than inviolate piety? what is more just than submission to laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord? And this so far, that we are neither to be divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity; but to contemn death when we are in war, and in peace to apply ourselves to our mechanical occupations, or to our tillage of the ground; while we in all things and always are satisfied that God is the inspector and governor of our actions. If these precepts had either been written at first, or more exactly kept by any others before us, we should have owed them thanks as disciples owe to their masters: but if it be visible that we have made use of them more than any other men, and that we have demonstrated that the original invention of them is our own let the Lysimachus, and the Molons, with all the rest of those that delight in lies and reproaches, be refuted and confuted; but let this and the foregoing book be dedicated to thee, Epaphroditus, who art so great a lover of truth, and by thy means to those that have been in like manner desirous to be acquainted with the affairs of our nation.

# AN EXTRACT

OUT OF

# JOSEPHUS'S DISCOURSE TO THE GREEKS

CONCERNING

# HADES.

§ 1. Now as to Hades, wherein the souls of the righteous and unrighteous ar detained, it is necessary to speak of it. Hades is a place in the world not re gularly finished; a *subterraneous* region, wherein the light of this world does nc shine; from which circumstance, that in this region the light does not shine, cannot but be there must be in it perpetual *darkness*. This region is allotted as place of custody for souls, in which angels are appointed as guardians to them who distribute to them *temporary punishments*, agreeable to every one's behaviou and manners.

2. In this region there is a certain place set apart as a *lake of unquenchable fire* whereinto we suppose no one hath hitherto been cast; but it is prepared for day aforedetermined by God, in which one righteous sentence shall deservedl be passed upon all men; when the unjust, and those that have been disobedient t God, and have given honour to such idols as have been the vain operations of th hands of men as to God himself, shall be adjudged to this *everlasting punishmen* as having been the causes of defilement; while the just shall obtain an *incor ruptible* and never-fading *kingdom*. These are now, indeed, confined in Hades but not in the same place wherein the unjust are confined.

3. For there is one descent into this region, at whose *gate* we believe ther stands an archangel with a host; which *gate* when those pass through that ar conducted down by the angels appointed over souls, they do not go the same way but the just are guided to the *right hand*, and are led with hymns, sung by th *angels* appointed over that place, unto a region of *light*, in which the just hav dwelt from the beginning of the world; not constrained by necessity, but eve enjoying the prospect of the good things they see, and rejoicing in the expec ation of those new enjoyments which will be peculiar to every one of them, an esteeming those things beyond what we have here: with whom there is no plac of toil, no burning heat, no piercing cold, nor any briars there; but the cour tenance of the *fathers* and of the just, which they see, always smiles upon them while they wait for that rest and *eternal* new *life in heaven* which is to succee this region. This place we call the *bosom of Abraham*.

4. But as to the unjust, they are dragged by force to the *left hand* by the an gels allotted for punishment, no longer going with a good will, but as prisoner driven by violence; to whom are sent the angels appointed over them to reproac them, and threaten them with their terrible looks, and to thrust them still dowr ward. Now those angels that are set over these souls drag them into the neigh bourhood of hell itself; who, when they are hard by it, continually hear the nois of it, and do not stand clear of the hot vapour itself; but when they have a nea view of this spectacle, as of a terrible and exceeding great prospect of fire, the are struck with a fearful expectation of a future judgment, and in effect punishe thereby: and not only so, but where they see the place [or choir] of the *father*

id of the just, even hereby are they punished; for a *chaos* deep and large is xed between them; insomuch that a just man that hath compassion upon them nnot be admitted, nor can one that is unjust, if he were bold enough to attempt pass over it.

5. This is the discourse concerning Hades, wherein the souls of all men are nfined until a proper season, which God hath determined, when he will make resurrection of all men from the dead; not procuring a transmigration of souls om one body to another, but raising again those very bodies which you Greeks, eing to be dissolved, do not believe [their resurrection.] But learn not to dis-elieve it; for while you believe that the soul is created and yet is made immortal God, according to the doctrine of Plato, and this in time, be not incredulous; t believe that God is able, when he hath raised to life that body which was made a compound of the same elements, to make it immortal; for it must never be id of God, that he is able to do some things and unable to do others. We ve, therefore, believed that the body will be raised again; for although it be ssolved, it is not perished; for the earth receives its remains, and preserves em; and while they are like *seed*, and are mixed among the more fruitful soil ey flourish; and what is *sown* is, indeed, sown *bare grain*, but at the might; und of God the Creator it will sprout up, and be raised in a *clothed* and *glorious* ndition, though not before it has been dissolved and mixed [with the earth.] So at we have not rashly believed the resurrection of the body; for although it be ssolved for a time on account of the original transgression, it exists still, and is ast into the earth as into a potter's furnace, in order to be formed again, not in rder to rise again such as it was before, but in a state of purity, and so as never be destroyed any more.* And to every body shall its *own soul* be restored. nd when it hath *clothed itself* with that body, it will not be subject to misery; t being itself pure, it will continue with its pure body, and rejoice with it; ith which it having walked righteously now in this world, and never having had as a snare, it will receive it again with great gladness. But as for the unjust, ey will receive their bodies not changed, not freed from diseases or distempers, r made glorious, but with the same diseases wherein they died; and such as ey were in their unbelief, the same shall they be when they shall be faithfully dged.

6. For all men, the just as well as the unjust, shall be brought before *God the Word;* for to him hath the *Father committed all judgment;* and he in order to *fulfil the will of his Father* shall come as judge, whom we call *Christ.* For inos and Rhadamanthus are not the judges, as you Greeks do suppose, but he hom *God and the Father hath Glorified;* CONCERNING WHOM WE HAVE ELSE-HERE GIVEN A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT, FOR THE SAKE OF THOSE WHO EEK AFTER TRUTH. This person exercising the righteous judgment of the ather towards all men, hath prepared a just sentence for every one, according his works; at whose judgment-seat, when all men, and angels, and demons all stand, they will send forth one voice, and say, JUST IS THY JUDGMENT: e rejoinder to which will bring a just sentence upon both parties, by giving stly to those that have done well an *everlasting fruition;* but allotting to the vers of wicked works *eternal punishment.* To these belong the *unquenchable re*, and that without end, and a certain fiery *worm never dying*, and not destroy-ng the body, but continuing its eruption out of the body with never-ceasing grief: either will sleep give ease to these men, nor will the night afford them comfort; eath will not free them from their punishment, nor will the interceding prayers f their kindred profit them; for the just are no longer seen by them, nor are ey thought worthy of remembrance. But the just shall remember only their ighteous actions, whereby they have attained the *heavenly kingdom*, in which ere is no sleep, no sorrow, no corruption, no care, no night, no day mea-ured by time: no sun driven in his course along the circle of heaven by ne essity, and measuring out the bounds and conversions of the seasons, for the

better illumination of the life of men; no moon decreasing and increasing, introducing a variety of seasons, nor will she then moisten the earth: no burning sun, no Bear turning round [the pole], no Orion to rise, no wandering of innumerable stars. The earth will not then be difficult to be passed over; nor will it be hard to find out the court of paradise; nor will there be any fearful roaring of the sea, forbidding the passengers to walk on it; even *that* will be made easily passable to the just, though it will not be void of moisture. Heaven will not then be uninhabitable by men, and it will not be impossible to discover the way of ascending thither. The earth will not be uncultivated, nor require too much labour of men, but will bring forth its fruits of its own accord, and will be well adorned with them. There will be no more generations of wild beasts, nor will the substance of the rest of the animals shoot out any more; for it will not produce men; but the number of the righteous will continue, and never fail together with righteous angels and spirits [of God,] and with his word, as a choir of righteous men and women that never grow old, and continue in an incorruptible state, singing hymns to God, who hath advanced them to that happiness, by the means of a regular institution of life; with whom the whole creation also will lift up a perpetual hymn from *corruption to incorruption*, as glorified by a splendid and a pure spirit. It will not then be restrained by a bond of necessity, but with a lively freedom shall offer up a voluntary hymn, and shall praise him that made them, together with the angels, and spirits, and men, *now freed from all bondage*.

7. And now if you Gentiles will be persuaded by these motives, and leave your vain imaginations about your pedigrees, and gaining of riches, and philosophy, and will not spend your time about subtilities of words, and thereby lead your minds into error, and if you will apply your ears to the hearing of the inspired prophets, the interpreters both of God and of his word, and will believe in God, you shall both be partakers of these things, and obtain the good things that are to come: you shall see the ascent unto the immense heaven plainly, and that kingdom which is there: For what God hath now concealed in silence [will be then made manifest], *what neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man the things that God hath prepared for them that love him.*

8. *In whatsoever ways I shall find you, in them shall I judge you entirely*; so cries the END *of all things*. And he who hath at first lived a virtuous life, but towards the latter end falls into vice, these labours by him before endured shall be altogether vain and unprofitable, even as in a play brought to an ill catastrophe. Whosoever shall have lived wickedly and luxuriously may repent: however, there will be need of much time to conquer an evil habit; and even after repentance, his whole life must be guarded with great care and diligence, after the manner of a body, which, after it hath been a long time afflicted with a distemper, requires a stricter diet and method of living: for though it may be possible, perhaps, to break off the chain of our irregular affections at once, yet our amendment cannot be secured without the grace of God, the prayers of good men, the help of the brethren, and our own sincere repentance and constant care. It is a good thing not to sin at all; it is also good, having sinned, to repent; as it is best to have health always, but it is a good thing to recover from a distemper. *To God be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.*

THE END OF THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS.

# APPENDIX.

## DISSERTATION I.

### *The Testimonies of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and James the Just, vindicated.*

Since we meet with several important testimonies in Josephus, the Jewish historian, concerning John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, and concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus of Nazareth; and since the principal testimony, which is that concerning Jesus of Nazareth himself, has of late been greatly questioned by many, and rejected by some of the learned as spurious, it will be fit for me, who have ever declared my firm belief that these testimonies were genuine, to set down fairly some of the *original evidence and citations* I have met with in the first fifteen centuries concerning them, and then to make proper *observations* upon that evidence, for the reader's more complete satisfaction.

But before I produce the citations themselves out of Josephus, give me leave to prepare the reader's attention, by setting down the sentiments of perhaps the most learned person, and the most competent judge that ever was, as to the authority of Josephus, I mean of Joseph Scaliger in the Prolegomena to his book, *De Emendatione Temporum*, p. 17. "Josephus is the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers; nor are we afraid to affirm of him, that it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this, because his fidelity and his compass of learning are every where conspicuous."

### *The ancient Citations of the Testimonies of Josephus from his own Time till the End of the Fifteenth Century.*

*About A. D.* 110. *Tacit. Annal.* lib. xv. cap. 44.—Nero, in order to stifle the rumour [as *if* he had himself set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar *Christians:* these he punished exquisitely. *The author of this name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.*

*About A. D.* 147. *Just. Mart. Dialog. cum Trypho*, p. 234.—You [Jews] knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to happen.

*About A. D.* 230. *Origen. Comment. in Matth.* p. 230.—This James was of so shining a character among the people, on account of his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, when, in his twentieth book of the Jewish Antiquities, he had a mind to set down what was the cause why the people suffered such miseries, till the very holy house was demolished, he said, that these things befell them by the anger of God, on account of what they had dared to do to James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ:* and wonderful it is, that, while he did not receive Jesus for Christ, he did nevertheless bear witness that James was so righteous a man. He says farther, that the people thought that they suffered these things for the sake of James.

*About A. D.* 250. *Contr. Cels.* lib. i. p. 35, 36.—I would say to Celsus, who

personates a Jew, that admitted of John the Baptist, and how he baptized Jesus, that one who lived but a little while after John and Jesus, wrote, how that John was a baptizer unto the remission of sins: for Josephus testifies in the eighteenth book of Jewish Antiquities, that John was the Baptist, and that he promised purification to those that were baptized. The same Josephus also, although he did not believe in Jesus as Christ, when he was inquiring after the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the demolition of the temple, and ought to have said, that their machinations against Jesus were the cause of those miseries coming on the people, because they had slain that Christ, who was foretold by the prophets, he, though as it were unwillingly, and yet as one not remote from the truth, says; "These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus, that was called *Christ*, because they had slain him who was a most righteous person." Now this James was he whom that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, said he had seen *as the Lord's brother*, [Gal. i. 19;] which relation implies not so much nearness of blood, or the sameness of education, as it does the agreement of manners and preaching. If, therefore, he says the desolation of Jerusalem befell the Jews for the sake of James, with how much greater reason might he have said, that it happened for the sake of Jesus? &c.

*About A. D.* 324. *Euseb. Demonstr. Evan.* lib. iii. p. 124.—certainly the attestation of those I have already produced concerning our Saviour may be sufficient. However, it may not be amiss, if, over and above, we make use of Josephus the Jew for a farther witness; who, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, when he was writing the history of what happened under Pilate, makes mention of our Saviour in these words:—Now there was about this time, Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as had a veneration for truth; he drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had spoken of these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; whence the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. If, therefore, we have this historian's testimony, that he not only brought over to himself the twelve apostles, with the seventy disciples, but many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles also, he must manifestly have had somewhat in him extraordinary above the rest of mankind; for how otherwise could he draw over so many of the Jews and of the Gentiles, unless he performed admirable and amazing works, and used a method of teaching that was not common? Moreover, the scripture of the Acts of the Apostles bears witness, that there were many ten thousands of Jews who were persuaded that he was the Christ of God, who was foretold by the prophets [Acts, xi. 20.]

*About A. D.* 330. *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 11.—Now the divine scripture of the gospels makes mention of John the Baptist as having his head cut off by the younger Herod. Josephus also concurs in this history, and makes mention of Herodias by name, as wife of his brother, whom Herod had married, upon divorcing his former lawful wife. She was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians; and which Herodias he had parted from her husband while he was alive: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas [Aretas made war with him,] because his daughter had been used dishonourably: in which war, when it came to a battle, he says that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of his wicked contrivance against John. Moreover the same Josephus, by acknowledging John to have been a most righteous man and the Baptist, conspires in his testimony with what is written in the gospels. He also relates, that Herod lost his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, together with whom he was himself condemned to be banished to Vienna, a city

of Gaul. And this is his account in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes thus of John *verbatim*:—Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that very justly, as a punishment for what he did against John that was called the Baptist, for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and one that commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, for that by this means the washing [with water] would appear acceptable to him; when they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only,] but for the purification of the body, supposing still that the soul were thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. Now when [many] others came in crowds about him, for they were greatly delighted in hearing his words, Herod was afraid that this so great power of persuading men might tend to some sedition or other, for they seemed to be disposed to do every thing he should advise them to; so he supposed it better to prevent any attempt for a mutation from him by cutting him off, that after any such mutation should be brought about, and the public should suffer, to repent [of such negligence.] Accordingly, he was sent a prisoner, out of Herod's suspicious temper, to Macherus, the castle I before mentioned, and was there put to death. When Josephus had said this of John, he makes mention also of our Saviour in the same history, after this manner:—Now there was about this time one Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure; he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. And since this writer, sprung from the Hebrews themselves, hath delivered things above in his own work, concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what room is there for any farther evasion? &c.

Now James was so wonderful a person, and was so celebrated by all others for righteousness, that the judicious Jews thought this to have been the occasion of that siege of Jerusalem, which came on presently after his martyrdom, and that it befell them for no other reason, than that impious fact they were guilty of against him. Josephus, therefore, did not refuse to attest thereto in writing, by the words following:—These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called *Christ*, on this account, that they had slain him who was a most righteous person.

The same Josephus declares the manner of his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities, in these words:—Cæsar sent Albinus into Judea to be procurator, when he had heard that Festus was dead. Now Ananus junior, who, as we said, had been admitted to the high priesthood, was in his temper bold and daring in an extraordinary manner. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are more savage in judgment than any of the other Jews, as we have already signified. Since, therefore, this was the character of Ananus, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority,] because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembles the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, and some others [of his companions,] and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned: but as for those who seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those who were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa,] desiring him to send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

*About A. D.* 360. *Ambrose or Hegesippus de Excid. Urb. Hierosolym.* lib. iii. cap. 12.—We have discovered that it was the opinion and belief of the Jews, as

Josephus affirms (who is an author not to be rejected, when he writes against himself,) that Herod lost his army, not by the deceit of men, but by the anger of God, and that justly, as an effect of revenge for what he did to John the Baptist a just man, who had said to him, *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.*

The Jews themselves also bear witness to Christ, as appears by Josephus, the writer of their history, who says thus:—That there was at that time a wise man, if, says he, it be lawful to have him called a man, a doer of wonderful works, who appeared to his disciples after the third day from his death, alive again, according to the writings of the prophets, who foretold these and innumerable other miraculous events concerning him; from whom began the congregation of Christians, and hath penetrated among all sorts of men: nor does there remain any nation in the Roman world, which continues strangers to his religion. If the Jews do not believe us, let them at least believe their own writers. Josephus, whom they esteem a very great man, hath said this, and yet hath he spoken truth after such a manner, and so far was his mind wandered from the right way, that even he was not a believer, as to what he himself said: but thus he spake in order to deliver historical truth, because he thought it not lawful for him to deceive, while yet he was no believer, because of the hardness of his heart, and his perfidious intention. However, it was no prejudice to the truth that he was not a believer; but this adds more weight to his testimony, that while he was an unbeliever, and unwilling this should be true, he has not denied it to be so.

*About A. D.* 400. *Hieronym. de Vir. Illustr. in Josepho.*—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, most expressly acknowledges, that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles; and that John the Baptist was truly a prophet; and that Jerusalem was demolished on account of the slaughter of James the apostle. Now he wrote concerning our Lord after this manner:—At the same time there was Jesus, a wise man, if yet it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of those who willingly receive the truth. He had many followers both of the Jews and of the Gentiles: he was believed to be Christ. And when, by the envy of our principal men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, this notwithstanding, those who had loved him at first persevered, for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the oracles of the prophets had foretold many of these, and other wonderful things concerning him: and the sect of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

*About A. D.* 410. *Isodorus Pelusiota, the Scholar of Chrysostom*, lib. iv. epist. 225.—There was one Josephus, a Jew of the greatest reputation, and one that was zealous of the law; one also that paraphrased the Old Testament with truth, and acted valiantly for the Jews, and had showed that their settlement was nobler than can be described by words. Now since he made their interest give place to truth, for he would not support the opinion of impious men, I think it necessary to set down his words. What then does he say? Now there was about that time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had said these, and a vast number of other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Now I cannot but wonder greatly at this man's love of truth in many respects, but chiefly where he says—"Jesus was a teacher of men which received the truth with pleasure."

*About A. D.* 440. *Sozomon. Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. cap. 1.—Now Josephus, the son of Matthias, a priest, a man of very great note both among the Jews and the Romans, may well be a witness of credit as to the truth of Christ's history; for

he scruples to call him a man, as being a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of the words of truth: he names him *Christ* openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive; and that ten thousand other wonderful things were foretold of him by the divine prophets. He testifies also, that those whom he drew over to him, being many of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, continued to love him; and that the tribe named from him was not then extinct. Now he seems to me, by this his relation, almost to proclaim that Christ is God. However, he appears to have been so affected by the strangeness of the thing, as to run as it were in a sort of middle way, so as not to put any indignity upon believers in him, but rather to afford his suffrage to them.

*About A. D.* 510. *Cassiodorus Hist. Tripartit. e Sozomeno.*—Now Josephus, the son of Mattathias, and a priest, a man of great nobility among the Jews, and of a great dignity among the Romans, shall be a truth of Christ's history: for he dares not call him a man, as a doer of famous works, and a teacher of true doctrines; he names him *Christ* openly; and is not ignorant that he was condemned to the cross, and appeared on the third day alive, and that an infinite number of other wonderful things were foretold of him by the holy prophets. Moreover, he testifies also, that there were then alive many whom he had chosen, both Greeks and Jews, and that they continued to love him; and that the sect which was named from him was by no means extinct at that time.

*About A. D.* 640. *Chron. Alex.* p. 514.—Now Josephus also relates in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, how John the Baptist, that holy man, was beheaded on account of Herodias, the wife of Philip, the brother of Herod himself; for Herod had divorced his former wife, who was still alive, and had been his lawful wife: she was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petreans. When, therefore, Herod had taken Herodias away from her husband, while he was yet alive (on whose account he slew John also), Aretas made war against Herod, because his daughter had been dishonourably treated: in which war he says, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered that calamity because of the wickedness he had been guilty of against John. The same Josephus relates, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, and that with her he was banished to Lyons, &c.

P. 526, 527.]—Now that our Saviour taught his preaching three years, is demonstrated both by our necessary reasonings, as also out of the holy gospels, and out of Josephus's writings, who was a wise man among the Hebrews, &c.

P. 584, 586.]—Josephus relates in the fifth book of the [Jewish] war, that Jerusalem was taken in the third [second] year of Vespasian, as after forty years since they had dared to put Jesus to death: in which time he says, that James the brother of our Lord, and bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown down [from the temple,] and slain of them by stoning.

*About A. D.* 740. *Anastasias Abbas contr. Jud.*—Now Josephus, an author and writer of your own, says of Christ, that he was a just and good man, showed and declared so to be by divine grace, who gave aid to many by signs and miracles.

*About A. D.* 790. *Georgius Syncellus Chron.* p. 339.—These miseries befell the Jews by way of revenge for James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus that was called Christ, on the account that they had slain him who was a most righteous person. Now as Ananus, a person of that character, thought he had a proper opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was but upon the road, so he assembles the sanhedrim of judges, and brings before them James, the brother of Jesus, who was called *Christ*, and some of his companions; and when he had formed an accusation against them, as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned; but as for those that seemed the most equitable of the citizens, and those that were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, they disliked what was done. They also sent to the king [Agrippa,] desiring him to

send to Ananus that he should act so no more, for that what he had already done could not be justified, &c.

*About A. D.* 850. *Johan. Malela Chron.* lib. x.—From that time began the destruction of the Jews, as Josephus, the philosopher of the Hebrews, hath written; who also said this, that from the time the Jews crucified Christ, who was a good and a righteous man (that is, if it be fit to call such a one a man, and not a God,) the land of Judea was never free from trouble. These things the same Josephus the Jew has related in his writings.

*About A. D.* 860. *Photius Cod.* lib. xlviii.—I have read the treatise of Josephus *about the universe*, whose title I have elsewhere read to be, *Of the Substance of the Universe.* It is contained in two very small treatises. He treats of the origin of the world in a brief manner. However, he speaks of the divinity of Christ, who is our true God, in a way very like to what we use, declaring that the same name of Christ belongs to him, and writes of his ineffable generation of the Father after such a manner as cannot be blamed; which thing may perhaps raise a doubt in some, whether Josephus were the author of the work, though the phraseology does not at all differ from this man's other works. However, I have found in some papers, that this discourse was not written by Josephus, but by one Caius a presbyter.

*Cod.* ccxxxviii.] Herod the tetrarch of Galilee and of Perea, the son of Herod the Great, fell in love, as Josephus says, with the wife of his brother Philip, whose name was *Herodias*, who was the grand-daughter of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, whom he had slain. Agrippa was also her brother. Now Herod took her away from her husband and married her This is he that slew John the Baptist, that great man, the forerunner [of Christ,] being afraid (as Josephus says) least he should raise a sedition among the people; for they all followed the directions of John, on account of the excellency of his virtue. In his time was the passion of our Saviour.

*Cod.* xxiii.] I have read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias. He omits the greatest part of what was most necessary to be related; but as infected with Jewish prejudices, being also himself a Jew by birth, he makes no mention at all of the advent, or of the acts done, or of the miracles wrought by Christ.

*The time uncertain. Macarius in Actis sanctorum*, tom. v. p. 149, *ap. Fabric. Joseph.* p. 61.—Josephus a priest of Jerusalem, and one that wrote with truth the history of the Jewish affairs, bears witness that Christ, the true God, was incarnate and crucified, and the third day rose again; whose writings are reposited in the public library. Thus he says:—Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure: he drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles also: this was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him; for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And still the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day. Since therefore, the writer of the Hebrews had engraven this testimony concerning our Lord and Saviour in his own books, what defence can there remain for the unbelievers?

*About A. D.* 980. *Suidas in voce Jesous.*—We have found Josephus, who has written about the taking of Jerusalem (of whom Eusebius Pamphili makes frequent mention in his ecclesiastical history,) saying openly in his memoirs of the captivity, that Jesus officiated in the temple with the priests. This we have found Josephus saying, a man of ancient times, and not very long after the apostles, &c.

*About A. D.* 1060. *Cedrenus Compend. Histor.* p. 196.—Josephus does indeed write concerning John the Baptist as follows:—Some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod's army came from God, and that he was punished

very justly for what punishment he had inflicted on John, that was called the *Baptist;* for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both by righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. But as concerning Christ, the same Josephus says, that about that time there was Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure, for that Christ drew over many even from the Gentiles; whom when Pilate had crucified, those who at first had loved him did not leave off to preach concerning him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, as the divine prophets had testified, and spoken these and other wonderful things concerning him.

*About A. D.* 1080. *Theophylact. in Joan.* lib. xiii.—The city of the Jews was taken, and the wrath of God was kindled against them; as also Josephus witnesses, that this came upon them on account of the death of Jesus.

*About A. D.* 1120. *Zonarus Annal. tom.* i. p. 267.—Josephus, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, writes thus concerning our Lord and God Jesus Christ:—Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: he was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that had loved him at first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again as the divine prophets had said these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him: and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.

*About A. D.* 1120. *Glycas Aanal.* p. 234.—Then did Philo, that wise man and Josephus, flourish. This last was styled, *The lover of truth,* because he commended John, who baptized our Lord; and because he bore witness that Christ, in like manner, was a wise man, and the doer of great miracles; and that when he was crucified he appeared the third day.

*About A. D.* 1170. *Gotfridus Viterbiensis Chron.* p. 366, *e Vers. Rufini.*—Josephus relates, that a very great war arose between Aretas, king of the Arabians, and Herod, on account of the sin which Herod had committed against John. Moreover, the same Josephus writes thus concerning Christ.—There was at this time Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as willingly hear truth. He also drew over to him many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles: he was Christ. And when Pilate, at the accusation of the principal men of our nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, those that had loved him from the beginning did not forsake him, for he appeared to them the third day alive again, according to what the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that these and innumerable other miracles should come to pass about him. Moreover, both the name and sect of Christians, who were named from him, continue in being unto this day.

*About A. D.* 1360. *Nicephorus Callistus Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. p. 90, 91.—Now this [concerning Herod the tetrarch] is attested to, not only by the book of the holy gospels, but by Josephus, that lover of truth; who also makes mention of Herodias his brother's wife, whom Herod had taken away from him, while he was alive, and married her, having divorced his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petrean Arabians. This Herodias he had married, and lived with her: on which account also, when he had slain John, he made war with Aretas, because his daughter had been dishonourably used; in which war he relates, that all Herod's army was destroyed, and that he suffered this on account of the most unjust slaughter of John. He also adds that John was a most righteous man. Moreover, he makes mention of his baptism, agreeing in all points thereto relating with the gospel, He also informs us, that

Herod lost his kingdom on account of Herodias, with whom also he was co demned to be banished to Vienna, which was their place of exile, and a city bo dering upon Gaul, and lying near the utmost bounds of the west.

*About A. D.* 1450. *Hardmannus Schedelius Chron.* p. 110.—Josephus tl Jew, who was called *Flavius*, a priest, and the son of Mattathias, a priest of th nation, a most celebrated historian, and very skilful in many things: he w certainly a good man and of an excellent character, who had the highest opinic of Christ.

*About A. D.* 1480. *Platina de Vitis Pontificum in Christo.*—I shall avoid me tioning what Christ did until the 30th year of his age, when he was baptized l John, the son of Zacharias, because not only the gospels and epistles are full c those acts of his, which he did in the most excellent and most holy manner, but tl books of such as were quite remote from his way of living, and acting, and ordai ing, are also full of the same. Flavius Josephus himself, who wrote twenty boo of Jewish Antiquities in the Greek tongue, when he had proceeded as far as tl government of the emperor Tiberius, says, there was in those days Jesus, a ce tain wise man, if at least it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer c wonderful works, and a teacher of men, of such especially as willingly hear tl truth. On this account he drew over to him many both of the Jews and Ge tiles: he was Christ. But when Pilate, instigated by the principal men of o nation, had decreed that he should be crucified, yet did not those that loved hi from the beginning forsake him: and besides, he appeared to them the third d after his death alive, as the divinely inspired prophets had foretold, that thes and innumerable other miracles, should come to pass about him And the famo name of *Christians* taken from him, as well as their sect, do stil continue being.

The same Josephus also affirms, that John the Baptist, a true prophet, and that account one that was had in esteem by all men, was slain by Herod, the s of Herod the Great, a little before the death of Christ, in the castle Macheru not because he was afraid for himself and his kingdom, as the same author say but because he had incestuously married Herodias, the sister of Agrippa, and tl wife of that excellent person his brother Philip.

*About A. D.* 1480. *Trithemius Abbas de Scripior. Eccles.*—Josephus tl Jew, although he continued to be a Jew, did frequently commend the Christian and, in the eighteenth book of Antiquities, wrote down an eminent testimo concerning our Lord Jesus Christ.

### *Observations from the foregoing Evidence and Citations.*

I. The *style* of all these original testimonies belonging to Josephus is exact the style of the same Josephus, and especially the style about those parts of h Antiquities wherein we find these testimonies. This is denied by nobody as the other, concerning John the Baptist, and James the Just, and is now becon equally undeniable as to that concerning Christ.

II. These testimonies, therefore, being confessedly and undeniably written l Josephus himself, it is next to impossible that he should wholly omit some te timony concerning Jesus Christ; nay, while his testimonies of John the Bapti and of James the Just are so honourable, and give them so great characters, is also impossible that his testimony concerning Christ should be other than ve honourable, or such as afforded him a still greater character also. Could tl very same author, who gave such a full and advantageous character of John tl Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus of Nazareth, all whose disciples were by hi directed to Jesus of Nazareth, as to the true Messias, and all of whom becan afterwards the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, say nothing honourable of th Jesus of Nazareth himself; and this in a history of those very times in whi he was born, and lived, and died, and that while the writer lived but a litt

after him in the same country in which he was born, and lived, and died? This is almost incredible. And further, could the very same author, who gave such an advantageous character of James the Just, and this under the very appellation of *James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ*, which James was one of the principal disciples or apostles of this Jesus Christ, and had been many years the only Christian bishop of the believing Jews of Judea and Jerusalem, in the very days, and in the very country of this writer; could he, I say, wholly omit any, nay, a very honourable account of Jesus Christ himself, whose disciple and bishop this James most certainly was? This is also almost incredible. Hear what Ittigius, one of the wisest and learnedest of all those who have lately inclined to give up the testimony concerning Christ, as it stands in our copies, for spurious, says upon this occasion:—"If any one object to me, that Josephus hath not omitted John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, nor James the disciple of Christ, and that therefore he could not have done the part of a good historian, if he had been entirely silent concerning Christ, I shall freely grant that Josephus was not entirely silent concerning Christ; nay, I shall further grant, that when Josephus was speaking of Christ, he did not abstain from his commendation; for we are not to determine from that inveterate hatred which the modern Jews bear to Christ, what was the behaviour of those Jews, upon whom the miracles that were daily wrought by the apostles in the name of Christ imprinted a sacred horror."

III. The famous clause in this testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, *This was Christ*, or *the Christ*, did not mean that this Jesus was the *Christ of God*, or the *true Messias* of the Jews, but that this Jesus was distinguished from all others of that name, of which there were not a few, as mentioned by Josephus himself, by the addition of the other name of *Christ;* or that this person was no other than he whom all the world knew by the name of *Jesus Christ*, and his followers by the name of *Christians*. This I esteem to be a clear case, and that from the arguments following.

(1.) The Greeks and Romans, for whose use Josephus wrote his Antiquities, could no otherwise understand these words. The Jews indeed, and afterwards the Christians, who knew that a great Messias, a person that was to be Christ, the *Anointed* of God, that was to perform the office of a *King*, a *Priest*, and a *Prophet*, to God's people, might readily so understand this expression; but Josephus, as I have already noted, wrote here, not to Jews or Christians, but to Greeks and Romans, who knew nothing of this, but knew very well that an eminent person living in Judea, whose name was *Jesus Chrest*, or *Jesus Christ*, had founded a new and numerous sect, which took the latter of those names, and were every where from him called *Chrestians*, or *Christians;* in which sense alone could they understand these words of Josephus, and in which sense I believe he desired they should understand them: nor does Josephus ever use the Hebrew term *Messiah* in any of his writings, nor the Greek term *Christ* in any such acceptation elsewhere.

(2.) Josephus himself as good as explains his own meaning, and that by the last clause of this very passage, where he says the Christians were named from this Christ, without a syllable as though he really meant he was the *true Messiah*, or *Christ of God*. He farther seems to me to explain this his meaning in that other place, where alone he elsewhere mentions this name of Christ, that is, when upon occasion of the mention of James, when he was condemned by Ananus, he calls him the *Brother of Jesus*, not that was the *true Messiah*, or *the true Christ*, but only *that was called Christ*.

(3.) It was quite beside the purpose of Josephus to declare himself here to be a Christian, or a believer in Jesus as the true Messiah. Had he intended so to do, he would surely have explained the meaning of the word *Christ* to his Greek and Roman readers: he would surely have been a great deal fuller and larger in his accounts of Christ, and of the Christian religion: nor would such a decla-

ration at that time have recommended him, or his nation, or his writings, to either the Greeks or the Romans; of his reputation with both which people he is known to have been, in the writing of these Antiquities, very greatly solicitous.

(4.) Josephus's usual way of writing is historical and declarative of facts, and of the opinions of others, and but rarely such as directly informs us of his own opinion, unless we prudently gather it from what he says historically, or as the opinions of others. This is very observable in the writings of Josephus, and in particular as to what he says of John the Baptist, and of James the Just; so that this interpretation is most probable, as most agreeable to Josephus's way of writing in parallel cases.

(5.) This seems to be the universal sense of all the ancients without exception, who cite this testimony from him; and though they almost everywhere own this to be the true reading, yet do they everywhere suppose Josephus to be still an unbelieving Jew, and not a believing Christian: nay, Jerom appears so well assured of this interpretation, and that Josephus did not mean to declare any more by these words than a common opinion, that, according to his usual way of interpreting authors, not to the words but to the sense (of which we have, I think, two more instances in his accounts out of Josephus, now before us,) he renders this clause, *credebatur esse Christus*, i. e. *he was believed to be Christ*. Nor is the parallel expression of Pilate to be otherwise understood, when he made that inscription upon the cross, *This is Jesus the King of the Jews*;* which is well explained by himself elsewhere, and corresponds to the import of the present clause, *What shall I do with Jesus who is called Christ?*† And we may full as well prove from Pilate's inscription upon the cross, that he hereby declared himself a *believer in Christ*, for the *real king of the Jews*, as we can from these words of Josephus, that he hereby declared himself to be a real believer in him, as the true Messiah.

IV. Though Josephus did not design here to declare himself openly to be a Christian, yet could he not possibly believe all that he here asserts concerning Jesus Christ, unless he were so far a Christian as the Jewish Nazarenes or Ebionites then were who believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the true Messiah, without believing he was more than a man; who also believed the necessity of the observation of the ceremonial law of Moses in order to salvation for all mankind, which were the two main articles of those Jewish Christians' faith, though in opposition to all the thirteen apostles of Jesus Christ in the first century, and in opposition to the whole Catholic church of Christ in the following centuries also. Accordingly, I have elsewhere proved, that Josephus was no other, in his own mind and conscience, than a Nazarene or Ebionite Jewish Christian: and have observed that this entire testimony, and all that Josephus says of John the Baptist, and of James, as well as his absolute silence about all the rest of the apostles and their companions, exactly agrees to him under that character, and no other. And, indeed, to me it is most astonishing, that all our learned men, who have of late considered these testimonies of Josephus, except the converted Jew Galatinus, should miss such an obvious and natural observation. We all know this from St. James's‡ own words, that *so many ten thousands of Jews as believed in Christ*, in the first century, *were all zealous of the ceremonial law*, or were no other than Nazarene or Ebionite Christians; and, by consequence, if there were any reason to think our Josephus to be, in any sense, a believer or a Christian, as from all these testimonies there were very great ones, all those and many other reasons could not but conspire to assure us he was no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian; and this I take to be the plain and evident key of this whole matter.

V. Since, therefore, Josephus appears to have been in his own heart and conscience no other than a Nazarene or Ebionite Christian, and, by consequence with them rejected all our Greek gospels and Greek books of the New Testament

* Matth. xxvii. 31. † Matth. xxvii, 17, 22. ‡ Acts. xxi. 20.

and received only the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, styled by them *The gospel according to the Hebrews*, or *according to the twelve apostles*, or even *according to Matthew*, we ought always to have that Nazarene or Ebionite gospel, with the other Nazarene or Ebionite fragments in view, when we consider any passages of Josephus relating to Christ or to Christianity. Thus, since that gospel omitted all that is in the beginning of our St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, and began with the ministry of John the Baptist: in which first parts of the gospel history are the accounts of the slaughter of the infants, and of the enrolment or taxation under Augustus Cæsar and Herod, it is no great wonder that Josephus has not taken care particularly and clearly to preserve those histories to us. Thus, when we find that Josephus calls James, the brother of Christ, by the name of *James the Just*, and describes him as a *most just or righteous man*, in an especial manner, we are to remember that such is his name and character in the gospel according to the Hebrews, and the other Ebionite remains of Hegesippus, but no where else, that I remember, in the earliest antiquity; nor are we to suppose they herein referred to any other than that *righteousness which was by the Jewish law*, wherein St. Paul,* before he embraced Christianity, professeth himself to have been *blameless*. Thus when Josephus, with other Jews, ascribed the miseries of that nation under Vespasian and Titus, with the destruction of Jerusalem, to the barbarous murder of James the Just, we must remember, what we learn from the Ebionite fragments of Hegesippus, that these Ebionites interpreted a prophecy of Isaiah as foretelling this very murder, and those consequent miseries: *Let us take away the just one, for he is unprofitable to us; therefore shall they eat the fruits of their own ways.*† Thus when Josephus says, as we have seen, that the most equitable citizens of Jerusalem, and those that were most zealous of the law, were very uneasy at the condemnation of this James and some of his friends or fellow Christians, by the high priest and sanhedrim, about *A. D.* 62, and declares, that he himself was one of those Jews who thought the terrible miseries of that nation effects of the vengeance of God for their murder of this James, about *A. D.* 68, we may easily see those opinions could only be the opinions of converted Jews or Ebionites. The high priest and sanhedrim, who always prosecuted the Christians, and now condemned these Christians, and the body of those unbelieving Jews, who are supposed to suffer for murdering this James, the head of the Nazarene or Ebionite Christians in Judea, could not, to be sure, be of that opinion; nor could Josephus himself be of the same opinion, as he declares he was, without the strongest inclinations to the Christian religion, or without being secretly a Christian Jew, *i. e.* a Nazarene or Ebionite; which thing is, by the way, a very great additional argument that such he was, and no other. Thus, lastly, when Josephus is cited in Suidas as affirming that Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple, this account is by no means disagreeable to the pretensions of the Ebionites. Hegesippus affirms the very same of James the Just also.

VI. The first citation of the famous testimony concerning our Saviour from Tacitus, almost all that was true of the Jews is directly taken by him out of Josephus, as will be demonstrated under the third Dissertation hereafter.

VII. The second author I have alleged for it is Justin Martyr, one so nearly coeval with Josephus, that he might be born about the time when he wrote his Antiquities, appeals to the same Antiquities by that very name: and though he does not here directly quote them, yet does he seem to me to allude to this very testimony in them concerning our Saviour, when he affirms in this place to Trypho the Jew, That *his nation originally knew that Jesus was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, as the prophecies did foretell was to happen.* Since there neither now is, nor probably in the days of Justin was any other Jewish testimony extant, which is so agreeable to what Justin here affirms of those Jews, as is this of Josephus the Jew before us; nor indeed does he seem to me to have had any

* Philipp. iii. 4—6. † Is. iii. 10.

thing else particularly in his view here, but this very testimony, where Josephus says, that *Jesus appeared to his followers alive the third day after his crucifixion, as the divine prophets had foretold these, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him.*

VIII. The third author I have quoted for Josephus's testimonies of John the Baptist, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of James the Just, is Origen, who is indeed allowed on all hands to have quoted him for the excellent characters of John the Baptist, and of James the Just, but whose supposed entire silence about this testimony concerning Christ is usually alleged as the principal argument against its being genuine, and particularly as to the clause, *This was the Christ*, and that, as we have seen, because he twice assures us, that, in his opinion *Josephus did not himself acknowledge Jesus for Christ.* Now as to this latter clause, I have already showed, that Josephus did not here, in writing to the Greeks and Romans, mean any such thing by those words as Jews and Christians naturally understand by them: I have also observed, that all the ancients allow still, with Origen, that Josephus did not, in the Jewish and Christian sense, acknowledge Jesus for the true Messiah, or the true Christ of God, notwithstanding their express quotation of that clause in Josephus as genuine: so that unless we suppose Origen to have had a different notion of these words from all the other ancients, we cannot conclude from this assertion of Origen's, that he had not those words in his copy, not to say that it is, after all, much more likely that his copy a little differed from the other copies in this clause, or indeed, omitted it entirely, than that he, on its account, must be supposed not to have had the rest of this testimony therein, though indeed I see no necessity of making any such supposal at all. However, it seems to me, that Origen affords us four several indications that the main parts at least of this testimony itself were in his copy.

(1.) When Origen introduces Josephus's testimony concerning James the Just, that he thought the miseries of the Jews were an instance of the divine vengeance on that nation for putting James to death instead of Jesus, he uses an expression no way necessary to his purpose, nor occasioned by any words of Josephus there, that they had slain *that Christ which was foretold in the prophecies.* Whence could this expression come here into Origen's mind, when he was quoting a testimony of Josephus's concerning the brother of Christ, but from his remembrance of a clause in the testimony of the same Josephus concerning Christ *himself*, that *the prophets had foretold his death and resurrection, and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him?*

(2.) How came Origen to be so surprised at Josephus's ascribing the destruction of Jerusalem to the Jews murdering James the Just, and not to their murdering of Jesus, as we have seen he was, if he had not known that Josephus had spoken of Jesus and his death before, and that he had a very good opinion of Jesus, which yet he could learn no way so authentically as from this testimony? Nor do the words he here uses, that Josephus was *not remote from the truth*, perhaps allude to any thing else but to this very testimony before us.

(3.) How came the same Origen, upon another slight occasion, when he had just set down that testimony of Josephus concerning James the Just, the brother of Jesus who was called *Christ*, to say, that *it may be questioned whether the Jews thought Jesus to be a man, or whether they did not suppose him to be a being of a diviner kind?* This looks so very like to the fifth and sixth clauses of this testimony in Josephus, that *Jesus was a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man*, that it is highly probable Origen thereby alluded to them: and this is the more to be depended on, because all the unbelieving Jews, and all the rest of the Nazarene Jews, esteemed Jesus with one consent as a *mere man*, the son of Joseph and Mary; and it is not, I think, possible to produce any one Jew but Josephus, who in a sort of compliance with the Romans and the catholic Christians, who thought him a *God*, would say any thing like his *being a God.*

(4.) How came Origen to affirm twice, so expressly, that *Josephus did not him-*

*self own*, in the Jewish and Christian sense, *that Jesus was Christ*, notwithstanding his quotations of such eminent testimonies out of him for John the Baptist his forerunner, and for James the Just his brother, and one of his principal disciples? There is no passage in all Josephus so likely to persuade Origen of this as is the famous testimony before us, wherein, as he and all the ancients understood it, he was generally called *Christ* indeed, but not any otherwise than as the common name whence the sect of Christians was derived, and where he all along speaks of those Christians as a sect then in being, whose author was a wonderful person, and his followers great lovers of him and of the truth, yet as *such a sect as he had not joined himself to;* which exposition, as it is a very natural one, so was it, I doubt, but too true of our Josephus at that time; nor can I devise any other reason but this, and the parallel language of Josephus elsewhere, when he speaks of James as the *brother*, not *of Jesus who was Christ*, but *of Jesus who was called Christ*, that could so naturally induce Origen and others to be of that opinion.

IX. There are two remarkable passages in Suidas and Theophylact, already set down, as citing Josephus; the former that *Jesus officiated with the priests in the temple*, and the latter that the destruction of Jerusalem, and miseries of the Jews, were owing to their *putting Jesus to death*, which are in none of our present copies, nor cited thence by any ancienter authors; nor, indeed, do they seem altogether consistent with the other more authentic testimonies: however, since Suidas cites his passage from a treatise of Josephus's called *Memoirs of the Jews' Captivity*, a book never heard of elsewhere, and since both citations are not at all disagreeable to Josephus's character as a Nazarene or Ebionite, I dare not positively conclude they are spurious, but must leave them in suspense, for the farther consideration of the learned.

X. As to that great critic Photius, in the ninth century, who is supposed not to have had this testimony in his copy of Josephus, or else to have esteemed it spurious, because in his extracts out of Josephus's Antiquities it is not expressly mentioned; this is a strange thing indeed! that a section which had been cited out of Josephus's copies all along before the days of Photius, as well as it has been all along cited out of them since his days, should be supposed not to be in his copy because he does not directly mention it in certain short and imperfect extracts, no way particularly relating to such matters. Those who lay a stress on this silence of Photius seem little to have attended to the nature and brevity of those extracts. They contain little or nothing, as he in effect professes at their entrance, but what concerns Antipater, Herod the Great, and his brethren and family, with their exploits, till the days of Agrippa *jun.* and Cumanus, the governor of Judea, fifteen years after the death of our Saviour, without one word of Pilate, or what happened under his government, which yet was the only proper place in which this testimony could come to be mentioned. However, since Photius seems, therefore, as we have seen, to suspect the treatise ascribed by some to Josephus *of the Universe*, because it speaks very high things of the eternal generation and divinity of Christ, this looks very like his knowledge and belief of somewhat really in the same Josephus, which spake in a lower manner of him, which could be hardly any other passage than this testimony before us. And since, as we have also seen, when he speaks of the Jewish history of Justus of Tiberias, as infected with the prejudices of the Jews, in taking no manner of notice of the advent, of the acts, and of the miracles of Jesus Christ, while yet he never speaks so of Josephus himself, this most naturally implies also, that there was not the like occasion here as there, but that Josephus had not wholly omitted that advent, those acts, or miracles, which yet he has done everywhere else, in the books seen by Photius, as well as Justus of Tiberias, but in this famous testimony before us, so that it is most probable Photius not only had this testimony in his copy, but believed it to be genuine also.

XI. As to the silence of Clement of Alexandria, who cites the Antiquities of Josephus, but never cites any of the testimonies now before us, it is no strange

thing at all, since he never cites Josephus but once, and that for a point of chronology only, to determine how many years had passed from the days of Moses to the days of Josephus, so that his silence may almost as well be alleged against a hundred other remarkable passages in Josephus's works as against these before us.

XII. Nor does the like silence of Tertullian imply that these testimonies, or any of them, were not in the copies of his age. Tertullian never once hints at any treatises of Josephus's but those against Apion, and that in general only for a point of chronology: nor does it any way appear that Tertullian ever saw any of Josephus's writings besides, and far from being certain that he saw even those. He had particular occasion in his dispute against the Jews to quote Josephus, above any other writer, to prove the completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in the destruction of Jerusalem, and miseries of the Jews at that time, of which he there discourses, yet does he never once quote him upon that solemn occasion; so that it seems to me, that Tertullian never read either the Greek Antiquities of Josephus, or his Greek books of the Jewish wars; nor is this at all strange in Tertullian, a Latin writer, that lived in Africa, by none of which African writers is there any one clause, that I know of, cited out of any of Josephus's writings: nor is it worth my while, in such numbers of positive citations of these clauses, to mention the silence of other later writers, as being here of very small consequence

## DISSERTATION II.

### *Concerning* God's *Command to* Abraham *to offer up* Isaac *his Son for a Sacrifice.*

Since this command of God to Abraham* has of late been greatly mistaken by some, who venture to reason about very ancient facts from very modern notions, and this without a due regard to either the customs, or opinions, or circumstances of the times whereto those facts belong, or indeed to the true reasons of the facts themselves; since the mistakes about those customs, opinions, circumstances, and reasons have of late so far prevailed, that the very same action of Abraham's, which was so celebrated by St. Paul,† St. James,‡ the author to the Hebrews,§ Philo,‖ and Josephus,¶ in the first century, and by innumerable others since, as an uncommon instance of signal virtue, of heroic faith in God, and piety towards him; nay, is in the sacred history** highly commended by the divine *angel of the covenant*, in the name of God himself, and promised to be plentifully rewarded; since this command, I say, is now at last in the eighteenth century become a *stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence* among us, and that sometimes to persons of otherwise good sense, and of a religious disposition of mind also, I shall endeavour to set this matter in its true, *i. e.* in its ancient and original light, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive. In order whereto we are to consider.

1. That, till this very profane age, it has been, I think, universally allowed by all sober persons, who owned themselves the creatures of God, that the Creator has a just right over all his rational creatures, to protract their lives to what length he pleases; to cut them off when and by what instruments he pleases, to afflict them with what sickness he pleases, and to remove them from one state or place in this his great palace of the universe to another as he pleases; and that all those rational creatures are bound in duty and interest to acquiesce under the divine disposal, and to resign themselves up to the good providence of God in all

* Gen. xxii. † Rom. iv. 16—25. ‡ James, ii. 21—32.
§ Heb. xi. 17—19. ‖ Phil. de Gygant. p. 294. ¶ Jos Antiq. B. i. c. xiii.
** Gen. xxii. 15—18.

such his dispensations towards them. I do not mean to intimate that God may, or ever does act in these cases after a mere arbitrary manner, or without sufficient reason, believing, according to the whole tenor of natural and revealed religion, that he *hateth nothing that he hath made* ;* that whatsoever he does, how melancholy soever it may appear at first sight to us, is really intended for the good of his creatures, and at the upshot of things will fully appear so to be; but that still he is not obliged, nor does in general give his creatures an account of the particular reasons of such his dispensations towards them immediately, but usually tries and exercises their faith and patience, their resignation and obedience, in their present state of probation, and reserves those reasons to the last day, *the day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God* †.

2. That the entire histories of the past ages, from the days of Adam till now, show, that Almighty God has ever exercised his power over mankind, and that without giving them an immediate account of the reasons of such his conduct; and that withal the best and wisest men in all ages, heathens as well as Jews and Christians, Marcus Antoninus as well as the patriarch Abraham and St. Paul, have ever humbly submitted themselves to this conduct of divine providence, and always confessed that they were obliged to the undeserved goodness and mercy of God for every enjoyment, but could not demand any of them of his justice, no not so much as the continuance of that life whereto those enjoyments do appertain When God was pleased to sweep the wicked race of men away by a flood, the young innocent infants as well as the guilty old sinners; when he was pleased to shorten the lives of men after the flood, and still downward till the days of David and Solomon: when he was pleased to destroy impure Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone from heaven, and to extirpate the main body of the Amorites out of the land of Canaan, as soon as *their iniquities were full*,‡ and in these instances included the young innocent infants, together with the old hardened sinners; when God was pleased to send an angel, and by him to destroy 185,000 Assyrians (the number attested to by Berosus the Chaldean, as well as by our own Bibles,) in the days of Hezekiah, most of which seem to have had no other peculiar guilt upon them than that common to soldiers in war, of obeying, without reserve, their king Sennacherib, his generals and captains: and when at the plague of Athens, London, or Marseilles, &c. so many thousand righteous men and women, with innocent babes, were swept away on a sudden by a fatal contagion, I do not remember that sober men have complained that God dealt *unjustly* with such his creatures, in those to us seemingly severe dispensations: nor are we certain when any such seemingly severe dispensations are really such, nor do we know but shortening the lives of men may sometimes be the greatest blessing to them, and prevent or put a stop to those courses of gross wickedness which might bring them to greater misery in the world to come: nor is it indeed fit for such poor, weak, and ignorant creatures as we are, in the present state, to call our Almighty, and All-wise, and All-good Creator and Benefactor, to an account upon any such occasions; since we cannot but acknowledge, that it is *he that hath made us, and not we ourselves* ;§ that we are nothing, and have nothing of ourselves independent on him, but that all we are, all we have, and all we hope for, is derived from him, from his free and undeserved bounty, which, therefore, he may justly take from us in what way soever, and whensoever he pleases; all wise and good men still saying in such cases with the pious Psalmist, xxxix. 9, "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it:" and with patient Job, i. 21; ii. 10, "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." If, therefore, this shortening or taking away the lives of men be no objection against any divine command for that purpose, it is full as strong against the present system of the world, against the conduct of divine providence in general,

* Wisd. xi. 24. † Rom. ii. 5.
‡ Gen. xv. 16. § Psal. c. 3

and against natural religion, which is founded on the justice of that providence, and is no way peculiar to revealed religion, or to the fact of Abraham now before us: nor is this case much different from what was soon after the days of Abraham thoroughly settled, after Job's and his friend's debates, by the inspiration of Alihu, and the determination of God himself, where the divine providence was at length thoroughly cleared and justified before all the world, as it will be, no question, more generally cleared and justified at the final judgment.

3. That, till this profane age, it has also, I think, been universally allowed by all sober men, that a command of God, when sufficiently made known to be so, is abundant authority for the taking away the life of any person whomsoever. I doubt both ancient and modern princes, generals of armies, and judges, even those of the best reputation also, have ventured to take many men's lives away upon much less authority: nor, indeed, do the most sceptical of the moderns care to deny this authority directly; they rather take a method of objecting somewhat more plausible, though it amount to much the same: they say, that the apparent disagreement of any command to the moral attributes of God, such as this of the slaughter of an only child seems plainly to be, will be a greater evidence that such a command does not come from God, than any pretended revelation can be that it does. But as to this matter, although divine revelations have so long ceased, that we are not well acquainted with the manner of conveying such revelations with certainty to men, and by consequence the apparent disagreement of a command with the moral attributes of God ought at present, generally, if not constantly, to deter men from acting upon such a pretended revelation, yet was there no such uncertainty in the days of the old prophets of God, or of Abraham, *the friend of God*,* who are ever found to have had an entire certainty of those their revelations: and what evidently shows they were not deceived is this, that the events and consequences of things afterward always corresponded, and secured them of the truth of such divine revelations. Thus, the first miraculous voice from heaven,† calling to Abraham not to execute this command, and the performance of these eminent promises made by the second voice,‡ on account of his obedience to that command, are demonstrations that Abraham's commission for what he did was truly divine, and are an entire justification of his conduct in this matter. The words of the first voice from heaven will come hereafter to be set down in a fitter place, but the glorious promises made to Abraham's obedience by the second voice must here be produced from verses 15, 16, 17, 18. "And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham out of heaven the second time, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies: and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice." Every one of which promises have been eminently fulfilled; and, what is chiefly remarkable, the last and principal of them, that *in Abraham's* SEED *all the nations of the earth should be blessed*, was never promised till this time. It had been twice promised him, chap. xii. ver. 3, and xviii. 18, that *in himself should all the families of the earth be blessed*; but that this blessing was to belong to future times, and to be bestowed by the means of one of his late posterity, the Messias, that great *seed* and *son* of Abraham only, was never revealed before, but, on such an amazing instance of his faith and obedience as was this his readiness to offer up his only begotten son Isaac was now first promised, and has been long ago performed, in the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, *the son of David, the son of Abraham*,§ which highly deserves our observation in this place: nor can we suppose that any thing else than clear conviction that this command came from

* Isaiah, xli. 8. † Gen. xxii 11, 12. ‡ Gen. xxii. 17, 18. § Matth. i 1

God, could induce so good a man, and so tender a father as Abraham was, to sacrifice his own beloved son, and to lose thereby all the comfort he received from him at present, and all the expectation he had of a numerous and happy posterity from him hereafter.

4. That, long before the days of Abraham, the demons or heathen gods had required and received human sacrifices, and particularly that of the offerer's own children, and this both before and after the deluge. This practice had been indeed so long left off in Egypt, and the custom of sacrificing animals there was confined to so few kinds in the days of Herodotus, that he would not believe they had ever offered human sacrifices at all, for he says:* "That the fable, as if Hercules was sacrificed to Jupiter in Egypt, was feigned by the Greeks, who were entirely unacquainted with the nature of the Egyptians and their laws; for how should they sacrifice men, with whom it is unlawful to sacrifice any brute beast? (boars, and bulls, and pure calves, and ganders, only excepted.") However, it is evident from Sanchoniatho, Manetho, Pausanias, Diodorus Siculus, Philo, Plutarch, and Porphyry, that such sacrifices were frequent both in Phœnicia and Egypt, and that long before the days of Abraham, as sir John Marsham and bishop Cumberland have fully proved; nay, that in other places (though not in Egypt) this cruel practice continued long after Abraham, and this till the very third, if not also to the fifth century of Christianity, before it was quite abolished. Take the words of the original authors in English, as most of them occur in their originals, in sir John Marsham's Chronicon, p. 76—78, 300—304.

"† Cronus offered up his only begotten son, as a burnt-offering, to his father Ouranus, when there was a famine and a pestilence."

"‡ Cronus, whom the Phœnicians name *Israel* [it should be *Il*,] and who was after his death consecrated into the star Saturn, when he was king of the country, and had by a nymph of that country, named *Anobret*, an only begotten son, whom, on that account, they called *Jeud* (the Phœnicians to this day calling an only begotten son by that name,) he, in his dread of very great dangers that lay upon the country from war, adorned his son with royal apparel, and built an altar, and offered him in sacrifice."

"§ The Phœnicians, when they were in great dangers by war, by famine, or by pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of the dearest of their people, whom they chose by public suffrage for that purpose: and Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history is full of such sacrifices. [These hitherto I take to have been before the flood.]

"‖ In Arabia, the Dumatii sacrificed a child every year."

"¶ They relate, that of old the [Egyptian] kings sacrificed such men as were of the same colour with Typho, at the sepulchre of Osiris."

"** Manetho relates, that they burnt Typhonean men alive in the city Idithyia [or Ilithyia,] and scattered their ashes like chaff that is winnowed; and this was done publicly, and at a set season, in the dog-days."

"†† The barbarous nations did a long time admit of the slaughter of children, as of a holy practice, and acceptable to the gods. And this thing both private persons, and kings, and entire nations practice at proper seasons."

"‡‡ The human sacrifices, that were enjoined by the Dodonean oracle, mentioned in Pausanias's Achaics, in the tragical story of Coresus and Callirrhoe, sufficiently intimate that the Phœnician and Egyptian priests had set up this Dodonean oracle before the time of Amosis, who destroyed that barbarous practice in Egypt."

—— *Isque adytis hæc tristia dicta reportat,*
*Sanguine placastis ventos, et virgine cæsa,*
*Cum primum Iliacus Danai venistis ad oras,*
*Sanguine quærendi reditus, animaque litandum*
*Argolica §§.*

* Ap. Marsh. Chron. p. 303. † Philo. Bib. ex Sanchon. p. 76. ‡ Philo. Bib. ex Sanchon. p. 77
§ Porphyry, p. 78. ‖ Porphyry, p. 77. ¶ Diod p. 78.
** Plutarch, p. 78. †† Nonnulli ap. Philon. p. 76. ‡‡ Cumberl. Sanchon. p. 38
§§ Virg Æneid. B. ii. ver. 115

——He from the Gods this dreadful answer brought,
O Grecians, when the Trojan shores you sought,
Your passage with a virgin's blood was bought;
So must your safe return be bought again,
And Grecian blood once more atone the main. DRYDEN.

These bloody sacrifices were, for certain, instances of the greatest degree of impiety, tyranny, and cruelty in the world, that either wicked demons, or wicked men, who neither made nor preserved mankind, who had therefore no right over them, nor were they able to make them amends in the next world for what they thus lost or suffered in this, should, after so inhuman a manner, command the taking away the lives of men, and particularly of the offerer's own children without the commission of any crime. This was, I think, an abomination derived from him who was * *a murderer from the beginning;* a crime truly and properly diabolical.

5. That, accordingly, Almighty God himself, under the Jewish dispensation vehemently condemned the Pagans, and sometimes the Jews themselves, for this crime; and for this, among other heinous sins, cast the idolatrous nations (nay sometimes the Jews too) out of Palestine. Take the principal texts thereto relating, as they lie in order in the Old Testament.

"† Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech.—Defile not yourselves in any of these things, for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you," &c.

"‡ Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone him with stones."

"§ Take heed to thyself, that thou be not snared by following the nations, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods? even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God; for every abomination of the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods: for even their sons and their daughters have they burnt in the fire to their gods." See chap. xviii. 10; 2 Kings, xvii. 17.

"‖ And Ahaz made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel."

"¶ Moreover, Ahaz burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children [his son in Josephus] in the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had cast out before the children of Israel."

"** And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim, &c."

"†† And Josiah defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no one might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire unto Molech."

"‡‡ Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons; and shed innocent blood, the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood." See Isaiah, lvii. 5.

"§§ The children of Judah hath done evil in my sight, saith the Lord; they have set their abominations in the house which is called by my name, to pollute it: and they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, nor came it into my heart."

"‖‖ Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, behold I will bring evil upon this place, the which whosoever heareth his ears shall tingle, because they have forsaken me, and have estranged this place, and have burnt incense unto

* John viii. 44. † Lev. xviii. 21. ‡ Lev. xx. 2. § Deut. xiii. 30, 31
‖ 2 Kings, xvi. 3. ¶ 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. ** 2 Kings, xvii. 31. †† 2 Kings. xxii. 10.
‡‡ Psal. cvi. 37, 38. §§ Jer. vii. 30—32. ‖‖ Jer. xix 3—5

other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents. They have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind," &c.

" * They built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my mind that they should do this abomination to cause Judah to sin."

" † Moreover, thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters, whom thou hast born unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them? See chap. xx. 1 Cor. x. 20.

" ‡ Thou hatest the old inhabitants of thy holy land, for doing most odious works of witchcraft, and wicked sacrifices; and also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and feasts of blood, with their priests, out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed with their own hands souls destitute of help."

6. That Almighty God never permitted, in any one instance, that such a human sacrifice should actually be offered to himself (though he had a right to have required it, if he had so pleased,) under the whole Jewish dispensation, which yet was full of many other kinds of sacrifices, and this at a time when mankind generally thought such sacrifices of the greatest virtue for the procuring pardon of sin, and the divine favour. This the ancient records of the heathen world attest. Take their notion in the words of Philo Byblius, the translator of Sanchoniatho. " § It was the custom of the ancients, in the greatest calamities and dangers, for the governors of the city or nation, in order to avert the destruction of all, to devote their beloved son to be slain, as a price of redemption to the punishing [or avenging] demons; and those so devoted were killed after a mystical manner." This the history of the king of Moab,‖ when he was in great distress in his war against Israel and Judah, informs us of; who then *took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the city wall.* This also the Jewish prophet Micah¶ implies, when he inquires, " Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the High God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of fa. kids of the goats? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" No, certainly, " for he hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to humble thyself, to walk with thy God?"

It is true, God did here try the faith and obedience of Abraham to himself, whether they were as strong as the Pagans exhibited to their demons or idols; yet did he withal take effectual care, and that by a miraculous interposition also, to prevent the execution, and provided himself a ram as a vicarious substitute, to supply the place of Isaac immediately. ** " And the angel of the Lord called unto Abraham, and said, Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I; and he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son." Thus though Jeptha†† has by many been thought to have vowed to offer up his only daughter and child for a sacrifice, and that as bound on him, upon supposition of his vow, by a divine law, Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, of which opinion I was once myself; yet upon more mature consideration I have, for some time, thought this to be a mistake,

* Jer. xxxii. 35. † Ezek. xvi. 20, 21. ‡ Wisdom xii. 4—6. § Ap. Marsh. p. 76. 77.
‖ 2 Kings, iii. 27. ¶ Micah, vi. 6—8. ** Gen. xxii. 11—13 †† Judges, xi. 36,—39.

and that his vow extended only to her being devoted to serve God at the tabernacle, or elsewhere, in a state of perpetual virginity; and that neither that law did enjoin any human sacrifices, nor do we meet with any example of its execution in this sense afterwards. Philo never mentions any such law, no more than Josephus: and when Josephus thought that Jeptha had made such a vow and executed it, he is so far from hinting at its being done in compliance with any law of God, that he expressly condemns him for it, as having acted contrary thereto; or, in his own words, "* as having offered an oblation neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, nor weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice."

7. That Isaac being at this time, according to Josephus†, who is herein justly followed by Archbp. Usher,‡ no less than twenty-five years of age, and Abraham being, by consequence, one hundred and twenty-five, it is not to be supposed that Abraham could bind Isaac, in order to offer him in sacrifice, but by his own free consent; which free consent of the party who is to suffer seems absolutely necessary in all such cases; and which free consent St. Clement, as well as Josephus, distinctly takes notice of on this occasion. St. Clement describes it thus:—§ "Isaac, being fully persuaded of what he knew was to come, cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice." And for Josephus,‖ after introducing Abraham in a pathetic speech, laying before Isaac the divine command, and exhorting him patiently and joyfully to submit to it, he tells us, that "Isaac very cheerfully consented;" and then introduces him, in a short but very pious answer, acquiescing in the proposal; and adds, that "he then immediately and readily went to the altar to be sacrificed." Nor did Jephtha¶ perform his rash vow whatever it were, till his daughter had given her consent to it.

8. It appears to me that Abraham never despaired entirely of the interposition of Providence for the preservation of Isaac, although in obedience to the command he prepared to sacrifice him to God. This seems to me intimated in Abraham's words to his servants, on the third day, when he was in sight of the mountain on which he was to offer his son Isaac, ** "We will go and worship, and we will come again to you." As also in his answer to his son, when he inquired, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering." Both these passages look to me somewhat like such an expectation.

9. However, it appears most evident, that Abraham, and I suppose Isaac also, firmly believed, that if God should permit Isaac to be actually slain as a sacrifice, he would certainly and speedily raise him again from the dead. This, to be sure, is supposed in the words already quoted, that both *he and his son would go and worship, and come again to the servants;* and is clearly and justly collected from this history by the author to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 17—19. "By faith Abraham when he was tried offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called, accounting or reasoning that God was able to raise him from the dead." And this reasoning was at once very obvious, and wholy undeniable, that since God was truth itself, and had over and over promised that he would †† "multiply Abraham exceedingly; that he should be a father of many nations; that his name should be no longer Abram, but Abraham, because a father of many nations God had made him, &c.; that Sarai his wife should be called Sarah; that he would bless her, and give Abraham a son also of her; and that he would bless him; and she should become nations, and kings of people should be of her, &c., and that ‡‡ "in Isaac should his seed be called." And since withal it is here supposed that Isaac was to be slain as a sacrifice, before he was married, or had any seed, God was, for certain, obliged by his promises, in these circumstances, to

* Antiq. B. v. chap. vii. sect. 10.
§ Clem sect. 31.
** Gen. xx. ii. 5, 7.
† Antiq. B. I. chap. xiii.
‖ Antiq. B. I. ch. xiii. sect. 3.
†† Gen. xvii. 2—6, 16.
‡ Ush. Annal. *ad. A. M.* 21.
¶ Judges, xi. 36, 37.
‡‡ Gen. xxi. 12.

raise Isaac again from the dead, and this was an eminent instance of that *faith* whereby * *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness*, viz. that if God should permit Isaac to be sacrificed, he would certainly and quickly raise him up again from the dead, † *from whence also he received him in a figure*, as the author to the Hebrews here justly observes.

10. That the firm and just foundation of Abraham's faith and assurance in God for such a resurrection was this, besides the general consideration of the divine veracity, that during the whole time of his sojourning in strange countries, in Canaan and Egypt, ever since he had been called out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia, at seventy-five years of age,‡ he had had constant experience of a special, of an overruling, of a kind and gracious Providence over him, till this his 125th year, which against all human views had continually blessed him and enriched him, and in his elder age had given him first Ishmael by Hagar, and afterward promised him Isaac to "§spring from his own body now dead,‖ and from the deadness of Sarah's womb, when she was past age, and when it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women,"¶ and had actually performed that and every other promise, how improbable soever that performance had appeared, he had ever made to him, and this during fifty entire years together; so that although, at his first exit out of Chaldea or Mesopotamia, he might have been tempted to "stagger at such a promise of God through unbelief,"** yet might he now after fifty years constant experience be justly *strong in faith, giving glory to God, as being fully persuaded, that what God had promised*, the resurrection of Isaac, *he was both able and willing to perform.*

11. That this assurance, therefore, that God, if he permitted Isaac to be slain, would infallibly raise him again from the dead, entirely alters the state of the case of Abraham's sacrificing Isaac to the true God, from that of all other human sacrifices whatsoever offered to false ones, all those others being done without the least promise or prospect of such a resurrection; and this, indeed, takes away all pretence of injustice in the divine command, as well as of all inhumanity or cruelty in Abraham's obedience to it.

12. That, upon the whole, this command to Abraham, and what followed upon it, looks so very like an intention of God to typify or represent beforehand in Isaac, *a beloved* or *only begotten son*, what was to happen long afterward to the great *son* and *seed of Abraham*, the *Messiah*, the beloved and the "only begotten of the Father, whose day Abraham saw by faith beforehand, and rejoiced to see it,"†† viz. that he, "by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God should be crucified, and slain"‡‡ as a sacrifice, and should *be raised again the third day*, and this *at Jerusalem* also; and that, in the meantime, God would accept of the sacrifices of rams, and the like animals, at the same city Jerusalem, that one cannot easily avoid the application. This seems the reason why Abraham was obliged to go to the land of Moriah, or Jerusalem; and why it is noted, that it was *the third day*§§ that he came to the place, which implies that the return back, after the slaying of the sacrifice, would naturally be *the third day* also; and why this sacrifice was not Ishmael the *son of the flesh only*, but Isaac the *son by promise*, the *beloved son* of Abraham, and why Isaac was styled the *only son*, or *only begotten son*‖‖ of Abraham, though he had Ishmael besides; and why Isaac himself was to *bear the wood*¶¶ on which he was to be sacrificed; and why the place was no other than *the land of Moriah*,*** or *vision*, *i. e.* most probable a place where the Shechinah or Messiah had been *seen*, and God by him worshiped, even before the days of Abraham, and where lately lived, and perhaps now lived, Melchisedeck, the grand type of the Messiah (who might then possibly be present at the

* Gen. xv. 6.
† Heb. xi. 19.
‡ Gen. xii. 4.
§ Rom. iv. 19.
‖ Heb. xi. 11.
¶ Gen. xviii. 11.
** Rom. iv. 20, 21.
†† John, viii. 56.
‡‡ Acts, ii. 23.
§§ Gen. xxii. 2. 4.
‖‖ Heb. xi. 17.
¶¶ Gen. xxii. 6
*** John, xix. 17.

sacrifice,) and why this sacrifice was to be offered either on the mountain called afterward distinctly *Moriah*, where the temple stood, and where all the Mosaic sacrifices were afterward to be offered, as Josephus* and the generality suppose, or, perhaps, as others suppose, that where the Messiah himself was to be offered, its neighbour mount Calvary. This seems also the reason why the ram was substituted as a vicarious sacrifice instead of Isaac. These circumstances, seem to me very peculiar and extraordinary, and to render the present hypothesis extremely probable. Nor, perhaps, did St. Clement mean any thing else, when, in his forecited passage, he says, that "Isaac was fully persuaded of what he knew was to come;" and, therefore, "cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice." Nor, indeed, does that name of this place, *Jehovah Jireh*, which continued till the days of Moses, and signified, *God will see*, or, rather, *God will provide*, seem to be given it by Abraham on any other account, than that God would there, in the fullness of time, "provide himself a lamb [that lamb of God, which was to take away the sins of the world]† for a burnt-offering."

But if, now after all, it be objected, that how peculiar and how typical soever the circumstances of Abraham and Isaac might be in themselves, of which the heathens about them could have little notion, yet such a divine command to Abraham for slaying his beloved son Isaac must, however, be of very ill example to the Gentile world, and that it probably did either first occasion, or, at least, greatly encourage their wicked practices, in offering their children for sacrifices to their idols, I answer by the next consideration.

13. That this objection is so far from truth, that God's public and miraculous prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, (which command itself the Gentiles would not then at all be surprised at, because it was so like to their own usual practices), as well as God's substitution of a vicarious oblation, seems to have been the very occasion of the immediate oblation of those impious sacrifices by Tethmosis, or Amosis, among the neighbouring Egyptians, and of the *substitution* of more inoffensive ones there instead of them. Take the account of this abolition, which we shall presently prove was about the time of Abraham's offering up his son Isaac, as it is preserved by Porphyry, from Manetho, the famous Egyptian historian and chronologer, which is also cited from Porphyry by Eusebius and Theodorit.—"Amosis,"‡ says Porphyry, "abolished the law for slaying of men in Heliopolis of Egypt, as Manetho bears witness, in his book of Antiquity and Piety. They were sacrificed to Juno, and were examined, as were the pure calves, that were also sealed with them: they were sacrificed three in a day. In whose stead Amosis commanded that men of wax, of the same number, should be substituted."

Now, I have lately shown, that these Egyptians had Abraham in great veneration, and that *all the wisdom of those Egyptians, in which Moses was afterwards learned*, was derived from no other than from Abraham. Now it appears evidently, by the forecited passage, that the first abolition of these human sacrifices, and the substitution of waxen images in their stead, and particularly at Heliopolis, in the north-east part of Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, in the south of Palestine, where Abraham now lived, at the distance of about one hundred and twenty miles only, was in the days, and by the order of Tethmosis or Amosis, who was the first of the Egyptian kings, after the expulsion of the Phœnician shepherds. Now, therefore, we are to inquire when this Tethmosis or Amosis lived, and compare his time with the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. Now, if we look into my chronological table, published *A. D.* 1721, we shall find that the hundred and twenty-fifth year of Abraham, or which is all one, the twenty-fifth year of Isaac, falls into *A. M.* 2573, or into the thirteenth year of Tethmosis or Amosis, which is the very middle of his twenty-five years reign; so that this abolition of human sacrifices in Egypt, and substitution of others in their room, seems to have been

* Antiq. B. i. cap. xiii sect. 2. † John, i. 29. ‡ Marsh, p. 301.

occasioned by the solemn prohibition of such a sacrifice in the case of Abraham, and by the following substitution of a ram in its stead: which account of this matter not only takes away the groundless suspicions of the moderns, but shows the great seasonableness of the divine prohibition of the execution of this command to Abraham, as probably the direct occasion of putting a stop to the barbarity of the Egyptians in offering human sacrifices, and that for many, if not for all generations afterward.

## DISSERTATION III.

*Tacitus's Accounts of the Origin of the Jewish Nation, and of the Particulars of the last Jewish War; that the former was probably written in Opposition to Josephus's Antiquities, and that the latter was for certain almost all directly taken from Josephus's History of the Jewish War.*

Since Tacitus, the famous Roman historian, who has written more largely and professedly about the origin of the Jewish nation, about the chorography of Judea, and the last Jewish war under Cestius, Vespasian, and Titus, than any other old Roman historian; and since both Josephus and Tacitus were in favour with the same Roman emperors, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and since Tacitus was an eminent pleader and writer of history at Rome, during the time or not long after our Josephus had been there studying the Greek language, reading the Greek books, and writing his own works in the same Greek language, which language was almost universally known at Rome in that age; and since, therefore, it is next to impossible to suppose that Tacitus could be unacquainted with the writings of Josephus, it cannot but be highly proper to compare their accounts of Judea, of the Jews, and Jewish affairs together. Nor is it other than a very surprising paradox to me, how it has been possible for learned men, particularly for the several learned editors of Josephus and Tacitus, to be so very silent about this matter as they have hitherto been, especially when not only the correspondence of the authors as to time and place, but the likeness of the subject-matter and circumstances is so very often so very remarkable; nay, indeed, since many of the particular facts belonged peculiarly to the region of Judea, and to the Jewish nation, and are such as could hardly be taken by a foreigner from any other author than from our Josephus, this strange silence is almost unaccountable, if not inexcusable. The two only other writers whom we know of, whence such Jewish affairs might be supposed to be taken by Tacitus, who never appears to have been in Judea himself, are Justus of Tiberias, a Jewish historian, contemporary with Josephus, and one Antonius Julianus, once mentioned by Minutius Felix in his Octavius, sect. 33, as having written on the same subject with Josephus, and both already mentioned by me on another occasion, Dissert. I. As to Justus of Tiberias, he could not be the historian whence Tacitus took his Jewish affairs, because, as we have seen, in the place just cited, the principal passage in Tacitus of that nature, concerning Christ, and his sufferings under the emperor Tiberius, and by his procurator Pontius Pilate, was not there as we know from the testimony of Photius, Cod. xxx. And as to Antonius Julianus, his very name shows him to have been not a Jew but a Roman. He is never mentioned by Josephus, and so probably knew no more of the country or affairs of Judea than Tacitus himself. He was, I suppose, rather an epitomiser of Josephus, and not so early as Tacitus, than an original historian himself before him. Nor could so exact a writer as Tacitus ever take up with such poor and almost unknown historians as these were, while Josephus's seven books of the Jewish war were then so common were in such great reputation at Rome; were attested to, and recommended by Vespasian and Titus the emperors, by King Agrippa, and King Archelaus, and

Herod king of Chalcis; and he was there honoured with a statue: and these his books were reposited at the public library at Rome, as we know from Josephus himself, from Eusebius, and Jerom, while we never hear of any other history of the Jews that had then and there any such attestations or recommendations. Some things, indeed, Tacitus might take from the Roman records of this war, I mean from the Commentaries of Vespasian, which are mentioned by Josephus himself, in his own Life, sect. 65, vol. iv. and some others from the relations of Roman people, where the affairs of Rome were concerned; as also other affairs might be remembered by old officers and soldiers that had been in the Jewish war. Accordingly, I still suppose that Tacitus had some part of his information these ways, and particularly where he a little differs from or makes additions to Josephus: but then, as this will all reach no farther than three or four years during this war, so will it by no means account for that abridgment of the geography of the country, and entire series of the principal facts of history thereto relating, which are in Tacitus, from the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, 240 years before that war, with which Antiochus both Josephus and Tacitus begin their distinct histories of the Jews, preparatory to the history of this last war. Nor could Tacitus take the greatest part of those earlier facts belonging to the Jewish nation from the days of Moses, or to Christ and the Christians in the days of Tiberius, from Roman authors; of which Jewish and Christian affairs those authors had usually very little knowledge, and which the heathen generally did grossly pervert and shamefully falsify: and this is so true as to Tacitus's own accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, that the reader may almost take it for a constant rule, that when Tacitus contradicts Josephus's Jewish Antiquities, he either tells direct falsehoods, or truths so miserably disguised, as renders them little better than falsehoods, and hardly ever lights upon any thing relating to them that is true and solid, but when the same is in those Antiquities at this day; of which matters more will be said in the notes on this history immediately following.

## HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

### Book V. Chap. II.

Since we are now going to relate the final period of this famous city [Jerusalem,] it seems proper to give an account of its original.*—The tradition is, that the Jews ran away from the island of Crete, and settled themselves on the coast of Libya, and this at the time when Saturn was driven out of his kingdom by the power of Jupiter: an argument for it is fetched from their name. The mountain Ida is famous in Crete; and the neighbouring inhabitants are named *Idæi*, which, with a barbarous augment, becomes the name of *Judæi* [Jews.] Some say they were a people that were very numerous in Egypt, under the reign of Isis, and that the Egyptians got free from that burden by sending them into the adjoining countries, under their captains Hierosolymus and Judas. The greatest part say, they were those Ethiopians, whom fear and hatred obliged to change their habitations in the reign of King Cepheus.† There are those which report they were Assyrians, who, wanting lands, got together, and obtained part of Egypt, and soon afterwards settled themselves in cities of their own, in the lands of the Hebrews, and the parts of Syria that lay nearest to them.‡ Others pretend their origin to be more eminent, and that the Solymi, a people celebrated in Homer's poems, were the founders of this nation, and gave this their own name Hierosolyma to the city, which they built there.§

* Most of these stories are so entirely groundless, and so contradictory to one another, that they do not deserve a serious confutation. It is strange Tacitus could persuade himself thus crudely to set them down.

† One would wonder how Tacitus or any heathens could suppose the African Ethiopians under Cepheus, who are known to be blacks, could be the parents of the Jews, who are known to be whites.

‡ This account comes nearest the truth; and this Tacitus might have from Josephus, only disguised by himself.

§ This Tacitus might have out of Josephus, Antiq. B. vii. ch. iii. sect. 2.

Chap. III.] Many authors agree, that when once an infectious distemper was arisen in Egypt, and made men's bodies impure, Bocchoris their king went to the oracle of [Jupiter] Hammon, and begged he would grant him some relief against this evil, and that he was enjoined to purge his nation of them, and to banish this kind of men into other countries, as hateful to the gods :* that when he had sought for, and gotten them all together, they were left in a vast desert; that hereupon the rest devoted themselves to weeping and inactivity; but one of those exiles, *Moses* by name, advised them to look for no assistance from any of the gods, or from any of mankind, since they had been abandoned by both, but bade them believe in him, as in a celestial leader,† by whose help they had already gotten clear of their present miseries. They agreed to it; and though they were unacquainted with every thing, they began their journey at random : but nothing tired them so much as want of water; and now they laid themselves down on the ground to a great extent, as just ready to perish, when a herd of wild asses came from feeding, and went to a rock overshadowed by a grove of trees. Moses followed them, as conjecturing that there was [thereabouts] some grassy soil, and so he opened large sources of water for them.‡ That was an ease to them; and when they had journeyed continually six entire days,§ on the seventh they drove out the inhabitants, and obtained those lands wherein their city and temple were dedicated.

Chap. IV.] As for Moses, in order to secure the nation firmly to himself, he ordained new rites, and such as were contrary to those of other men. All things are with them profane which with us are sacred; and again, those practices are allowed among them which are by us esteemed most abominable.‖

They place the image of that animal in their most holy place, by whose indication it was that they had escaped their wandering condition and their thirst.¶

They sacrifice rams, by way of reproach, to [Jupiter Hammon.] An ox is also sacrificed, which the Egyptians worship under the name of *Apis*.**

They abstain from swine's flesh, as a memorial of that miserable destruction which the mange, to which that creature is liable, brought on them, and with which they had been defiled.††

That they had endured a long famine, they attest still by their frequent fastings.‡‡ And that they stole the fruits of the earth, we have an argument from the bread of the Jews, which is unleavened.§§

It is generally supposed they rest on the seventh day,‖‖ because that day gave them [the first] rest from their labours. Besides which, they are idle on every seventh year,¶¶ as being pleased with a lazy life. Others say, that they do honour thereby to Saturn;*** or, perhaps, the Idæi gave them this part of

* Strange doctrine to Josephus! who truly observes on this occasion, that the gods are angry not at bodily imperfections, but at wicked practices. Apion, B. i. sect. 28.

† This believing in Moses as in a *celestial leader*, seems a blind confession of Tacitus that Moses professed to have his laws from God.

‡ This looks also like a plain confession of Tacitus, that Moses brought the Jews water out of a rock in great plenty, which he might have from Josephus, Antiq. B. iii. ch. i. sect. 7.

§ Strange indeed! that 600,000 men should travel above 200 miles over the deserts of Arabia in six days, and conquer Judea the seventh.

‖ This is not true in general, but only so far, that the Israelites were by circumcision and other rites to be kept separate from the wicked and idolatrous nations about them.

¶ This strange story contradicts what the same Tacitus will tell us presently, that when Pompey went into the holy of holies he found no image there.

** These are only guesses of Tacitus or his heathen authors, but no more.

†† Such memorials of what must have been very reproachful, are strangers to the rest of mankind, and without any probability.

‡‡ The Jews had but one solemn fast of old in the whole year, the great day of expiation.

§§ Unleavened bread was only used at the passover.

‖‖ It is very strange that Tacitus should not know or confess that the Jews' *seventh day*, and *seventh year* of rest, were in memory of the seventh, or Sabbath-day's rest, after the six day's of creation Every Jew, as well as every Christian, could have informed him of those matters.

¶¶ A strange hypothesis of the origin of the sabbatic year, and without all good foundation. Tacitus probably had never heard of the Jews' *year of jubilee*, so he says nothing of it.

*** As if the Jews, in the days of Moses, or long before, knew that the Greeks and Romans would long

their religion, who [as we said above] were expelled together with Saturn, and who, as we have been informed, were the founders of this nation; or else it was because the star Saturn moves in the highest orb, and of the seven planets exerts the principal part of that energy whereby mankind are governed: and, indeed, that most of the heavenly bodies exert their power, and perform their courses, according to the number seven.*

CHAP. V.] These rites, by what manner soever they were first begun, are supported by their antiquity.† The rest of their institutions are awkward,‡ impure, and got ground by their pravity: for every vile fellow, despising the rites of his forefathers, brought thither their tribute and contributions, by which means the Jewish commonwealth was augmented. And because among themselves there is an unalterable fidelity and kindness always ready at hand, but bitter enmity to all others,§ they are a people separated from others in their food, and in their beds; though they be the lewdest nation upon earth, yet will they not corrupt foreign women,‖ though nothing be esteemed unlawful among themselves.¶

They have ordained circumcision of the parts of generation, that they may thereby be distinguished from other people: the proselytes** to their religion have the same usage.

They are taught nothing sooner than to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to have their parents, children, and brethren in the utmost contempt:†† but still they take care to increase and multiply, for it is esteemed utterly unlawful to kill any of their children.

They also look on the souls of those that die in battle, or are put to death for their crimes, as eternal. Hence comes their love of posterity and contempt of death.

They derive their custom of burying, instead of burning, their dead, from the Egyptians:‡‡ they have also the same care of the dead with them, and the same persuasion about the invisible world below: but of the gods above, their opinion is contrary to theirs. The Egyptians worship abundance of animals, and images of various sorts.

The Jews have no notion of any more than one divine being,§§ and that known only by the mind. They esteem such to be profane who frame images of gods, out of perishable matter, and in the shape of men. That this being is supreme, and eternal immutable, and unperishable is their doctrine. Accordingly, they have no images in their cities, much less in their temples: they never grant this piece of flattery to kings, or this kind of honour to emperors.‖‖ But because their priests, when they play on the pipe and the timbrels, wear ivy round their head, and a golden vine¶¶ has been found in their temple, some have thought that

afterward call the seventh day of the week *Saturn's day*; which Dio observes was not so called of old time; and it is a question whether before the Jews fell into idolatry, they ever heard of such a star or god as Saturn. Amos, v. 25: Acts, vii. 43.

* That the sun, moon, and stars, rule over the affairs of mankind, was a heathen and not a Jewish notion. Neither Jews nor Christians were permitted to deal in astrology, though Tacitus seems to have been deep in it.

† This acknowledgment of the antiquity of Moses, and of his Jewish settlement, was what the heathens cared not always to own.

‡ What these pretended awkward and impure institutions were, Tacitus does not inform us.

§ Josephus shows the contrary, as to the laws of Moses, *contr.* Apion, book ii. sect. 28.

‖ A high, and, I doubt, a false commendation of the Jews.

¶ An entirely false character, and contrary to their many laws against uncleanness. See Josephus, Antiq. b. iii. chap. xi. sect. 12.

** The proselytes of justice only, not the proselytes of the gates.

†† How does this agree with that unalterable fidelity and kindness which Tacitus told us the Jews had towards one another? unless he only means that they preferred the divine commands before their nearest relations, which is the highest degree of Jewish and Christian piety.

‡‡ This custom is at least as old among the Hebrews as the days of Abraham, and the cave of Machpelah, long before the Israelites went into Egypt. Gen. xxiii. 1—20; xxv. 8—10

§§ These are valuable concessions, which Tacitus here makes, as to the unspotted piety of the Jewish nation, in the worship of one infinite, invisible God, and absolute rejection of all idolatry, and of all worship of images, nay, of the image of the emperor Caius himself, or of affording it a place in their temple.

‖‖ All these concessions were to be learned from Josephus, and almost only from him; out of whom, therefore, I conclude Tacitus took the finest part of his character of the Jews.

¶¶ This particular fact, that there was a golden vine in the front of the Jewish temple, was in all pro-

they worshiped our father Bacchus, the conqueror of the East; whereas the ceremonies of the Jews do not at all agree with those of Bacchus; for he appointed rites that were of a jovial nature, and fit for festivals, while the practices of the Jews are absurd and sordid.

CHAP. VI.] The limits of Judea easterly are bounded by Arabia: Egypt lies on the south: on the west are Phœnicia and the [great] sea. They have a prospect of Syria on their north quarter, as at some distance from them.*

The bodies of the men are healthy, and such as will bear great labours.

They have not many showers of rain: their soil is very fruitful: the produce of their land is, like ours, in great plenty.†

They have also, besides ours, two trees peculiar to themselves, the balsam-tree and the palm-tree. Their groves of palms are tall and beautiful. The balsam tree is not very large. As soon as any branch is swelled, the vines quake as for fear, if you bring an iron knife to cut them. They are to be opened with the broken piece of a stone, or with the shell of a fish. The juice is useful in physic.

Libanus is their principal mountain, and is very high, and yet, what is very strange to be related, it is always shadowed with trees, and never free from snow. The same mountain supplies the river Jordan with water, and affords it its fountains also. Nor is this Jordan carried into the sea; it passes through one and a second lake undiminished, but it is stopped by the third.‡

This third lake is vastly great in circumference, as if it were a sea.§ It is of an ill taste and is pernicious to the adjoining inhabitants by its strong smell. The wind raises no waves there, nor will it maintain either fishes, or such birds as use the water. The reason is uncertain, but the fact is thus, that bodies cast into it are borne up, as by somewhat solid. Those who can and those who cannot swim are equally borne up by it.‖ At a certain time of the year¶ it casts out bitumen: the manner of gathering it, like other arts, has been taught by experience. The liquor is of its own nature of a black colour; and if you pour vinegar upon it, it clings together, and swims on the top. Those whose business it is take it in their hands, and pull it into the upper parts of the ship, after which it follows, without farther attraction, and fills the ship full, till you cut it off: nor can you cut it off either with a brass or an iron instrument; but it cannot bear the touch of blood, or of a cloth wet with the menstrual purgations of women, as the ancient authors say. But those that are acquainted with the place assure us, that these waves of bitumen are driven along, and by the hand drawn to the shore; and that when they are dried by the warm steams from the earth and the force of the sun, they are cut in pieces with axes and wedges, as timber and stones are cut in pieces.

CHAP. VII.] Not far from this lake are those plains, which are related to have been of old fertile, and to have had many¶ cities full of people, but to have been burnt up by a stroke of lightning: it is also said, that the footsteps of that de-

bability taken by Tacitus out of Josephus: but as the Jewish priests were never adorned with ivy, the signal of Bacchus, how Tacitus came to imagine this, I cannot tell.

* See the chorography of Judea in Josephus, Of the War, B. iii. sect 3; whence most probably Tacitus framed this short abridgement of it. It comes in both authors naturally before Vespasian's first campaign.

† The latter branch of this Tacitus might have from Josephus, Of the War, B. iii. ch. iii. sect. 2, 3, 4. The other is not in the present copies.

‡ These accounts of Jordan, of its fountains derived from Mount Libanus, and of the two lakes it runs through, and its stoppage by the third, are exactly agreeable to Josephus, Of the War, B. iii. ch. x. sect. 7, 8.

§ No less than 580 furlongs long and 150 broad, in Josephus, Of the War, B. iv. ch. viii. sect. 4.

‖ Strabo says, that a man could not sink into the water of this lake so deep as the navel.

¶ Josephus never says that this bitumen was cast out at a certain time of the year only, and Strabo says the direct contrary, but Pliny agrees with Tacitus.

** This is exactly according to Josephus, and must have been taken from him in the place forecited, and that particularly because it is peculiar to him, so far as I know, in all antiquity. The rest thought the cities were in the very same place where now the lake is, but Josephus and Tacitus say they were in its neighbourhood only, which is Mr. Reland's opinion also.

struction still remain, and that the earth itself appears as burnt earth, and has lost its natural fertility: and that as an argument thereof, all the plants that grow of their own accord, or are planted by the hand, whether they arrive at the degree of an herb, or of a flower, or at complete maturity, become black and empty, and, as it were, vanish into ashes. As for myself, as I am willing to allow that these once famous cities were burnt by fire from heaven, so would I suppose that the earth is infected with the vapour of the lake, and the spirit or air that is over it thereby corrupted; and that by this means the fruits of the earth, both corn and grapes, rot away, both the soil and the air being equally unwholesome.

The river Belus does also run into the sea of Judea; and the sands that are collected about its mouth, when you mix nitre with them, are melted into glass this sort of shore is but small, but its sand, for the use of those that carry it off, is inexhaustible.

Chap. VIII.] A great part of Judea is composed of scattered villages; it also has larger towns: Jerusalem is the capital city of the whole nation. In that city there was a temple of immense wealth; in the first parts that are fortified is the city itself; next it the royal palace. The temple is enclosed in its most inward recesses. A Jew can come no farther than the gates; all but the priests are excluded by their threshold. While the East was under the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were of all slaves the most despicable.*

† After the dominion of the Macedonians prevailed, King Antiochus tried to conquer their superstition, and to introduce the customs of the Greeks; but he was disappointed of his design, which was to give this most profligate nation a change for the better, and that was by his war with the Parthians, for at this time Arsaces had fallen off [from the Macedonians.] Then it was that the Jews set kings over them, because the Macedonians were become weak, the Parthians were not yet very powerful, and the Romans were very remote: which kings, when they had been expelled by the mobility of the vulgar, and had recovered their dominion by war, attempted the same things that kings used to do, I mean they introduced the destruction of cities, the slaughter of brethren, of wives, and parents, but still went on in their superstition; for they took upon them withal the honourable dignity of the high priesthood, as a firm security to their power and authority.

Chap. IX.] The first of the Romans that conquered the Jews was Cneius Pompeius, who entered the temple by right of victory. Thence the report was everywhere divulged, that therein was no image of a god, but an empty place, and mysteries, most secret places that have nothing in them. The walls of Jerusalem were then destroyed, but the temple continued still. Soon afterward arose a civil war among us; and when therein these provinces were reduced under Marcus Antonius, Pacorus, king of the Parthians, got possession of Judea, but was himself slain by Paulus Ventidius, and the Parthians were driven beyond Euphrates; and for the Jews, Caius Socius subdued them. Antonius gave the kingdom to Herod; and when Augustus conquered Antonius, he still augmented it.

After Herod's death, one *Simon*, without waiting for the disposition of Cæsar, took upon him the title of *King*, who was brought to punishment by [or under] Quintilius Varus, when he was president of Syria. Afterward the nation was reduced, and the children of Herod governed it in three partitions.

Under Tiberius the Jews had rest. After some time they were enjoined to place Caius Cæsar's statue in the temple; but rather than permit that, they took up arms;‡ which sedition was put an end to by the death of Cæsar.

* A great slander against the Jews, without any just foundation. Josephus would have informed him better.

† Here begins Josephus's and Tacitus's true accounts of the Jews preliminary to the last war. See Of the War, Proœm. Sect. 7.

‡ They came to Petronius, the president of Syria, in vast numbers, but without arms, and as humble supplicants only. See Tacitus presently, where he afterwards sets this matter almost right, according to Josephus, and by way of correction, for that account is in his annals, which were written after this which is in his histories.

Claudius, after the kings were either dead or reduced to smaller dominions, gave the province of Judea to Roman knights, or to freedmen, to be governed by them. Among whom was Antonius Felix, one that exercised all kind of barbarity and extravagance, as if he had royal authority, but with the disposition of a slave. He had married Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antonius, so that Felix was the granddaughter's husband, and Claudius the grandson of the same Antonius.

## ANNAL. Book XII.

But he that was the brother of Pallas, whose sirname was Felix, did not act with the same moderation [as did Pallas himself.] He had been a good while ago set over Judea, and thought he might be guilty of all sorts of wickedness with impunity, while he relied on so sure an authority.

The Jews had almost given a specimen of sedition; and even after the death of Caius was known, and they had not obeyed his command, there remained a degree of fear, lest some future prince should renew that command [for the setting up the prince's statue in their temple.] And in the meantime, Felix, by the use of unseasonable remedies, blew up the coals of sedition into a flame, and was imitated by his partner in the government, Ventidius Cumanus; the country being thus divided between them, that the nation of the Galileans were under Cumanus, and the Samaritans under Felix, which two nations were of old at variance, but now, out of contempt of their governors, did less restrain their hatred: they then began to plunder one another, to send in parties of robbers, to lie in wait, and sometimes to fight battles, and withal to bring spoils and prey to the procurators, [Cumanus and Felix.] Whereupon these procurators began to rejoice; yet when the mischief grew considerable, soldiers were sent to quiet them, but the soldiers were killed; and the province had been in the flame of war, had not Quadratus, the president of Syria, afforded his assistance. Nor was it long in dispute whether the Jews who had killed the soldiers in the mutiny should be put to death: it was agreed they should die; only Cumanus and Felix occasioned a delay; for Claudius, upon hearing the causes as to this rebellion, had given [Quadratus] authority to determine the case, even as to the procurators themselves; but Quadratus showed Felix among the judges, and took him into his seat of judgment, on purpose that he might discourage his accusers. So Cumanus was condemned for those flagitious actions, of which both he and Felix had been guilty, and peace was restored to the province.*

## HISTOR. Book V. Chap. X.

However, the Jews had patience till Gessius Florus was made procurator. Under him it was that the war began. Then Cestius Gallus the president of Syria, attempted to appease it, tried several battles, but generally with ill success.

Upon his death,† whether it came by fate, or that he was weary of his life, is uncertain, Vespasian had the good fortune, by his reputation and excellent officers, and a victorious army, in the space of two summers, to make himself master of all the open country, and of all the cities, Jerusalem excepted.

[Flavius Vespasianus, whom Nero had chosen for his general, managed the Jewish war with three legions. Histor. B. i. chap. x.]

The next year, which was employed in a civil war at [home,] so far as the Jews were concerned, passed over in peace. When Italy was pacified, the care of foreign parts was revived. The Jews were the only people that stood out, which increased the rage [of the Romans.] It was also thought most proper that

* Here seems to be a great mistake about the Jewish affairs in Tacitus. See of the War, B. ii. ch. xii. sect. 8.

† Josephus says nothing of the death of Cestius; so Tacitus seems to have known nothing in particular about it.

Titus should stay with the army, to prevent any accident or misfortune which the new government might be liable to.

[Vespasian had put an end to the Jewish war: the siege of Jerusalem was the only enterprise remaining, which was a work hard and difficult, but rather from the nature of the mountain, and the obstinacy of the Jewish superstition, than because the besieged had strength enough to undergo the distresses [of a siege.] We have already informed the reader that Vespasian had with him three legions, well exercised in war. Histor. Book ii. chap. v.]

When Vespasian was a very young man, it was promised him that he should arrive at the highest pitch of fame: but what did first of all seem to confirm the omen was his triumphs and consulship, and the glory of his victories over the Jews. When he had once obtained these he believed it was portended that he should come to the empire.*

There is between Judea and Syria a mountain and a god, both called by the same name of *Carmel*, though our predecessors have informed us that this god had no image, and no temple, and, indeed, no more than an altar and solemn worship. Vespasian was once offering a sacrifice there, at a time when he had some secret thought in his mind: the priest, whose name was *Basilides*, when he over and over looked at the entrails, said, Vespasian, whatever thou art about, whether the building of thy house, or enlargement of thy lands, or augmentation of thy slaves, thou art granted a mighty seat, very large bounds, a huge number of men. These doubtful answers were soon spread abroad by fame, and at this time were explained: nor was any thing so much in public vogue; and very many discourses of that nature were made before him, and the more because they fore told what he expected.

Mucianus and Vespasianus went away, having fully agreed on their designs, the former to Antioch, the latter to Cæsarea. Antioch is the capital of Syria, and Cæsarea the capital of Judea. The commencement of Vespasian's advancement to the empire was at Alexandria, where Tiberius Alexander made such haste, that he obliged the legions to take the oath of fidelity to him on the calends of July, which was ever after celebrated as the day of his inauguration, although† the army in Judea had taken the oath on the fifth of the nones of July, with that eagerness that they would not stay for his son Titus, who was then on the road, returning out of Syria, chap. lxxix. Vespasian delivered over the strongest part of his forces to Titus, to enable him to finish what remained of the Jewish war. Hist. Book iv. chap. li.

During those months in which Vespasian continued at Alexandria, waiting for the usual set time of the summer gales of wind, and staid for settled fair weather at sea, many miraculous events happened, by which the good will of heaven, and a kind of inclination of the Deity in his favour was declared.

A certain man of the vulgar sort at Alexandria, well known for the decay of his eyes, kneeled down by him, and groaned, and begged of him the cure of his blindness, as by the admonition of Serapis, that god which this superstitious nation worships above others. He also desired that the emperor would be pleased to put some of his spittle upon the balls of his eyes. Another infirm man there, who was lame of his hand, prayed Cæsar, as by the same god's suggestion, to tread upon him with his foot. Vespasian at first began to laugh at them, and to reject them; and when they were instant with him, he sometimes feared he should have the reputation of a vain person, and sometimes upon the solicitation of the infirm, he flattered himself, and others flattered him, with the hopes of succeeding

* Josephus takes notice in general of these many omens of Vespasian's advancement to the empire, and distinctly adds his own remarkable prediction of it also. Antiq. B. iii. ch. viii. sect. 3 9.

† This *although* seems to imply that Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Judea before he was so proclaimed at Alexandria, as the whole history of Josephus implies, and the place where now Vespasian was, which was no other than Judea, requires also, though the inauguration day might be celebrated afterward from his first proclamation at the great city Alexandria, only then the nones or ides in Tacitus and Suetonius must be of June, and not of July.

At last he ordered the physicians to give their opinion, whether this sort of blindness and lameness were curable by the art of man or not? The physicians answered uncertainly, that the one had not his visual faculty utterly destroyed, and that it might be restored, if the obstacles were removed; that the other's limbs were disordered, but if a healing virtue were made use of, they were capable of being made whole. Perhaps, said they, the gods are willing to assist, and that the emperor is chosen by divine interposition: however, they said at last, that if the cures succeeded, Cæsar would have the glory, if not, the poor miserable objects would only be laughed at. Whereupon Vespasian imagined that his good fortune would be universal, and that nothing on that account could be incredible so he looked cheerfully, and in the sight of the multitude, who stood in great expectation, he did what they desired him: upon which the lame hand was recovered, and the blind man saw immediately. Both these cures* are related to this day by those that were present, and when speaking falsely will get no reward.

## Book V. Chap. I.

At the beginning of the same year, Titus Cæsar, who was pitched upon by his father to finish the conquest of Judea, and while both he and his father were private persons, was celebrated for his martial conduct, acted now with greater vigour and hopes of reputation, the kind inclinations both of the provinces and of the armies striving one with another who should most encourage him. He was also himself in a disposition to show that he was more than equal to his fortune; and when he appeared in arms, he did all things after such a ready and graceful way, treating all after such an affable manner, and with such kind words, as invited the good will and good wishes of all. He appeared also in his actions and in his place in the troops; he mixed with the common soldiers, yet without any stain to his honor as a general.† He was received in Judea by three legions, the fifth and the tenth, and the fifteenth, who were Vespasian's old soldiers. Syria also afforded him the twelfth, and Alexandria soldiers out of the twenty-second and twenty-third legions. Twenty cohorts‡ of auxiliaries accompanied him, as also eight troops of horse.

King Agrippa also was there, and King Sohemus, and the auxiliaries of King Antiochus, and a strong body of Arabians, who, as is usual in nations that are neighbours to one another, went with their accustomed hatred against the Jews, with many others out of the city of Rome, as every one's hopes led him of getting early into the general's favour, before others should prevent them.

He entered into the borders of the enemies' country with these forces, in exact order of war: and looking carefully about him, and being ready for battle, he pitched his camp not far from Jerusalem.

Chap. X.] When, therefore, he had pitched his camp, as we said just now, before the walls of Jerusalem, he pompously showed§ his legions ready for an engagement.

* The miraculous cures done by Vespasian are attested to both by Suetonius in Vespasian, sect. 7. and by Dio, p. 217, and seem to me well attested. Our Saviour seems to have overruled the heathen oracle of Serapis to procure the divine approbation to Vespasian's advancement to the empire of Rome, as he suggested the like approbation to the advancement both of Vespasian and Titus to Josephus, which two were to be his chosen instruments in bringing on that terrible destruction upon the Jewish nation, which he had threatened to execute by these Roman armies. Nor could any other Roman generals than Vespasian and Titus, at that time, in human probability, have prevailed over the Jews, and destroyed Jerusalem, as this whole history in Josephus implies. Josephus also everywhere supposes Vespasian and Titus raised up to command against Judea and Jerusalem, and to govern the Roman empire by divine providence, and not in the ordinary way: as also, he always supposes this destruction a divine judgment on the Jews for their sins.

† This character of Titus agrees exactly with the history of Josephus upon all occasions.

‡ These twenty cohorts and eight troops of horse are not directly enumerated by Josephus, Antiq. B. v chap. i. sect. 6.

§ This word in Tacitus, *pompously showed* his legions, looks as if that pompous show, which was some months afterward, in Josephus, ran in his mind, Antiq. B. v. chap. ix. sect. 1.

CHAP. XI.] The Jews formed their camp under the very walls* [of the city,] and if they succeeded, they resolved to venture farther, but if they were beaten back, that was their place of refuge. When a body of cavalry† were sent against them, and with them cohorts, that were expedite and nimble, the fight was doubtful; but soon afterwards the enemies gave ground, and on the following days there were frequent skirmishes before the gates, till after many losses they were driven into the city. The Romans then betook themselves to the siege, for it did not seem honourable to stay till the enemies were reduced by famine.‡ The soldiers were very eager to expose themselves to dangers, part of them out of true valour, many out of a brutish fierceness, and others out of a desire of ewards.

Titus had Rome, and the riches and pleasures of it before his eyes, all which seemed to be too long delayed, unless Jerusalem could be soon destroyed.

The city§ stood on a high elevation, and it had great works and ramparts to secure it, such indeed as were sufficient for its fortification, had it been on plain ground; for there were two hills, of a vast height, which were enclosed by walls made crooked by art, or [naturally] bending inwards, that they might flank the besiegers, and cast darts on them sideways. The extreme parts of the rock were craggy, and the towers, when they had the advantage of the ground, were 60 feet high: when they were built on the plain ground they were not built lower than 120 feet: they were of uncommon beauty, and to those who looked at them at a great distance, they seemed equal. Other walls there were beneath the royal palace, besides the tower of Antonia, with its top particularly conspicuous. It was called so by Herod, in honour of Marcus Antonius.

CHAP. XII.] The temple was like a citadel, having walls of its own, which had more labour and pains bestowed on them than the rest. The cloisters where with the temple was enclosed were an excellent fortification.

They had a fountain of water that ran perpetually; and the mountains were hollowed under ground; they had moreover pools‖ and cisterns for the preservation of rain water.

They that built this city foresaw, that, from the difference of their conduct of life from their neighbours, they should have frequent wars; thence it came to pass that they had provisions for a long siege. After Pompey's conquest also their fear and experience had taught them generally what they should want.¶

Moreover the covetous temper that prevailed under Claudius gave the Jews an opportunity of purchasing for money leave** to fortify Jerusalem; so they built walls in time of peace, as if they were going to war, they being augmented in number by those rude multitudes of people that retired thither on the ruin of the other cities; for every obstinate fellow ran away thither. and there became more seditious than before.

There were three captains, and as many armies. Simon had the remotest and largest parts of the walls under him. John, who was also called *Bar Gioras*

* These first bickerings and battles near the walls of Jerusalem, are at large in Josephus, Antiq B. v. chap. ii.

† Josephus distinctly mentions these horsemen or cavalry, 600 in number, among whom Titus had like to have been slain or taken prisoner, Antiq. B. v. chap. ii. sect. 1—3.

‡ Such a deliberation and resolution, with this very reason, that it would be dishonourable to stay till the Jews were starved out by famine, is in Josephus, Antiq. B. v. chap. xii. sect. 1.

§ This description of the city of Jerusalem, its two hills, its three walls, and four towers, &c. are in this place at large in Josephus, Antiq B. v. ch. iv. See also Pompey's siege, B. xiv. ch. iv. sect. 2.

‖ Of these pools, see Josephus, B. v. ch. xi. sect. 4. The cisterns are not mentioned by him here, though they be mentioned by travellers. See Reland's Palestine, tom. i. p. 304.

¶ This is Tacitus's or the Romans own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus.

** This sale of leave for the Jews to build the walls of Jerusalem for money is also Tacitus's or the Romans own hypothesis, unsupported by Josephus. Nor is Josephus's character of Claudius near so bad, as to other things also, as it is in Tacitus and Suetonius. Dio says, he was far from covetousness in particular. The others seem to have misrepresented his meek and quiet temper and learning, but without ambition, and his great kindness to the Jews, as the most contemptible folly. See Antiq. B. xix. ch. iv. sect. 4. He was, indeed, much ruled at first by a very bad minister, Pallas; and at last was ruled and poisoned by a very bad wife, Agrippina.

[the son of Gioras,] had the middle parts of the city under him: and Eleazar had fortified the temple itself. John and Simon were superior in multitude and strength of arms, Eleazar was superior by his situation; but battles, factions and burnings were common to them all; and a great quantity of corn was consumed by fire. After a while John sent some who, under the pretence of offering sacrifice, might slay Eleazar, and his body of troops, which they did, and got the temple under their power. So the city now was parted into two factions, until, upon the coming of the Romans, this war abroad produced peace between these that were at home.

CHAP. XIII.] Such prodigies* had happened as this nation, which is superstitious enough in its own way, would not agree to expiate by the ceremonies of the Roman religion, nor would they atone the gods by sacrifices and vows, as these used to do on the like occasions. Armies were seen to fight in the sky, and their armour looked of a bright red colour, and the temple shone with sudden flashes of fire out of the clouds. The doors of the temple were opened on a sudden, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were retiring; and at the same time was there a great motion perceived, as if they were going out of it, which some esteemed to be causes of terror. The greater part had a firm belief that it was contained in the old sacerdotal books, that at this very time the east would prevail, and that some that came out of Judea should obtain the empire of the world, which obscure oracle foretold Vespasian and Titus; but the generality of the common people, as usual, indulged their own inclinations, and when they had once interpreted all to forebode grandeur to themselves, adversity itself could not persuade them to change their minds, though it were from falsehood to truth.†

We have been informed that the number of the besieged, of every age, and of both sexes, male and female, was six hundred thousand.‡ There were weapons for all that could carry them, and more than could be expected, for their number were bold enough to do so. The men and the women were equally obstinate; and when they supposed they were to be carried captive, they were more afraid of life than of death.

Against this city and nation Titus Cæsar resolved to fight, by ramparts and ditches, since the situation of the place did not admit of taking it by storm or surprise. He parted the duty among the legions; and there were no farther engagements, until whatever had been invented for the taking of cities by the ancients, or by the ingenuity of the moderns, was got ready.

## ANNAL. Book XV.

NERO, in order to stifle the rumour [as if he had himself set Rome on fire,] ascribed it to those people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar *Christians;* these he punished exquisitely. The author of this name was *Christ,* who, in the reign of Tiberius, was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate the procurator.§ For the present this pernicious superstition was in part suppressed, but it brake out again, not only over Judea, whence this mischief first sprang, but in the city of Rome also, whither do run from every quarter and make a noise, all the flagrant and shameful enormities. At first, therefore, those were seized who confessed, afterward a vast multitude were detected by them, and were convicted, not so much as really guilty of setting the city on fire,

* These prodigies, and more, are at large in Josephus, Antiq. B. vi. chap. v. sect. 3.

† This interpretation and reflections are in Josephus, Antiq. B. vi. chap. v. sect. 4.

‡ The number 600,000 for the besieged is nowhere in Josephus, but is there for the poor buried at the public charge, Antiq. B. v. chap. xiii. sect. 7, which might be about the number of the besieged under Cestius Gallus, though they were many more afterward at Titus's siege, as Josephus implies, Antiq. B. vi. ch. ix. sect. 3.

§ This passage seems to have been directly taken from Josephus's famous testimony concerning Christ, and the Christians, Antiq. B. xviii. ch. iii. sect. 3, of which Dissert. I. before.

but as hating all mankind; nay, they made a mock of them as they perished, and destroyed them by putting them into the skins of wild beasts, and setting dogs upon them to tear them to pieces. Some were nailed to crosses, and other, flamed to death: they were also used in the night time instead of torches, for illumination. Nero had offered his own gardens for this spectacle. He also gave them Circensian games, and dressed himself like a driver of a chariot, sometimes appearing among the common people, sometimes in the circle itself; whence a commiseration arose, though the punishments were levelled at guilty persons, and such as deserve to be made the most flagrant examples, as if these people were destroyed, not for the public advantage, but to satisfy the barbarous humour of one man.

*N. B.* Since I have set down all the vile calumnies of Tacitus upon the Christians as well as the Jews, it will be proper, before I come to my observations, to set down two heathen records in their favour, and those hardly inferior in *antiquity*, and of much greater *authority*, than Tacitus, I mean Pliny's epistle to Trajan, when he was proconsul of Bithynia, with Trajan's answer or rescript to Pliny, cited by Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerom. These are records of so great esteem with Havercamp, the last editor of Josephus, that he thinks they not only deserve to be *read*, but almost to be *learned by heart* also

## Pliny's Epistle to Trajan.

About *A. D.* 112.

Sir, It is my constant method to apply myself to you for the resolution of all my doubts; for who can better govern my dilatory way of proceeding, or instruct my ignorance? I have never been present at the examination of the Christians [by others,] on which account I am unacquainted with what uses to be inquired into, and what and how far they used to be punished: nor are my doubts small, whether there be not a distinction to be made between the ages [of the accused,] and whether tender youth ought to have the same punishment with strong men? whether there be not room for pardon upon repentance?* or whether it may not be an advantage to one that had been a Christian, that he has forsaken Christianity? whether the bare name,† without any crimes besides, or the crimes adhering to that name, be to be punished? In the meantime, I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians.—I asked them whether they were Christians or not? If they confessed that they were Christians, I asked them again, and a third time, intermixing threatenings with the questions: if they persevered in their confession, I ordered them to be executed;‡ for I did not doubt but, let their confession be of any sort whatsoever, this positiveness and inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. There have been some of this mad sect whom I took notice of in particular as Roman citizens, that they might be sent to that city.§ After sometime, as is usual in such examinations, the crime spread itself, and many more cases came before me. A libel was sent me, though without an author, containing many names [of persons accused.] These denied that they were Christians now, or

* Till now it seems repentance was not commonly allowed those that had been once Christians, but though they recanted, and returned to idolatry, yet were they commonly put to death. This was persecution in perfection!

† This was the just and heavy complaint of the ancient Christians, that they commonly suffered for that bare *name*, without the pretence of any crimes they could prove against them. This was also persecution in perfection!

‡ Amazing doctrine! that a firm and fixed resolution of keeping a good conscience should be thought without dispute to deserve death, and this by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

§ This was the case of St. Paul, who being a citizen of Rome was allowed to *appeal unto Cæsar*, and was *sent to Rome* accordingly. Acts, xxii. 25—29; xxv. 25; xxvi. 32; xxvii.

ever had been. They called upon the gods, and supplicated to your image,* which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose, with frankincense and wine: they also cursed Christ:† none of which things, as it is said, can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do; so I thought fit to let them go.—Others of them, that were named in the libel, said they were Christians, but presently denied it again; that, indeed, they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some many more; and one there was that said he had not been so these twenty years. All these worshiped your image, and the images of our gods: these also cursed Christ. However, they assured me, that the main of their fault, or of their mistake, was this,—that they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing a hymn to Christ, as a god, alternately; and to oblige themselves by a sacrament [or oath,] not to do any thing that was ill, but that they would commit no theft, or pilfering, or adultery; that they would not break their promises, or deny what was deposited with them, when it was required back again: after which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent meal,‡ which yet they had left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments, what the truth was, which I did of two servant maids, which were called *deaconesses;* but still I discovered no more, than that they were addicted to a bad and an extravagant superstition. Hereupon I have put off any farther examinations, and have recourse to you; for the affair seems to be well worth consultation, especially on account of the number of those that are in danger;§ for there are many of every age, of every rank, and of both sexes, which are now and hereafter likely to be called to account, and to be in danger; for this superstition is spread like a contagion, not only into cities and towns, but into country villages also, which yet there is reason to hope may be stopped and corrected. To be sure, the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin already to be frequented; and the holy solemnities, which were long intermitted, begin to be revived. The sacrifices begin to sell well everywhere, of which very few purchasers had of late appeared; whereby it is easy to suppose how great a multitude of men may be amended, if place for repentance be admitted.

### Trajan's Epistle to Pliny.

My Pliny—You have taken the method which you ought, in examining the causes of those that had been accused as Christians; for, indeed, no certain and general form of judging can be ordained in this case. These people are not to be sought for; but if they be accused, and convicted, they are to be punished, but with this caution, that he who denies himself to be a Christian, and makes it plain that he is not so by supplicating to our gods, although he had been so formerly, may be allowed pardon, upon his repentance. As for libels sent without an author, they ought to have no place in any accusation whatsoever, for that would be a thing of very ill example, and not agreeable to my reign.

* Amazing stupidity! that the emperor's image, even while he was alive, should be allowed capable of divine worship, even by such comparatively excellent heathens as Pliny and Trajan.

† Take here a parallel account out of the martyrdom of Polycarp, sect. 9. The proconsul said—"Reproach Christ." Polycarp replied—"Eighty and six years have I now served Christ, and he has never done me the least wrong; how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?."

‡ This must most probably be the *feast of charity.*

§ Some of late are very loath to believe that the Christians were numerous in the second century, but this is such an evidence that they were very numerous, at least in Bithynia, even in the beginning of that century, as is wholly undeniable.

## OBSERVATIONS

### UPON THE PASSAGES TAKEN OUT OF TACITUS.

I. We see here what great regard the best of the Roman historians of that age, Tacitus, had to the history of Josephus, while, though he never names him, as he very rarely names any of those Roman authors whence he derives other parts of his history, yet does it appear that he refers to his seven books of the Jewish Wars several times in a very few pages, and almost always depends on his accounts of the affairs of the Romans and Parthians, as well as of the Jews, during no fewer than 240 years, to which those books extend.

II. Yet does it appear that when he now and then followed other historians or reports concerning the Romans, the Parthians, or the Jews, during that long interval, he was commonly mistaken in them, and had better have kept close to Josephus, than hearken to any of his other authors or informers.

III. It also appears highly probable that Tacitus had seen the Antiquities of Josephus, and knew that the most part of the accounts he produced of the origin of the Jewish nation entirely contradicted those Antiquities. He also could hardly avoid seeing that those accounts contradicted one another also, and were childish, absurd, and supported by no good evidence whatsoever: as also, he could hardly avoid seeing that Josephus's accounts in those Antiquities were authentic, substantial, and thoroughly attested to by the ancient records of that nation, and of the neighbouring nations also, which, indeed, no one can now avoid seeing, that carefully peruses and considers them.

IV. Tacitus, therefore, in concealing the greatest part of the true ancient history of the Jewish nation, which lay before him in Josephus, and producing such fabulous, ill-grounded, and partial histories, which he had from the heathens, acted a most unfair part: and this procedure of his is here the more gross, in regard he professed such great impartiality, Hist. B. i. cap. i. and is allowed to have observed that impartiality in the Roman affairs also.

V. Tacitus's hatred and contempt of God's peculiar people, the Jews, and his attachment to the grossest idolatry, superstition, and astral fatality of the Romans, were, therefore, so strong in him, as to overbear all restraints of sober reason and equity in the case of those Jews, though he be allowed so exactly to have followed them on other occasions relating to the Romans.

VI. Since, therefore, Tacitus was so bitter against the Jews, and since he knew that Christ was a Jew himself, and that his apostles and first followers were Jews, and also knew that the Christian religion was derived into the Roman provinces from Judea, it is no wonder that his hatred and contempt of the Jews extended itself to the Christians also, whom the Romans usually confounded with the Jews: as, therefore, his hard words of the Jews appear to have been generally groundless, and hurt his own reputation, instead of theirs, so ought we to esteem his alike hard words of the Christians to be blots upon his own character, and not upon theirs.

VII. Since, therefore, Tacitus, soon after the publication of Josephus's Antiquities, and in contradiction to them was determined to produce such idle stories about the Jews, and since one of those idle stories is much the same as that published in Josephus against Apion, from Manetho and Lysimachus, and nowhere else met with so fully in all antiquity, it is most probable that those Antiquities of Josephus were the very occasion of Tacitus giving us these stories, as we know from Josephus himself, *contr.* Apion, B. 1. sect. 1, that the same Antiquities were the very occasion of Apion's publication of his equally scandalous stories about them, and which Josephus so thoroughly confuted in his two books written

against them. And if Tacitus, as I suppose, had also read those two books, his procedure in publishing such stories, after he had seen so thorough a confutation of them, was still more highly criminal. Nor will Tacitus's fault be much less, though we suppose he neither saw the Antiquities, nor the books against Apion, because it was so very easy for him, then at Rome, to have had more authentic accounts of the origin of the Jewish nation, and of the nature of the Jewish and Christian religions, from the Jews and Christians themselves, which, he owns, were very numerous there in his days; so that his publication of such idle stories is still utterly inexcusable.

VIII. It is, therefore, very plain, after all, that notwithstanding the encomiums of several of our learned critics upon Tacitus, and hard suspicions upon Josephus, that all the (involuntary) mistakes of Josephus, in all his large works put together, their *quality*, as well as *quantity*, considered, do not amount to near so great a sum, as do these gross errors and misrepresentations of Tacitus about the Jews amount to in a few pages; so little reason have some of our later and lesser critics to prefer the Greek and Roman profane historians and writers to the Jewish, and particularly to Josephus. Such later and lesser critics should have learned more judgment and modesty from their great father Joseph Scaliger, when as we have seen, after all his deeper inquiries, he solemnly pronounces, *De Emend. Temp. Prolegom.* p. 17,—that "Josephus was the most diligent and the greatest lover of truth of all writers;" and is not afraid to affirm, that "it is more safe to believe him, not only as to the affairs of the Jews, but also as to those that are foreign to them, than all the Greek and Latin writers, and this because his fidelity and compass of learning are everywhere conspicuous."

## TABLE *of the* JEWISH WEIGHTS *and* MEASURES, *particularly of those mentioned in* JOSEPHUS'S WORKS.

### *Of the* JEWISH *Measures of* LENGTH.

| | Inches. | Feet. | Inches. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cubit, the standard | 21 | 1 | 9 |
| Zereth or large span | 10½ | 0 | 10½ |
| Small Span | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Palm or hand's breadth | 3½ | 0 | 3½ |
| Inch or thumb's breadth | 1,16 | 0 | 1,16 |
| Digit or finger's breadth | ,875 | 0 | ,875 |
| Orgyia or fathom | 84 | 7 | 0 |
| Ezekiel's Canneh or reed | 126 | 10 | 6 |
| Arabian Canneh or pole | 168 | 14 | 0 |
| Schænus's line or chain | 1680 | 140 | 0 |
| Sabbath-day's journey | 42000 | 3500 | 0 |
| Jewish mile | 84000 | 7000 | 0 |
| Stadium or furlong | 8400 | 700 | 0 |
| Parasang | 252000 | 21000 | 0 |

### *Of the* JEWISH *Measures of* CAPACITY.

| | Cub. Inch. | Pints or Pounds. |
|---|---|---|
| Bath or Epha | 807,274 | 27,83 |
| Chorus or Chomer | 8072,74 | 278,3 |
| Seah or Saton | 269,091 | 9,226 |
| Ditto according to Josephus | 828,28 | 28,3 |
| Hin | 134,54 | 4,4633 |
| Ditto according to Josephus | 414,12 | 14,3 |
| Omer or Assaron | 80,722 | 2,78 |
| Cab | 44,859 | 1,544 |
| Log | 11,21 | ,39 |
| Metretes or Syrian firkin | 207 | 7,125 |

### *Of the* JEWISH WEIGHTS *and* COINS.

| | Sterling. £. | s. | d. | American. $. | cts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Statur, Siclus, or shekel of the sanctuary, the standard | 0 | 2 | 6 | 0, | 55, + |
| Tyrian coin, equal to the shekel | 0 | 2 | 6 | 0, | 55, + |
| Bekah, half of the shekel | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0, | 27, + |
| Drachma Attica, one fourth | 0 | 0 | 7½ | 0, | 13, + |
| Drachma Alexandrina, or Darchmon, or Adarchmon, one half | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0, | 27, + |
| Gerah, or Obolos, one twentieth | 0 | 0 | 1½ | 0, | 2, 6 |

Maneh, or Mna, — 100 shekels in weight — 21900 Grains Troy.

| | Sterling. £. | s. | d. | American. $. | cts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maneh, Mna, or Mina, as a Coin,—60 shekels | 7 | 10 | 0 | 30, | 30, 0 |
| Talent of Silver,—3000 shekels | 375 | 0 | 0 | 1666, | 66, $\frac{2}{3}$ |
| Drachma of Gold not more than | 0 | 1 | 1 | | 24, 0 |
| Shekel of gold not more than | 0 | 4 | 4 | | 96, 0 |
| Daric of Gold | 1 | 0 | 4 | 4, | 51, 2 |
| Talent of gold not more than | 648 | 0 | 0 | 2880, | 00, 0 |

*Table of the* JEWISH MONTHS *in Josephus and others, with the Syro-Macedonian Names which Josephus gives them, and of the Julian or Roman Months corresponding to them.*

| Hebrew names. | Syro-Macedonian Names. | Roman Names. |
|---|---|---|
| (1.) Nisan | Xanthicus | March and April |
| (2.) Jyar | Artemisius | April and May |
| (3.) Sivan | Dæsius | May and June |
| (4.) Tamuz | Panemus | June and July |
| (5.) Ab | Lous | July and August |
| (6.) Elul | Gorpiæus | August and September |
| (7.) Tisri | Hyperberetæus | September and October |
| (8.) Marhesvan | Dius | October and November |
| (9.) Casleu | Appellæus | November and December |
| (10.) Tebeth | Audinæus | December and January |
| (11.) Shebat | Peritius | January and February |
| (12.) Adar | Dystrus | February and March |

Ve Adar, or the second Adar, intercalated.

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